THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

THESE EVENTFUL YEARS

PART II

The Historians' History of the World

First Edition 1904
Second Edition 1907
Third Edition 1909
Fourth Edition 1915
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 From a Painting by W. L. Wyllie, R.A.

The daring attack on the German submarine bases at Zeebrugge and Ostend on the Belgian coast in 1918 with the object of blocking both harbours. No fewer than nine V. C.'s were awarded for extreme gallantry in this bold and hazardous enterprise.

THE HISTORIANS' HISTORY OF THE WORLD

THESE EVENTFUL YEARS
THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN THE MAKING

As Told by Many of Its Makers.
Being the Dramatic Story of All
That Has Happened Throughout
the World During the Most
Momentous Period in All History

IN TWO PARTS — PART II



IN TWENTY-SEVEN VOLUMES

VOLUME XXVI—THESE EVENTFUL YEARS

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THESE EVENTFUL YEARS—PART II



Left: Example of a "zoning envelope," *i.e.*, the form inside of which a building under the New York zoning law must be built. Sketch by Harvey Wiley Corbett.



© *Helmle & Corbett*



Right: Projected building under New York's new zoning law. Helmle and Corbett, architects.

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NEW YORK'S CHANGING SKY-LINE

The purpose of New York's new zoning law is to prevent the shutting off of light and air from the street below, as occurs when "sky-scrapers" are permitted to ascend in a sheer vertical line from the

THESE EVENTFUL YEARS

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY IN THE MAKING

CHAPTER XXXVI

A FORECAST OF THE WORLD'S AFFAIRS

By H. G. WELLS

Author of *The Discovery of the Future; The Future in America; The Outline of History; Men like Gods;* etc.

1. HISTORY A RECORD OF HUMAN ASSOCIATIONS, NOT OF THE DOINGS OF HEROES

SCIENCE is not an account of facts but a criticism and analysis of facts, and history in so far as it is a science is not a mere record of events but an analysis of the relationship of events. It is an analysis of the main operating causes that determine the general flow of human affairs. It is therefore not merely legitimate for historians to attempt forecasts of the general trend of events in the future, but not to attempt them is a frank confession of the futility of history.

The elementary form of history, if we strip it of merely narrative and anecdotal accretions, is an account of the development and fortunes of human associations. Necessarily great masses of biographical material accumulate round any historical record. Human lives give history a dramatic interest. But taking it by and large the course of history has not been dependent on individuals; individual lives may become extraordinarily prominent and indicative of the determining causes beneath, but only as floating objects and eddies are indicative of the general flow of a stream. And again the achievements of art, literature and so forth are products of human associations; but they are not even the sought-after end of such associations, and they pass out of consideration as we simplify down our enquiries to the essential outlines of the human story.

We are writing here of history as a science, and with a view to extracting some reasonable forecast from it. History as it is generally understood is by no means a scientific process, and this main thesis of scientific history, the development of associations, is still treated as a secondary or background matter in weaving the picturesque tapestry of romantically conceived narrative. The dominant tradition of historical writing is still the literary tradition. The influence of Herodotus, that romantic propagandist, is still powerful in our academic world, and erudite but unanalytic scholars continue to paint the record after the fashion of an Egyptian wall-painting with hosts of little armies and common-men running about beneath the feet of large and sprawling heroes — heroes manufactured according to the historian's fancy out of this or that character in the mêlée. But as our history ceases to be romantic and becomes scientific this distinction of hero figures must

give place to an austerer treatment, and history must reconstruct itself like any other science upon a classification, a classification of human associations under distinctive types. Our subject then becomes an examination of the possibilities inherent in each type.

History, which has hitherto had a quality of picturesque and multitudinous incoherence, begins under this treatment to assume a definite outline. The outline of the world's history becomes a study of the development of the sub-conscious human herd, by the enlargement of speech and tradition and the establishment of inhibitions and taboos, into the human tribe, the resort to the taming of animals and the cultivation of food, and so on to the growth of larger and larger communities under the influence of continually widening and more powerful traditions and as a result of the more abundant and stabilised food supply of the herdsman and cultivator. The main bulk of human history is essentially the story of the reaction of human instinct and traditions to new and more effective methods of writing, computation and record generally involving an increasing *intensity* of communication, and to new and more effective methods of transport involving an increasing *range* of communication. The picture record, numbering and mnemonic signs, writing, the boat, the ship, and later the horse and mule, come into the story, thrusting mankind, almost unaware of what is happening, into possibilities of wider, more massive and more powerful reactions, and ultimately to the establishment of wider and more powerful communities. Bronze weapons succeeded stone, and iron, bronze; and weapons also are a means of communication between man and man and force them to attend to one another. It is only when two men are easily capable of killing each other at any time that the necessity of a standing agreement, a law, and the maintenance of mutual confidence is really brought home to them.

This general development of human interactions is, we repeat, the body of human history. Kings, dynasties, armies and nations appear and pass and are indeed no more than bubbles — sometimes, it is true, very iridescent and splendid bubbles — showing the swirl of the forces beneath but being in themselves neither creative nor directive. Had there been no Cheops nor Cephrenes there would still have been pyramids; had there been no Hammurabi there would still have been codes of law.

And when we get history out of the anecdotal and hero-worshipping traditions of the old historians; when we realise the supremacy of those numerous ingenious, curious and altogether forgotten people who devised letters and the plough, launched the first ships, mingled horse and ass and set bales on the backs of mules; when we realise their supremacy as makers of history over the conquerors and great thinkers and so forth with whom our Histories are rubricated, then it is possible for us to take up the vast tangle of record which constitutes *These Eventful Years* with some hope of extracting a possible and acceptable forecast of the history of the coming years.

2. HUMAN POSSIBILITIES BEYOND THE DREAMS OF UTOPIANS

Now in its most general form the world situation as we have it to-day is a complicated conflict of very powerful social and political traditions on the one hand, against a spreading tide of new knowledge and an unprecedented onrush of new inventions that are entirely incompatible with those social and political traditions that still dominate men's minds. Social and political traditions turn to the past, and generally it is an idealised past, for their sanctions; these new forces that attack them point steadily to the reconstruction of human society as a single world-system. They insist upon that

goal; they threaten to attack human happiness more and more ruthlessly until that goal is reached.

The forces of change express themselves now in a various multitude of devices and expedients, telegraphy and telephony, cheap paper, more rapid and efficient printing; in the wide diffusion of elementary knowledge and in the steady increase of the security, swiftness and quantitative capacity of transport by land and sea and air, and also in an enormously increased range of military destructiveness; they give us not only air travel but air weapons which abolish frontiers and war fronts and so bring in every living citizen as a combatant; they give us submarine weapons which abolish an effective domination of the sea by either party in a war and threaten to destroy the entire shipping of the world.

Another group of forces more recent in origin and yielding as yet only vague intimations of their ultimate effect on human communities are new possibilities of world health control and particularly of world birth control, which revolutionise every question arising out of the pressure of population in the mutual reaction of states. As yet, moreover, we have scarcely exploited at all the great advances that have been made in individual and collective psychology, knowledge which is bound to be applied to education and which must ultimately bring the process of education into quite a new relationship with the social and political organisation of the community. Some of these things point by way of facility to newer and wider and happier methods in the human community; others, by way of the development of a destructiveness inconceivable to our forefathers, press towards the enlargement of our community as a necessary precaution against possible and unendurable miseries, but all press towards enlargement and a bolder and greater conception of law and government. All these forces together, by way of good or by way of evil, challenge the human will and intellect to a comprehensive reorganisation of the world's collective affairs. As a reward they hold out hope of such a state of power, welfare, freedom and successful effort for our race as even the boldest of Utopians never dared to dream of before these days.

But it does not follow that because such possibilities seem to open out to mankind that they will ever be realised. The possibilities may be there indeed, but is the will and the intellect necessary for their realisation there? It does not follow that in the presence of these gifts and opportunities and dangers mankind can go on almost automatically to a world civilisation. It does not any more than it would follow that if you took a dozen quarrelsome children of eight or ten years old and locked them in a bathroom with a bundle of adult clothing and a plentiful supply of sharp razors that they would presently emerge grown up and clothed and nicely shaved. We may reap all the evil possibilities in the new forces before we come to the good. We may never come to the good. We may prove inadequate to realise the good.

Before that onrush of new inventions and still more disturbing enlightenment which began four or five centuries ago, there was a period of comparative unprogressiveness in human contrivances and resources for over eighteen hundred years. The new phase began with such things as book-printing, gunpowder and the ocean-going sailing-ship. Until these things appeared, the weapons, transport devices, means of communication, economic and trade methods and so on had not altered for all that great length of time. In the days of Joan of Arc they did not differ fundamentally from those of the days of Philip of Macedon when cavalry, drilled infantry, money as the common medium of business, were first coming into general use. Yet throughout all that period human affairs remained in a state of almost un-

progressive conflict, and were no nearer stability at its end than at its beginning. During those eighteen centuries western humanity — and for that matter eastern humanity — was never able to arrive at any political organisation at all. It achieved only a sort of oscillation between expansion and fragmentation.

At first it seemed as though two great imperial systems might establish themselves in the western world, first the Hellenic system and then, dominating it for a time but never really incorporating it, the Latin system. About the time of Christ the two seemed to have coalesced; the *Pax Romana* reached from the English Channel to the Tigris, and a hopeful man might not unreasonably have prophesied a thousand years of peace, brotherhood and development for all mankind north of the Sahara and west of Central Asia — for all the known world that was, as the west knew the world. That hope was vain or it was premature. For eighteen centuries history tells of these two attempts at a comprehensive political order struggling into being and falling again into division and warring disorder. The Latin system, first under Italian, then under French, German and Spanish predominance, and the Hellenic under Greeks, under Romans, under Greeks again and under Turks, wax and wane and die and come to life again. Each is there always throughout these eighteen centuries, and each is always laxly and insufficiently there. Changes of climate, the steady westward drift of the nomadism of Central Asia, and several other great influences complicate the story; but the moral for us in this present enquiry is that even given a cessation of new inventions, human communities do not necessarily and automatically adjust themselves socially and politically to their material power and resources.

It is to be noted that the earlier innovations of this new phase in human affairs which began in the fifteenth century of the Christian era, although they greatly increased and facilitated human intercourse, made at first for division rather than coöperation among men. The cheap and rapidly multiplied printed book lifted great classes of the community out of blank submissive ignorance about the world in general to the level of reading, thought and protest, and if it tended to destroy local dialects it fixed national languages and replaced the previous shallow widespread Latin-speaking common intelligence of Christendom by deeper and fuller pools of vernacular expression and mental activity. And the pressure towards unity in Christendom was further relieved by the ocean-going sailing-ship, which opened up overseas spheres of adventure and exploitation to every expansive-minded European people. The middle ages began with a phase of breaking-up and led on to a partial restoration of unity as Christendom; the Reformation marks a fresh fragmentation — into the national states.

The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a steady development of nationalist monarchies and a continuous intensification of the division of Europeans into nations. The Sultan of Roum still flourished in Constantinople in the eighteenth century in the seat of Hellenic civilisation, but the empire in Europe was a poor shadow beside France, Russia and Britain.

With the first French Revolution and the career of Napoleon Bonaparte came a transitory break-back to the Empire of Charlemagne. With the overthrow of Napoleon the process of nationalism was resumed.

The nineteenth century was before everything else the century of nationalism. Nationalism became a ruling principle in politics; it became an overpowering sentiment in men's minds. The World War arose out of it, burst over it and left it apparently more potent than ever. The German, Austrian, Russian and Turkish Empires disappeared — and left a kaleidoscope of nations. And this in the face of a fresh gathering of material forces, inventions, devices, appliances and methods, that all seem to demand political

and economic rearrangement far beyond the scale of national boundaries and nationalist limitations.

Our estimate of the forces that are now making the form of history in the coming years must depend very largely upon our estimate of the power of nationalism. We have seen how the printing-press helped it, and how to begin with, so far as Europe is concerned, even the ocean-going sailing-ship helped it to consolidate mankind into independent and hostile communities. Are we assuming too hastily that the new inventions that have abolished distance and seem likely to abolish frontiers will really do so? Or will nationalism be strong enough to reject their invitation to unity and progress, to hinder and arrest and reverse this development so far as it makes for unity, and to restore and maintain the ages-long rhythm of war, conquest, expansion and fragmentation, as the permanent condition of human life? Manifestly a long struggle between these two forces lies ahead of us and will determine the history of the next century. Which group of forces will be the ascendant one, a hundred years from now?

3. THE PRESENT NARROW NATIONALISM LIKELY TO CONTINUE FOR GENERATIONS

The factors of nationalism lie deep in human nature. The natural man is disposed to fear and dread a stranger and to do him harm if he can. He is gregarious, but only in a small and intimate and familiar group. His jealousy of everyone outside that group, particularly of everyone with a marked difference from that group in colour, language, stature, or what not, is innate.

One need not go to savage or even barbaric countries to find the proofs of this. England will give all the illustrations we need. Bickering between villages on the part of the hobbledehoys and young men lives still in the memories of old inhabitants in many parts of England, and race conflicts smoulder perpetually and sometimes break out into rioting in many British seaports. A man wants a side to be on, he wants a party to belong to, almost as much as a dog or a wolf. He is distressed without that backing. And it must be a side or a party within the compass of his mind. He must be able to feel it as real. Without education he is as incapable of thinking of humanity as his side or party as he would be of taking refuge in a hut that was big enough to contain the universe. This very limited partisanship is as essential in normal human nature as lust and the occasional impulse to murder are, and as curiosity and the desire for self-respect are, and it is just as susceptible to regulation, direction, sublimation, suppression or expansion.

It is fairly evident that under the Roman Empire this tendency of the passion for limited gregariousness to take a national form did not prevail so widely. A few people like the Jews and the European Greeks seem to have had something closely analogous to what we should now call nationalist spirit; but probably in most regions this set of impulses found its scope at a lower level in civic or provincial or tribal patriotism and prejudice. Few people within the empire seem to have cared very much for the language they spoke or for the national dress or national architecture and so forth. Such an old-established Carthaginian city as Seville would be content to see its old Gods respected side by side with the Roman Gods, and would tolerate a Roman colony at Italica a mile or so away without violent resentment. Over great parts of the empire the pride of being a Roman citizen was sufficient to override the concentration of passion upon more parochial attachments. It gave men a sense of fellowship with the free and influential everywhere,

and of superiority to the ignorant and to the outer barbarian. These parochial attachments played their rôle no doubt, but it was a rôle in definite subordination to the imperial idea.

But the idea of Roman citizenship is not the only universal idea that has struggled to impose itself upon the vast tangle of human antagonisms in the Western world. We have already referred to a second great idea that went far towards achieving the same end in Europe, the mediæval conception of Christendom in which indeed a great deal of Roman imperialism was incorporated. Here again, as recognisably a greater thing than a man's feudal duties and loyalties, was loyalty to the Church and the Cross. It was of course not a completely universal idea. Just as the Roman citizen antagonised himself to the outer Barbarian, so the good Christian eased the passion for partisanship against heretics and the heathen.

Again in recent days the Communist idea has transcended nationalism and patriotism in the minds of a considerable number of people. It directs men's imagination towards a world-wide community of workers. This Communist idea also is not a completely universal idea; it conceives of the solidarity of the wage-earner as antagonised to the private ownership of the *bourgeoisie* and the owning and ruling classes, and it presents its opposition to nationalism not as an opposition to nationalism pure and simple, but as though nationalism was an invention of the wicked capitalist and had never existed before the days of capitalism. It ignores and seems to deny the essential nature of the patriotic passion in man, and so it assumes a readiness on the part of the workers of the world to drop their national differences that has had no justification in experience. Its attitude is not one of construction and education but of liberation. The workers of the world are to unite and "cast off their chains" and all will be well with mankind. The typical Communist cartoon represents the Worker as a tremendous fellow breaking through something or gesticulating right out of something. Communism is a doctrine excellent in its repudiations, and so conceivably it may pave the way for a wider human order in the future by clearing away monarchist, aristocratic, nationalist and proprietary pretensions that would otherwise hamper the development of any world-wide reorganisation of human affairs. It may even be a necessary destructive force; and before we hear the last of it, it may extend far beyond the areas where it is at present ascendant. But in itself it will make nothing. It may break up and clear areas for a new order, but it has next to nothing to build upon these clearings. It has already been tried and found wanting in Russia, where the Bolsheviks have shown themselves quite astonishingly planless, incapable, and blind to the tough essentials of untutored human nature. In comparison with the idea of Roman citizenship or the idea of the Church in Christendom, the idea of Communism carries an extremely light and simple and largely negative teaching; yet even that has to be sustained and is sustained by a most persistent and devoted propaganda. Communism does not break out spontaneously as a natural thing; it has to be sedulously made and spread. But what do break out of natural things are the class hostility and nationalist hostility to Communist teaching.

A consideration of all these three instances enforces our argument that ideas of world peace and world organisation and so forth are extremely artificial things, things against nature. The old obstinate real natural things are the things that make up class, partisan, and nationalist passion. If mankind is ever to achieve a new order of life in a world civilisation, these natural tendencies will have to be overridden.

They have to be overridden and mitigated, or else like the native weeds of a soil they will flourish and fill the land. Tribalism and nationalism are

so to speak the natural things, and wider and more generous ideas are by comparison artificial things that have to be cultivated, cared for and protected. That is the essential consideration in this enquiry. They have no more chance to exist, without such care, than has a field of wheat without plough or seed. We who have been born into a state of comparative security and stability are all far too apt to think of these conditions as being the perfectly normal and natural qualities of life instead of their being nothing more than the result of an infinite industry of organisation and control in the past.

Now in weighing the prospects of mankind at this most interesting time, it is of primary importance for us to recognise that the idea of a world civilisation as a living possibility before mankind is confined to quite a limited number of intellectuals, and that apparently it is not making any headway with the mass of mankind at all. The world-wide enthusiasm for the League of Nations idea at the end of the war, has evaporated in the face of the disillusioning reality. The development of air transport, of the possibility of dealing with the world as one financial and economic system, the immense general convenience that would accrue from a world handling of currency and of main-line land and sea transport and of the production of staple commodities has failed as yet to evoke, and shows no signs at present of evoking, any corresponding ideals and sentiments in the general body of people who write, teach, make the newspapers, and shape the world's conceptions of action. Indeed in these more vocal and influential classes the Communist assertion of internationalism has produced a sort of terrified defensive antagonism to conceptions of world solidarity. And the very science that has opened up most of these new long-range possibilities has undermined and destroyed the theological foundation on which such broad synthetic ideas as those of Christendom and Islam were based, and so debarred them from expanding to meet the new occasions. Overriding ideas of human unity and human coöperation on a large scale do not prevail in the disordered world of to-day any more than wheat could grow in the wide and fertile fields of the State of Minnesota before the white man came, because there was then no one upon the ground who was disposed to plough and sow it.

There are no reasons for anticipating the effective imposition of this new immense conception of one world civilisation as an idea overriding all our present clanships, partisanships, race prejudices and national passions, in the face of this mental irresponsiveness. What is wanted to achieve a world unity, is something more than the pious aspirations of a few intellectuals; what is necessary is a substitution for the present teaching of patriotic prejudice in schools, colleges, newspapers, pulpits, homes and every channel of diffusion and suggestion, of a teaching at least as effective and comprehensive of the idea and the means of realising the idea of a common world organisation to keep the peace and exploit the resources of the race and of the earth collectively in the common interest. Failing such a change of general direction in the matter of education we are bound to assume that the present system of sovereign states each violently competitive against the other must continue in the future, however wasteful and socially destructive, however monstrous the war possibilities that it must ultimately realise. World unity may be thoroughly practicable and quite urgently desirable, but unless we can see the necessary effort to attain it really being made, we are not justified in assuming an anticipation of its early attainment.

Whatever our dreams and desires and fears may be we are, I think, forced back to the conclusion that the present system of competing and warring sovereign states may and probably will continue for many generations to come.

4. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS NO HELP TO WORLD UNITY

This probability is, for anyone with sufficient imagination to picture what a real civilisation might be, a very melancholy conclusion.

There is, however, a possibility that it may not be a true conclusion. Movements of the human mind will sometimes gather as rapidly as a summer thunderstorm and sweep across the world. Very swift, coming out of a handful of desert dust, was the onset of Islam; almost as swift was the storm of the Crusades.

The community of intelligent people and people of good-will throughout the world may be a stronger thing than it seems to be in these dark days. The moving forces in human life are still for the most part blind or short-sighted forces; they thrust their way and feel their way rather than take their plain and logical way. A force may drive into a blind alley. It may waste itself for a time upon inappropriate and misleading forms of expression. Then it has an effect of becoming confused and baffled. It accepts a temporary defeat until it finds some new and perhaps more effective method of realisation. Now it is hard to estimate what was the real strength behind the world-wide acclamation of President Wilson and the League of Nations in 1918–1919. It is even harder to guess what strength may lie behind the present League of Nations movement throughout the world, and how far that may not presently be devoted to more hopeful attempts at political synthesis.

The League of Nations is very typical of those blind alleys into which creative forces will sometimes pour themselves to futility. There can be little doubt that the world-wide support this organisation still receives is not due to any very strong belief in its present constitution but to a rather uncritical desire for some form, however delusive, of world unity. In many minds this desire is at once present and rather hopeless, and so they cling to this cluster of bureaus, this council of Foreign-Office agents and this debating society of second-rate politicians, on the pathetic supposition that it may presently grow into something more powerful, fundamentally different and altogether more satisfactory. It is a hope that the present writer does not share. The League of Nations as it was conceived by President Wilson and his admirers and realised at Geneva is planned on fundamentally wrong lines. Its well-meaning founders had no sense of history, no grasp of the real significance of human communities, no understanding of how they may coalesce, divide, melt into larger combinations and the like. They considered nationality not as the supreme nuisance in human affairs but as something sacred; they thought that a sovereign nation on its particular grade of synthesis, was as well-defined an individual as an individual man is on his. They transferred the leading principle of modern democracy, "one adult, one vote," straight away to the sovereign states of the world.

So while the Scotchman, the Rajput or the Welshman find neither voice nor vote for their distinctive qualities upon the League, being merged in political groupings of a higher order, the barbaric little Abyssinian world, and the decadent republic of Hayti send delegates who sit side by side with Holland and Denmark and France. So far from the League of Nations overriding nationalist limitations, it merely provides a fresh field of encounter and conflict. The line towards human unification lies not in the confirmation of national sovereignty and the recognition of every recalcitrant group of backward peoples that chooses to assert as a "nation" its dissent from the general life of mankind, but in the creation of an organised will for world controls in the great civilised population of America and Europe and

eastern Asia. It is not the difference between one people and another we want to assemble but the interests that all have in common.

For the time, however, the good-will of great numbers of people who should be working for world peace and unification is diverted into the League of Nations *cul-de-sac*, and while this is so there is little prospect of an effective movement of opinion towards the broader, more difficult constructive effort required. The League of Nations blocks the way. Yet the League of Nations is being more and more effectively criticised, and the release of the good-will in men from this unfortunate obsession may come sooner than the superficial appearances seem to indicate.

5. POSSIBILITY OF REVOLUTIONARY STORM

What are the elements in human thought and imaginative activity that might presently be favouring a new movement for world controls of currency, transport, staple production, armaments and the like? It is extremely difficult to estimate these under-currents. One might think that the financial world would be international-minded. It is, to a certain extent. But it is at its heart a curiously secret and secretive world; one cannot imagine it using its power over human resources to forward a creative propaganda and great educational development. Finance has never been an organising and creative force; it watches, estimates, counts, gets and keeps. The synthetic forces in the world have also led to great aggregations of plant and material capital. But the big industrial organisers were created by a competitive system, and competition is in their blood. When industrial capital has combined so far it has combined for competition and battle. The big industrialists find so congenial a weapon and ally in nationalism, with all its prejudices, tariffs and subsidies, that so far, in the larger states and empires, they have stuck at national and imperial boundaries. There is the closest alliance between big privately owned industrial capital and militant nationalism and imperialism, and that alliance seems likely to remain. The two will probably stand or fall together until the end.

Marxists and other socialists are always denouncing the "capitalist system." There is really no "capitalist system" in the world at all. There are a number of capitalist systems in conflict, and conflict seems to be so much in their nature that it is more probable that they will break each other up in an incurable warfare than achieve any world coalescence for the common good.

The so-called "capitalist system," divided against itself by flags and nationalism, has been fighting in a very poor fight for existence in the world since 1918. It has failed to maintain a world monetary system; its credit system is a crazy wreck of what it was before the World War; it has lost huge areas of the world that it formerly exploited. It has manifestly no common intelligence. In view of its present failure we cannot look reasonably to it for any guidance towards a world management in the future. So far from saving the world it is doubtful if Business will even succeed in saving itself.

But we have to remember that large parts of the world's surface are now under Communist or Socialist or at least nominally Communist and Socialist control. And we have to remember too that we are now much more out of touch with what is going on in the minds of Japan, China, India and Central Asia than we were half a century ago. We may reasonably guess that nowadays there are intellectual ferments at work and intellectual activities going on, there and also in the wide world of Islam, quite out of comparison with

security may be insufficient to maintain the complex system of roads, railways, docks and so forth, on which our present communications depend.

Such a decay has already happened in the case of the road system several times in history; during the decline of the Roman Empire for example. In Asia Minor, in the Balkans, in North Africa, you have regions from which a flourishing system of roads and cities has practically disappeared. Over large areas of Europe to-day the railway system is altogether less efficient than it was in 1913; it is a system in visible decay. The roads go unrepaired. Book publishing is ceasing there. The school organisations, religious organisations, show a parallel decadence, and no forces are at present apparent adequate to arrest that decadence. For a time the inertia of the progressive period may continue to carry some things forward; there may be a development of air routes, a dwindling continuation of new building, spasms of reconstructive energy, and in spite of the general misery even a further increase of population. For much of Europe the trend over a sufficient number of years seems likely to be downward for a lifetime or so at least. But in other parts of the world, in North and South America notably, there are no such clear manifestations of decline. Ku Klux Klan phenomena, in spite of their superficial parallelism with those of Fascism, may be infantile rather than decadent.

7. FRANCE DOMINANT TO-DAY

Let us take a more particular view of the present condition of the chief Powers and regions of the earth. The central figure of the European drama at the present time is France. All over the earth now we ask what does France mean, what does France intend, what will France do? France is central now just as Germany was central ten years ago, and for precisely the same reason, because she has the most definite will and because her national action is more concentrated and systematic than that of any other Power.

Her policy lies open now to the world. It is the fragmentation and destruction of Germany at any cost; by an insistence upon the terms of the Treaty of Versailles where that serves her ends, and by a disregard of that treaty where it does not do so. France seems at present to be rigidly obsessed by conceptions of foreign policy that date from pre-revolutionary days. Her contempt for any such new aspiration towards an associated action of all Powers as the League of Nations seeks to express, is open and manifest. She has resumed the alliance of the Grand Monarch. Beyond Germany cluster her dependent allies, with inflated armies trained by French officers and paid for by monies that a less realistic people would have devoted to the discharge of their American and British debts.

The question of how far France may succeed in permanently disabling and dominating Germany is a very subtle and interesting one. There are few examples in history of a language community being broken up or stamped out. Even without much printing or reading, such people as the Armenians, the Bulgars, the Czechs, the Irish and the Welsh have held to their traditions of unity and difference through long periods of suppression and even of massacre. France has got Germany down at the present time, but the prospect opens before her of having to go on year by year holding Germany down, with such assistance as her precariously balanced Polish, Czech and other allies can give her. It is not a pleasant prospect for a comfort-loving prosperity-loving people.

As remarkable as the intensity of French political vision are the limita-

tions of its range. Beyond the frontiers of Poland the vision of the Grand Monarch did not extend, and the amazing and incredible France of to-day, the France of Poincaré, still looks with vague unseeing eyes beyond the Vistula. France is disposed to regard Russia as out of effective intervention in international politics for the next twenty-five years. This may be a mistake. The hope may be father to the thought. It is the rôle of the French to make mistakes about Russia. Voltaire did. Napoleon did. The French investors between 1871 and 1917 did. France may yet find herself caught in the net of her own eastern European diplomacies, and assailed by the armies she has created there and with the munitions she has supplied. The policy of the balance of power is always a dangerous one when there is any serious risk of disturbance to that balance from some unexpected direction or unforeseen movement.

The neighbouring Latin countries may gravely affect the position of France in the future. Spain is a country with its own internal troubles very manifestly before it. It suffers from a wasting disease of war in Morocco, sustained by a military interest at home. But it must watch the spreading adventures of France in North Africa with anything but pleasure, and so too must Italy.

For France is not only obsessed by the old idea, the idea of the Grand Monarch, of dividing and dominating Germany and sustaining a complex fabric of alliance to the east of Germany to restrain her; she is also fascinated by a new idea, the idea of assimilating and using the African for her purposes. France, says M. Poincaré, is not a country of forty million people; it is a country of a hundred million people. Sixty of these millions are Arab or Berber or Negro, and most of them profess Islam. The coloured population of North Africa is being drilled and taught the elementary secrets of militarism by the French, and great strategic railways are now under construction by which these armed barbarians can be poured by the million into Europe. It is possible that the French overrate the romantic appeal to the negro mind, and that Islam may prove to be a more congenial propaganda in Africa than French citizenship. Hayti may have a gigantic replica in North Africa. And it is possible that the French underestimate the power of a hostile Britain or a hostile Italy to prevent the transportation of these dusky reinforcements across the Mediterranean. Here again the French people, in a mood of sanguine imaginativeness, seem to be facing greater dangers than they realise.

For both Italy and Spain must be deeply concerned by this development of "Black France." Italy in particular has a steadily increasing population with very limited outlets. Her population overhauls that of White France very rapidly. She may reasonably covet much of the old Roman Empire on the south shores of the Mediterranean; for she could populate that from her own loins. To the north her material welfare is deeply involved with the economic life of Central Europe, which France is destroying. Assuming, as we feel bound to do, for the reasons already given, that the game of competing sovereign states is to go on in Europe for another century or more, then by all the rules of that game when France has her need for those millions of "Black Frenchmen" Italy will be bound to strike at her under the water and in the air and on her frontiers — or pass into the position of her helpless dependant.

And it is difficult to see how bullied and restricted Spain, so weak in Europe and so interesting to her kindred in America, could keep out of the next great war that the criminal creation of "Black France" and this silly system of strategic railways so manifestly contemplates. The necessity of France will be Spain's opportunity.

8. GREAT BRITAIN *vs.* FRANCE — BREAK UP OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE POSSIBLE — HOPE IN AMERICA

Vis-à-vis to a European continent dominated by France will stand Great Britain, her age-long antagonist. There has been a tremendous change in the conditions of warfare, and probably in all this world of swaying and tottering political systems none is posed more dangerously than the British Empire. It is an empire made by the sea-going ship and particularly by the steamship, and its power in the past has been sea-power — which is no longer the decisive factor in war. The aeroplane places London at the mercy of a French air raid. It is not an hour's flying from the French coast to London; it is a good two from London to Paris. An outbreak of war between France and Great Britain would mean therefore enormous reciprocal injuries through air raids on the capitals, with a probable balance in favour of Paris. But on the other hand the economic life, the industrial and mining regions of Great Britain, are none of them as accessible to air attack as the mining and industrial regions of the north of France. At sea the French submarine attack, quite apart from the technical improvements of the intervening years, will be far more deadly than the German. There would be no bottling-up that immensely long coast, no barring the Channel. France might be able to starve Great Britain out. But the British population, as the World War showed, can exhibit very great tenacity in a conflict it believes in, and is probably quite equal to tiring out the French in an endurance competition. The French as a people have neither the high technical abilities of the Germans nor quite the same persistence on a great productive-destructive effort. We have shown good cause for supposing that Italy and Spain would come in against France in a vital struggle. And even the repetition of that magic word "Lafayette" would not prevent the United States rushing to the assistance of Great Britain if she was invaded with a black or partially black army.

A Franco-British war would indeed be so frightful for both France and England that the reader may well ask why we should take it as a serious possibility. But everybody said much the same of a German war before 1914, and it has to be faced in our forecast because the present policy of France drives logically and inevitably towards such a war as its culminating stroke. It is an empty policy if it does not finally thrust Britain out of the Mediterranean and out of North and Tropical Africa. But there are many things that may arrest in the encounter. French policy does not fully express the intellectual quality of France at the present time. It is an old-fashioned policy, and what we call France to-day, Poincaré's France, is merely the front France turns to the world and not the whole of France. Suppressed, persecuted, restrained, there is a more modern-minded and intelligent France, represented by struggling papers like the *Quotidien,* and by stifled statesmen like M. Joseph Caillaux. It is just possible that there may be political changes in France so great that this conflict may be averted.

A war between France and Great Britain would almost certainly end the thin-flung predominance of French phantasy and intrigue in the Western world. As certainly it would precipitate the fall of London from its pre-eminence in the English-speaking world. And in any case, whether there is a Franco-British war or not it seems almost inevitable that the structure of the British Empire system should undergo great strains and probably breaking strains in the coming half-century. In the face of a Balkanised Europe London sinks to the level of a second Constantinople or lower. Both London

and New York are Europe-facing cities. Their predominance is rooted in European prosperity. The British Empire did not come out of the war without grave damage. At Versailles it showed itself fatigued, and with no mental vigour to meet the heads of the new occasions. And in small things and great we still see it stiff-minded and dull. There has been something stupid and typical in the restoration of the busbies and red uniforms of the Guards in royal London, and in the general reversion to the old sickly royalism that almost all the rest of the world has abandoned. There seems to be real hostility in Great Britain to changes, or to even the discussion of constructive schemes. The patient is so ill as to refuse his medicines, and rolls over and says it will be all right presently if only he is left alone. Faust, one remembers, was to have been damned when he desired the passing moment to stay with him, and that is precisely the attitude of the conservative elements in the British Empire at the present time.

Two urgent problems advance upon the British Empire now and will not be shirked although the most desperate attempts are being made to shirk them. One is unemployment and overpopulation in Great Britain due to the permanent ruin of its European trade by French policy. Great Britain has lived by foreign trade and cannot keep its excessive population fed in any other way. It is threatened now, it has almost the sure prospect of a permanent cancer, a breeding mass of unemployed urban people congregating in all the large industrial centres of the country. It has no idea of what has to be done about this.

The second problem before Great Britain is the modernisation of the Indian population. That population can no longer be restrained by the old methods of prestige. It looks, it asks questions, it reads newspapers, it resists and makes trouble. The modernisation of India, the making of a new India, might be the tremendous and fascinating task of the best brains in Britain and India. But the conventions of the British ruling class, its class jealousy of education and the provincial and pedantic traditions that rule Oxford and Cambridge, have so prevented the development of social and political education in Great Britain that there is now no sufficient supply of educated and public-spirited men even to deal with its problems at home, much less so to deal with the tangled and impatient problems of India. I do not see anything in progress to avert a developing series of confused insurrectionary thrusts in India. This may mean disasters to the Indian population, but the question before us now is not whether things are likely to be good or evil things but whether they are likely to happen. They seem likely to happen, and we have no reason to suppose that France will not take the fullest advantage of such trouble in covert aid to the antagonists of Great Britain and even in open attack.

One turns to a brighter prospect in the new world. There may be very grave social and economic struggles before these new populations, but one does not see there vast armies, nearly exhausted resources, education decaying and swarming masses of urban unemployed. One does see vast areas of country, with enormous undeveloped wealth, the prospect for a long time of plentiful food and reasonable security for life, growth and creative effort. A growing artistic and scientific impulse appears, particularly in the United States of America. Within fifty years America may be leading the world in art, science and literature. Before another half-century North and South America may be the recognised heads and centres of the English-speaking and Spanish-speaking civilisations. Some realisation of pan-American dreams may have organised a permanent peace between them all. We are probably in the opening phase of another great westward movement of the centres of civilisation, comparable to the drift from Asia and Egypt and Greece towards

Italy and Gaul round and about the beginnings of the Christian era, and their drift northward and westward in Europe at the Renaissance.

It is a disagreeable thing for an English writer with patriotic prepossessions to face the possibility of his motherland sinking to a secondary place in a reconstituted world, but it has to be admitted that the trend of the facts points all in that direction. But this does not necessarily involve a subordination of the English traditions or of the English language and the English strain. The old nest may be left as the still older nests in Friesland and Schleswig and Denmark were left long ago, but the English-speaking people may live on in a unified federation of communities round and about the earth.

9. POSSIBILITIES OF NEW CIVILISATION IN ASIA AND EASTERN EUROPE — A FINAL FORECAST

If we go on in our survey from America across the Pacific we come to Japan, a teeming, highly intelligent country, disabled for a time by a great natural convulsion, and threatened in the near future it may be with grave social trouble. But the World War has been of inestimable benefit to all the peoples of eastern Asia because it has put an end for an indefinite time, and perhaps a permanent end, to the aggressions of the Europeans upon Asia. Both Japan and China will now probably be allowed to work out their own problems with a greatly reduced encumbrance of European intrigue. The United States of America has always sustained a policy of non-intervention in Chinese politics combined with a keen educational and industrial propaganda. It is probable that the Americans will be sufficiently influential and powerful to restrain Japan from any extensive imitation of European imperialism at the expense of China. China has behind her a century of stimulating indignities and misfortunes; she may have before her a century of opportunity.

It is hard for us who live in the western European tradition to imagine how this far more ancient social and economic system may react to the development of the new means of communications as they really penetrate the vast areas and masses of the land. We are too apt to imagine that the political and financial devices of western Europe that have appeared in response to these innovations are devices of universal applicability. Had we retained our ascendency we should no doubt have done our best to put all Asia into the misfitting garments of our own peculiar expedients. But now that our ascendency declines, the prestige of our representative government, our private capitalism and our peculiar educational methods will decline also, and the Asiatic peoples will be more disposed to contrive their own characteristic adaptations to the railway, the telegraph, the newspaper and so forth. The world before us, whatever its confusions and fragmentations, is still likely to be a world of more rapid interchanges than the world of the past, and we may see a number of parallel social and political and economic expedients of an extensive sort going on in China and Japan, and in India, all more or less consciously and wilfully seeking to frame out distinctive types of a new and larger community. But it seems to me that the population of India is too various and divided by far too many linguistic barriers and too unequally educated, to achieve any such rapid unification as might be possible in China. One vast area of the world, Russia, carrying with it most of northern Asia, is already knowingly committed to such an experiment as I am here foreshadowing. We hear much clamour about the undeniable failure of its first crude and harsh trial of Communism, but it would be the most stupid thing in the world to assume that that failure

involves a necessary return to the social, political and business methods of 1914. The experimenting Government is still there; the experimenting spirit is still there and the imperative necessity for experiment; the idea of creating fresh institutions boldly to replace traditional ones must by this time have saturated the minds of the great majority of that exceptionally original and intelligent population. The dull pertinacity of France is driving vast multitudes of German people into the same realisation at which the Russians arrived in 1917, that for them our present system of social and economic organisation has nothing but evil, and that they may as well perish experimentally as perish without an effort. The first Russian Communism has failed. But between the Rhine and the Pacific still lies the possibility, the high possibility, of a new Communist or collectivist attempt, which may have learnt much, which may have learnt the need of strenuous education, of deliberation in construction, of compromise and of a humane tolerance of contradiction. If Russia should after all struggle through to an educational republic, more collectivist than any which has hitherto existed, its survival, its success, would have a tremendous gravitational pull upon the broken but resistent German mass in Europe and a very great exemplary influence upon China and Japan, which are still feeling their way towards the solution of their problem of modernisation.

And so peering into the dim possibilities of a century ahead, it seems probable to one amateur prophet at least, that most of the leading stars of world politics to-day, Imperial France, Imperial London, Italy and indeed the entire western and central European constellation, once stars of the first magnitude, will be missing then or shrunken to secondary importance in the heavens of human affairs, and that instead of the old worked-out story of their rivalries and ascendencies which *These Eventful Years* has had to relate, it will be a new story, a story telling how greater and more elaborately organised communities of a new type, vast federal unifications, an Anglo-Spanish, a Chino-Japanese, a Slavo-Germanic community, have come to dominate the earth.

It may be, a hundred years hence, that it will be a modernised Russia and its associated peoples, a renascent and federated Japan and China and a confederation or federation of the English, Spanish and Portuguese-speaking communities in America and round and about the world, which will be taking the lead in the last step towards human unification, the establishment of the world peace on the only possible basis for such a peace, namely upon universal free trade, a common world currency, a world control of the production of staples, an extension of a world parcel-post to cover the transport of all goods by land or sea at fixed rates, and a merger of sovereignty in a world control to maintain minimum standards of education and welfare and a watch upon the movements and expansion of population and a common supreme court, a final court of appeal for all the world.

CHAPTER XXXVII

GERMANY'S PLACE IN THE SUN

By Maximilian Harden

Editor of *Die Zukunft*, Berlin.

On January 10, 1871, the reëstablishment of the German Empire was proclaimed in the Royal Palace of Versailles, in the Hall of Mirrors, dedicated *"à toutes les gloires de la France."* The Imperial rôle passed from the house of Habsburg-Lorraine which, with its Austrian and Hungarian domains, stayed out of the new empire, to the kings of Prussia of the Hohenzollern family. They, with the heads of the other German states, according to the words of the Federal Constitution, joined to form an "Eternal Union." That this new formation, which fulfilled the longing for unity of the German people, was proclaimed in the Palais of the Grand Monarch Louis XIV, with the capital of vanquished France near by, was entirely in keeping with the spirit of an age whose pious faith believed it heard in the victories of battle and in the decisions of wars the voice of God in all its forceful distinctness. It is worthy of note that there was disagreement between divine right and genius in this hour of the birth of the new empire. Because the old King William I had demanded the title of "Emperor of Germany" while the Chancellor, Count Bismarck, had successfully insisted upon the more modest one of "German Emperor," the King let that Minister, to whom alone he owed the Imperial Crown, unsparingly feel his displeasure before the assembled German rulers and generals.

CIRCUMSTANCES UNDER WHICH THE EMPIRE WAS FOUNDED

Under such circumstances the "Eternal Union" came into existence. As the fruit of a successful war that was only made possible by cleverly flattering the hopelessly demented Louis II of Bavaria, and after a bitter struggle of monarchical claims against the wisdom of statesmanship, the "Union" was proclaimed in the enemy's country, amid the ringing of bells and the thunder of cannon, at a military meeting from which the German citizen was barred. Seven years later the German Empire was internally and externally so strengthened and recognised that Count Bismarck could act in European matters in the rôle of "honest broker" and preside at the Congress of Berlin. This Congress temporarily settled the dispute in the Near East between Russia, Great Britain, Turkey, Austria-Hungary and the Balkan nations; it gave permission to the Viennese Government of the Emperor and King, Francis Joseph, to occupy the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1882 the Russian diplomat, Count Peter Schuvalov, wrote: "The most dangerous threat of European peace will some day come from Bosnia. I am absolutely convinced that there is the match which will set ablaze the powder." In 1888 William I died, and 89 days later the Emperor Frederick, dying from cancer of the throat, was succeeded by his oldest



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Above: Doorn Castle, the refuge of William II since 1920.

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Left: The late Empress Augusta Victoria of Germany.

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The ex-Emperor William II of Germany as he appeared after his flight to Holland, and the abandonment of his Imperial prerogatives.

© Wide World Photos

The widowed Princess Hermine of Reuss, who in 1921 became the second wife of the ex-Emperor William.

GERMAN ROYALTY IN EXILE

son, William, upon the double throne of German Emperor and King of Prussia. Twenty months later William drove Count Bismarck from his positions, and made the fateful decision not to renew the German-Russian Reinsurance Treaty. The result of this decision and of the Berlin policy based thereupon was the Franco-Russian Alliance which was solemnly concluded at Cronstadt, and after which Germany felt itself threatened by a war on two fronts. On the twenty-fifth anniversary of the German Empire (1896) I said in my newly started weekly, *Die Zukunft* (The Future): "If they in Berlin will keep governing as they have been for the last six years, a 'League of Nations' will be formed and so destroy our mighty empire as Napoleon's empire was destroyed." In 1898 Bismarck, who had stood in irreconcilable opposition to the policy of William II, died. During November, 1918, one of the German Princes, Max of Baden, announced the abdication of the Emperor without even awaiting his consent. On June 28, 1919, two representatives of the German Republic were forced to sign in the Hall of Mirrors of the Royal Palace of Versailles the Treaty of Peace by which the decision of a victorious league of nations took from the German nation not only the territory gained in three wars, but also important sections of the eastern part of Prussia conquered by Frederick the Great, besides burying the empire founded on January 18, 1871. The German dynasties stepped down from their thrones, their "Eternal Union" having lasted for forty-eight years.

The Holy Roman Empire of Germanic nations did not really die in the summer of 1806 when the Habsburg Emperor Francis laid down the crown of the Carolingians, in order to save the dynastic power of Austria. For a long time it had possessed only a shadowy existence, and it had never recuperated from the powerful blow which Luther struck when he freed the state from the guardianship of the Church. The figure of the Caesar of ancient Rome and that of the apostolic prince of modern Rome, the Pope, had passed combined through history, and in spite of their struggle for supremacy, had remained the indissoluble elements of a dynastic unit. Since the time when the powerful figure of Luther (not the earliest reformer but the most successful) arose between them, times had changed; the grayish-brown clouds of the Middle Ages parted, and the fresh breeze of spring from the land of cool reason destroyed the phantom of a *Sacra Caesarea Majestas.* It is true, all the arts of the divine myth were applied in order to secure faithful adoration to that dynasty which happened to be ruling; but through the earthquake of the English and especially the French Revolutions the hearth of divine right was demolished, and the sunrise of American freedom showed on the horizon a new ideal of the State. The Holy Roman Empire of the Germans disintegrated, became the laughing-stock of the neighbouring peoples; no Emperor ever succeeded in maintaining the semblance of power together with its reality. Even the greatest of them, Napoleon Bonaparte, did not succeed even with the blessings of the Pope; this son and exponent of the revolution decorated his brow with the diadem of Charles the Great, felt himself the executive head of Christianity and at the same time kept up the pagan dream of Cyrus and Alexander. In spite of this fact he was only the gladiator of the past Roman rule, and because he wanted to rule the world and subject it to his will, the world armed itself against him. From Passy, Franklin had written to Cooper in 1777: "In Paris everybody believes that the cause of America is that of humanity and that our struggle for freedom secures it also to the inhabitants of Europe." A quarter of a century later no human being was able to force once more an animating breath into the decrepit body of the Universal Empire. If the German Empire, founded in 1871, wanted to strike root and continue, it would have had to free itself

of all the pomp and tinsel of an old World Empire; neither could it wear the spiked helmet or the tight-fitting uniform of Prussian discipline. Its life was in danger as soon as its emperor resembled an imperator who extends his hand over the whole world and suns himself in the deceptive halo of omnipotence and omnipresence.

GROWING PRESTIGE OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE

This danger made itself felt at the threshold of the twentieth century. Round about the barracks built by the soldier kings of the Hohenzollern family, cities grew up, whose rapid development and restlessly hustling life reminded the observer of gold-mining camps. The continuous military drill, carrying its influence far into the business class and even into the early stages of the Trade Unions and the Social-Democratic movement, had established in the masses a discipline hardly ever achieved anywhere else, and built up a working machine that excited the wonder, but also the distrustful fear, of the surrounding world. Ever since the German peoples had united and the tariff walls between them had disappeared, the world-market belonged to German industry. Prussia remained not only the teacher in the military field, but its initiative was also far in advance of that of all the other federal states in agriculture, stock-raising, beet-sugar production and agricultural industries of all kinds, on the big estates of its eastern provinces as well as on the peasant holdings, in the organisation of industry and in social legislature (old age, sickness, accident insurance, factory inspection, etc.). In the Rhineland and Westphalia it possessed the industrially most important districts. The annexation of Alsace and a part of Lorraine had given to the empire in its hour of birth, new raw products, iron, coal, potash, and strengthened its textile industry. Scientific and commercial work were brought into close union, unheard of till then. Every industrial group, both agricultural and industrial, acquired a staff of engineers. The laboratory became the sanctuary of factories, mines and foundries. And this industry promoted by science and engineering was financed by strong credit-banks, whose representatives on the board of directors took part in the management of the various corporations. Everything was young, there was hardly any rubbish of the past to be removed, and since everywhere new things had to be acquired without respect and without making use of the old, the most modern was also the cheapest. Soon a large merchant and passenger fleet was built, a picture of luxurious wealth; as well as a navy, daringly modelled after the British. This strong, continuously disciplined organism, whose power could not be entirely employed within the relatively narrow borders of the empire and the unfruitful African colonies and which therefore breathed too loudly, longed for "activity" in larger spheres. As one might say, a rational mysticism clouded the mind with the dream first of an industrial and then of an imperial expansion. The empty but pompous and dangerous word, "Weltpolitik" (world policy) had been so often thrown by the Emperor into the masses that they began to believe that it really meant something. And outside of Germany in other parts of our planet, which those who are not used to cosmic contemplation call "the world," a feeling of insecurity of territorial possession began to develop. Was there not here an invitation to favourable action?

EMPEROR WILLIAM OFFENDS THE ENGLISH BY ENCOURAGING THE BOERS

Great Britain fought its struggle with the Boers of the South African republic. The war showed the ugly face of the struggle of a greedy capitalist nation against a peaceful and pious peasant folk, which it robbed of the power and control over broad tracts of gold-mining lands.

Thus it appeared everywhere to the masses, which still live within the psychology of the cheap novel, and which therefore did not understand that in the figures of Cecil Rhodes and Paul Kruger entirely different contrasts and cultural necessities were embodied than, for instance, in those of the usurer-hyena and his victim. The melodramatic temperament of William II, always impatiently angry if other monarchs and statesmen were talked of more than he, even if it were only for days, always on the look-out for a new star rôle, thought to find in the storm of confused indignation the cue for a return into the limelight, and gave vent to his feelings in a telegram which not only rudely condemned the English action, but which also seemed to offer German aid to the President of the Transvaal Republic. A long resounding cry of British anger answered across the Channel and the North Sea. The grandson of Queen Victoria, who had soon after his ascension to the throne turned from Prussia to England, who had too ardently bid for the favour of the Court of St. James, who had aspired to the rank of an English admiral; with one stroke this man disappointed, in an hour of British embarrassment, all hopes. Never was he forgiven for this brusque telegram. He received Mr. Rhodes in Berlin and in a conversation offered as an excuse for his interference, his ignorance of the actual facts; he refused to meet the cunning old Kruger and the Boer generals; a war plan was sent to London which "would secure" victory for Field-Marshal Lord Roberts and his Chief of Staff, Kitchener; pronounced and made evident his sympathy for England; but in vain. To be sure, the flood of wild anger receded, but the impression of bitter disappointment was not to be eradicated. In France the anti-English popular wrath vented itself much more loudly in the streets and in the *beuglants* of Montmartre, the Queen had been coarsely abused in songs and cartoons, the Prince of Wales forced to stay away from his beloved Paris. All this was forgotten, but the wound did not heal which the German Emperor had inflicted on the self-respect of every Englishman.

EMPEROR WILLIAM OFFENDS THE CHINESE

This was not the only harm which the vanity of this man had already done to the German people in the field of international politics. Although he knew nothing of the religious, moral, cultural and political life of the Far-Eastern peoples, and took Buddha, the morally purest, psychically finest figure in all sacred books, for a vicious demon of destruction, his blind, deaf, but unfortunately not dumb megalomania felt itself chosen for the office of the saviour of the Orient. In the palaces of royalties and in the state chancelleries he had displayed a drawing, without the slightest artistic value, which called upon all the nations of Europe to fight under the leadership of Germany against the yellow race and their Buddha. Just why the Germans should be the leaders in this struggle was just as incomprehensible as the absence of America, to whom the "yellow peril" is much nearer than to any state of Europe.

Besides this, every clear-thinking person feels that the preservation of the white race, its protection against contagion by foreign blood, is a matter

of duty, but that the war cry against the swarms of Asiatic peoples is forbidden by reason and morality. To the Emperor, however, the noise and echo of this cry was not loud enough. In the year 1898, upon the advice of Admiral Tirpitz, he forced China to sign a treaty leasing the Kiaochow territory, in the province of Shantung, to the German Empire for a period of 99 years. He thus wanted to create in eastern Asia a trading centre, to appear with demands just where according to all human reckoning a struggle for leadership between the Russians and the British and a competition for markets between England and America must develop. What way the clear business mind should thread through the tangle of such a variety of interests, was shown by the wise policy of America which did not demand or take any Chinese territory for itself, which did not offend the sensibilities of the Chinese, who are easily irritated behind their external calm; and just thereby gave its commercial influence the greatest possible opportunity. But William's imperious theatricalism could not accustom itself to such gentle methods. He had used the murder of a missionary as a means of getting the treaty. He wanted to use the rebellion of the Chinese Boxers of the Ta-chuan secret organisation, to increase his power. Since the German Ambassador was one of the victims of the rebellion, satisfaction had to be demanded according to the general custom.

In addition the Emperor aimed at a rapid strengthening of his prestige. The drawing that he had made, was to become reality: an international army under German command was to march to Peking and suppress the rebellion against the foreigners. He did not rest until he had obtained, by flattery, the consent of those Powers opposed to the plan, and secured the supreme command for General Waldersee. He had at one time given orders to his brother Henry, when he had embarked for Eastern Asia, "to strike with the mailed fist." Now the troops which were embarked for the second expedition heard much stronger words from his mouth. They were never to give quarter, make no prisoners, just to let force, power and lead speak without mercy, and to see to it that for a thousand years the German name should spread such terror in the Middle Empire as that of Attila and his Huns did in the west. The world listened and, terrified, asked what was going to happen. Nothing happened. The actual drama which was to be played proved much too weak for the pompous *mis-en-scène*. Military operations on a large scale of course never developed; the general who before his departure had been crowned with laurels and celebrated as a conqueror in the various German cities, was glad when he was able to return without having had too much friction with other jealous and ambitious leaders; and, after lengthy negotiations about the ceremonials, a Chinese prince bowed in apology before the throne of the German Emperor. Of Shantung, of all the technically excellent and expensive improvements, railways, harbours, cables, official buildings, barracks and archives, nothing has remained to the German Empire except woe-begone memories. The astronomical instruments, masterworks of Asiatic metal-work, which had been taken from the gardens of the Emperor at Peking and placed before the terrace in the Park of Sans Souci at Potsdam, also had to be transported back to their old place at Germany's expense. Of all the noise, nothing remained except the echo of the speech in which the head of the German nation had urged his warriors to imitate the barbarity of the Huns. Even on the battlefields of the World War echoes of that speech were heard, charging a whole people with the guilt for which a frivolous buffoon was alone responsible.

EMPEROR WILLIAM FLATTERS THE TURKS

But unfortunately there was another after-effect. For the third time within a few years one of the mighty disturbed the peace of the world. In Damascus, at the grave of Sultan Saladin, William II, who had always loudly emphasised his Christian piety, not only praised this anti-Christian Calif as a pure radiant light of humanity, but had also offered himself as patron saint and ally to the three hundred million Mahommedans. Within a short period he had raised a wild war cry against China and brusquely took sides with the Boers, Turkey, the Far East, South Africa. At the same time all kinds of significant and insignificant symptoms betrayed his aim to obtain the good-will of America by flattery. And he, who by alternate threats and flatteries disturbs the peace of the sluggish "Old World," is heir to the conquerors who by means of wars created Prussian monarchical power and the German Empire under Prussian leadership. He blocks the track on which the Hague Conference, a creation of Russian financial needs, tries to safeguard the way to a demilitarised peace. With growing haste he builds a war machine of such size, strength of armour and artillery, as no Continental state has yet aimed at or achieved, and lets not only the contents of a champagne bottle but also the effusion of his rhetoric foam over the bow of each ship as it is launched. He favours and personally urges the continuation of the Anatolian railway as far as Bagdad and the Persian Gulf, where he also prepares wharves for his merchant marine; thus wanting a dry way to India. On this globe he cries, nothing can be decided in the future without the assistance of the German Emperor. Is he perhaps trying to force decisions by his will in the lands of the Mahommedans, Hindus, Chinese, Kaffirs and in the realms of Neptune, whose trident he has desired? Vexation, distrust, fear, answer the question in the affirmative. All this talking and gesticulating that from a distance appears to be action, accentuates the thought that a new imperator desired to bring the inhabitants of the earth under his rule. Wherever the eye glances, it sees, like Dante's dreamer of a universal monarchy, the eagle of the Kaiser hover, an emperor of a type hardly conceivable in the present day.

WILLIAM CONTRASTED WITH OTHER RULERS

Queen Victoria and the Emperors William I and Francis Joseph had followed the advice of the Tsar Nicholas Pavlovitch: "Every monarch must try to arrange his life and actions so that the privileges and advantages of his position are pardoned by his people and not looked upon as guilt." No matter whether Tories or Whigs formed the Government, Victoria quietly spun, behind heavy curtains, the fine and strong yarn of her policy which was almost always far-sighted, useful and never too effeminate for the British Empire. Behind heavy gobelin tapestries the ice-cold Jesuit pupil, Francis Joseph, listened to and decided upon new ruses and intrigues which promised to prevent the destruction of the lands of the Habsburgs, acquired by marriage and war, and inhabited by Czechs, Germans, Magyars, Serbs, Poles, Italians, Croats, Slovaks, Rumanians, Slovenes, Ruthenians, by Roman and Greek Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Mahommedans, and Jews; and this last important Habsburg remained until his old age, in spite of the expulsion of his imperial power from Italy and Germany, a representative figure, disarming hate by his sense of duty and his hard work,

claiming respect through his dignified calmness. Once in Gastein, when he complained about the obtrusive curiosity of the public, old William answered him: "Wait a few minutes, when Bismarck comes no one will pay attention to us." Such was the first German Emperor of the Franconian Dynasty of Hohenzollern, or at least, such was he after the popular anger had forced him in 1848 to flee to London in disguise, where he came to know the beneficial influence of the English Monarchy, beneficial even to the dynasty. He was not a constitutionalist, was neither politically nor intellectually educated, nor even "great," as his grandson boasted in his family vanity, but a clean man with the unkempt and genuine intellect of a peasant, a noble bearing, a good soldier, who did his monarchical duties, as well as all others, conscientiously, always remaining modestly in the background, with thankful pride that his Prime Minister was the leader in the councils of statesmen. The third Tsar, Alexander, was a serious, ponderous, plump Great-Russian from the land of the black soil, the almost invisible and silent moujik autocrat who, in the full consciousness of his royal and pontifical power, never desired that the Ruler (*Gossudar*) and the Little Father (*Batyushka*) should be openly talked about. His son, the second Nicholas, a reed, moved by every gust of wind, a weakling, who often became brutal in order not to be, and not to appear, too conscious of his weakness and who still oftener forgot the silent vow, not to lose the virtue of a gentleman on the throne, so seldom found. Even the deceitful, cunning despot Abdul Hamid, Sultan of the Turks and Calif of all Mahommedans, always kept himself in the background and never drew attention by his pantomime or rhetoric before the many walls of Yildiz. For the first time since the nations, the masses, no longer merely accompanied the action, as the chorus did in the Greek tragedy, with consenting whispers or softly warning murmurs, or sometimes even after long intervals with angry outcries, for the first time since they themselves became the *dramatis personae*, there stood directly in front in the limelight of the stage, one who wanted to be daily seen, heard, mentioned, take part in every decision, outshine every mortal, be admired as a wonder of the world in the glory of omnipresence and omniscience.

WILLIAM'S PRETENSIONS TO IMMENSE VERSATILITY

He appeared before the world in ever-changing costumes, which were always bright and glittering. He wrote poetry, and composed the music to it; sketched, painted, modelled statues, designed ground-plans and the internal architecture of cathedrals, palaces, war and merchant vessels; solved single-handed religio-historical, theological, social, pedagogical and cultural problems of all kinds; gave brusque orders to artists and scholars, Assyriologists and actors, artillery officers and musical conductors; he was general and theatrical manager, preacher and engineer, head of the Church and army-tailor, all in one. How cuneiform writing was to be deciphered, the line of a subway laid, the Bible interpreted, Mozart's *Sarastro* or Wagner's *Amfortas* costumed, a dreadnought or destroyer built, a monument erected, the education of the youth organised, physical and mental hygiene developed, the life of woman and of wage-earner regulated in these altered times: everything the wisdom of His Majesty decided. For his authority came from God. The King and Emperor resembles other mortals only externally. By the Grace of God he was called to the highest office and God spoke through the Emperor's mouth. The formula "Dei gratia," which has perverted a world of Apostolic humility into one of monarchical arrogance, now hovers in

other empires, which are nearer the mother soil of local and moral theocracy, merely as an honourable fiction around the dome of the edifice of the State. Again and again the Emperor calls himself by the Grace of God the protector of the world's peace. The hope of this talkative individual to gain confidence in this way is vain. A man who sits down in a restaurant laying two revolvers and a sword on the table-cloth and then calls out with a stentorian voice that he will see to it that order is preserved under all conditions; such a peculiar gentleman certainly does not make himself popular. Why the continuous talk of the "sharp sword" and the "dry powder," why the strengthening of armed forces on land and sea, if the preservation of peace is aimed at? On a previous occasion a Hohenzollern, a bearer of the Prussian crown, had accumulated military power, which his son Frederick II applied to extend his power. The world had already once before heard the expression "*L'Empire, c'est la paix*" (the Empire stands for peace); it came from the France of Louis Napoleon, which afterwards let loose the furies of war on two continents. Powder and sword are always and everywhere a danger, no matter how peacefully their owner may act. And had not, according to the public opinion of Europe and America, the generals and admirals of this Kaiser brought to naught all the plans which had been made by the Hague Peace Conference for the purpose of demilitarising the Continent?

Burdened with such suspicions, honoured, feared, admired, but nowhere beloved, Germany stepped over the threshold of the twentieth century. When its second decade had begun, the red sign of war dominated the horizon.

That it did not grow pale but developed to a flame, to a world conflagration, was due to four main circumstances: a change of ruler on the throne of Great Britain and Ireland took place twice within ten years; the steadily increasing British-German rivalry (navy, trade, Islam); the struggle over Morocco; the Russo-Japanese War with its reaction upon Europe (resurrection of the Austro-Russian struggle for dominance in the south-east Balkan Wars, and liquidation of the Osmanli and the Habsburg Empires). But to be able to understand how these circumstances could and perhaps must bring about the World War, a glance back upon the rise of this feeling of distrust is indispensable.

RELATIONS BETWEEN EDWARD VII AND WILLIAM II

Edward VII was more fit for prudent enjoyments than for strong actions, and only flattery could call him a great statesman. What gave him precedence among monarchs and superiority in his intercourse with them was the wealth of his experiences. He had seen men of all classes, ranks, and occupations at close range, sometimes wound himself through dangerous difficulties which crown princes are generally spared, and picked up the every-day tricks of industrial captains and business men of the most different calibre, from the Hirsches, Beits and Cassels up to those like Rhodes. *Eadweard* was the name at one time given by the Anglo-Saxons to the administrator of their common property. Edward did full justice to his name. Nowhere in the large territory of the British Empire was there a more capable business man or a more assiduous commercial traveller. He created a new monarchical type: the king who visits his customers and who makes his competitor's life miserable, and brings a coinable business transaction home from every trip. A sure sense of tact and a natural amiability permitted him, just as he wished, to be as majestic as an old Spanish king and as cleverly gay as the most unscrupulous Parisian boulevardier. He could not live with-

out the theatre, in fact hardly without the special smell of the stage; but never made his life and kingly office theatrical. This alone was sufficient to differentiate him from his nephew William in Berlin. The latter had moreover insulted him by rude remarks, rapidly carried to Buckingham Palace, about affairs with women and cards, had irritated him by his demigod attitude whose Olympian consciousness seemed to pose for the movies. The uncle knew his nephew as only one relative, who through long association has had whisperings of intimate affairs, may know another. He knew that "Willy" did not want to be reminded of the British blood of his mother, Victoria, the Princess Royal, that he had always been in a state of secret or open enmity with this mother, had blackened her everywhere as also her husband the crown prince and later Emperor Frederick, and her brother Edward. He had caused them all to be suspected as malicious intriguers, and had represented England as a monster crouching in the mists of its archipelago, whose octopus tentacles endeavoured to grasp mankind and choke it. Often the King had been informed that the restless tongue of the Emperor was speaking boastingly of the day when his navy would do what was long ago desired by all nations, namely put an end to British tyranny. Edward, who during his years as Prince of Wales has heard many a bombastic Falstaff or Pistol brag in this place or that, does not take this Potsdam swaggering too seriously. William tries to pilot Russia and France as far as possible from the highway of English policy, to picture this British policy in the United States as one of haughty domination, and to settle accounts with an isolated England, no longer sure of its transportation and food supply. "Who made the Germans judges of the nations?" asked John Salisbury, the secretary of Chancellor Becket, when a German Emperor, blinded by the splendour of Roman Emperorship, stood before the gates of Milan. Edward took up the old question; and the following sentence became his political programme: "Germany must not be the world judge nor even allowed to hold supremacy on the Continent." That is why the *Entente Cordiale* with France and its extension to Russia became necessary. Edward did not want to achieve his aim through force of arms or bloody sacrifices, but wanted to write his name in the book of history as that of the king peacemaker. His encirclement of Germany was to be defensive or rather prohibitory; it was not thought of aggressively and the advice of Admiral John Fisher, to send the German fleet to the bottom of the sea without a declaration of war, would never have been followed by Edward. Because he knew his nephew and his entire susceptibility to theatrical effects, he could at the last moment have prevented the World War whose conditions he was aiding to bring about, without actually desiring it. He ascended the throne too late and died too soon.

WILLIAM II AND ALEXANDER III OF RUSSIA

"I beg only one favour of you — beware of your English relatives and don't let yourself be intimidated by what my father tells you!" (His father was at that time Crown Prince of the German Empire and was later the Emperor Frederick.) "He is entirely under the influence of my mother, who, herself influenced by the English Queen, induces him to see everything through English glasses. He abuses the Russian Government in an unheard of way, represents you and your government as liars, and I vainly seek for words to express the hatred with which he tries to paint you as black as possible. But these Britishers by accident have forgotten me; and I swear, my dear cousin, that I will do everything possible for you and that I will keep all of

my vows. . . . In a few days the Prince of Wales (afterwards King Edward) will be here. I am not at all enthusiastic about this visit, because (excuse me, he is your brother-in-law!) this dishonourable and intriguing person will doubtless try to hurry along the Bulgarian affair here (for which the Turk will pray that Allah send him to hell) or meddle behind the scenes about political affairs with the ladies at court. I shall try to keep my eye on him as much as possible. I gave Count Dolgoruky some interesting information concerning the number and names of the Hindu regiments which have been concentrated in Rawal-Pindi for a review in the presence of the Emir. The text and cartoon of Russia in the last number of *Punch* were extremely fresh. All this must be considered together! He who has ears, can hear! May the Mahdi throw them all together into the Nile! . . . The entire train of the Prince of Wales says that it is absolutely necessary that sooner or later England and Russia fight each other. From this moment on I began to take notes in order to grasp every bit of information about everything concerning mobilisation in England, about everything that is necessary for you to know. I shall also immediately report my findings to Dolgoruky. I am on very close terms with the English military attaché, who tells me things which are unknown to the others. . . . My mother, who otherwise has dreadful fear of everything that is called 'war,' said to me yesterday when the chances of peace were being discussed: 'Under no circumstances can we have peace; we must have war, it is our duty!' I suspect that this is the view of the English Queen and her family."

WILLIAM'S EFFORTS TO DISCREDIT ENGLAND

These are fragments of letters which William wrote to Alexander III in 1884 and 1885. Thus he spoke to a stranger, a sovereign unfriendly to things German, about his parents who, according to human reckoning, would ascend the Imperial throne to-morrow. So close did his obtruding vanity bring him to the border of treason, into babbling about things for which a tribunal would have sentenced an ordinary citizen to penal servitude. Alexander's wife (and only intimate confidant) was the sister of the Princess of Wales, later Queen Alexandra of Great Britain. The contents and often the wording of such and similar letters continued for thirty-four years, extending into the reign of Nicholas Alexandrovitch, and Edward knew about them. He knew how unceasingly his nephew, whether Prince, Crown Prince or Emperor, was agitating against England, how he was skilfully seeking to draw Russia and France, *les nations alliées et amies* since 1892, from the British into the German sphere. He could compare these letters with those written to him and to his mother by William, and observe that his dear relative, while secretly trying to isolate England and also even to discredit it in America, conspiring at Windsor Castle and Buckingham Palace against the Franco-Russian Alliance as being the greatest danger to peace, was on the other hand courting the favour of the insular kingdom by flattery and even by posing as its "only dependable friend in Anglophobe Germany."

William, however (the interesting book of his Court Marshal, Count Robert Zedlitz Trützschler, *Twelve Years at the German Imperial Court*, contains new proofs), always claimed to be the victim of the increasing intrigues of his uncle, whom he called "a very Satan," who "entertained a special hatred against him," and who had "bribed with English money, not only the entire Press of Europe, but even that of America" against him. With the exception of this last foolish accusation, which would have reduced or cut off the American royalties of the clever business man of Doorn, we find this

empty folly repeated in the miserable book of the ex-Emperor, which deserves no attention, because it does not present a single incident correctly, or with the courage of honest truthfulness. According to his statements he was always the innocent victim of other people's blindness or ill-will; he, who in the secure position of his power was always the most brutal, in every danger the most cowardly of all mortals, always wanted what was good and useful, but was always hindered in the execution of his plans and mostly by his Ministers. All this is a fabric composed of vain illusions and conscious untruths. Even the Court Marshal relates how this Emperor rudely shut up his Chancellor and how he heard him say to a professor, "All difficulties arise because my subjects instead of doing what I order them to do, want to think for themselves." Too long, and too often the citizens (whom this self-adorer, in spite of Constitution and ballot dared to call subjects) renounced the elementary right and the elementary duty of free-born men, of erect stature, the duty and the right, "to think for themselves." And almost without exception the Ministers of William acted as servilely as (according to the testimony of Count Zedlitz) the fourth Imperial Chancellor, Prince Bülow, who submitted silently when the Emperor brusquely interrupted him with a remark that permitted no doubt or opposition, and who later on unobtrusively wormed his way back into the conversation. This is the state of affairs in a Sultanate; and when this system, incompatible with the spirit of the age, attempted to spread domineeringly across the Orient, the otherwise reticent, sickly and weak Russian Minister Sazonov spoke with biting sarcasm of the "Califate of Berlin." In Berlin a monarch was strutting about, who felt himself destined to rule the world.

THE NATURE OF BRITISH WORLD HEGEMONY

Besides and behind this question of personality, so fraught with disaster for future developments, which was destined to transcend all other matters in importance, in the summer of 1914, were the currents and counter-currents, the concentrations and combinations of old and new forces which were making themselves felt.

The relatively small island kingdom of the English, Scotch and Irish wants to control enormous territories; a group of islands lying in front of Europe wants to be the guardian and ruler of the destinies of the Continent, on which it does not own a parcel of land except the Mediterranean fortress of Gibraltar, wrested from the Spaniards. Every danger that appears on the horizon makes itself felt in this centre, in this mother-country. It must be on the lookout that the highways from and to the dominions and colonies remain open for itself and that it can close them to all others. When Cavour, the Minister of Piedmont, had succeeded in forming the Franco-Italian Alliance, Queen Victoria wrote to the Earl of Derby: "If we are not supreme on the high-seas, the honour and future of our empire are gone: they will be gone as soon as France finds an ally that possesses a navy." Thus speaks fear, which had been felt for centuries and is still powerful to this day; a fear not so much of invasion as of the stopping of shipments of wheat and raw materials, without which this small head of an enormous empire could not live. If no other possibility offers itself to prevent foreign superiority and secure for England control over the highways of commerce, then this country of civic freedom, traditional civil liberties and inherited wisdom, must ally itself with the Russia of the highly gifted despot Catherine, and the pious visionary, Alexander Pavlovitch, the most cruel suppressor of the spirit, and a race entirely different in blood and colour. How could it further culture and

technical progress, if it thereby endangered itself? The great Bonaparte himself, who still remained (in spite of the imperial purple he wore as son-in-law of the ancient Habsburg Dynasty) the sword of the Revolution, the mounted Robespierre, was thrust from the throne by England through the use of libel, agitation, coalitions and military victory, and was thrown from that heaven of his ambition which his genius served, because he wanted to deliver Europe from the domination of John Bull. National freedom or aristocratic absolutism, atrocities or humanity, human rights or tyranny: behind all of these veils of magnificent words and patterns of phrases, the same fear hides. Of all the slogans by which England tries to secure allies, the most sonorous and enduring has been "the preservation of the balance of power in Europe." These words enclose, as a shell envelops its kernel, the desire that no state in Europe should grow powerful enough to threaten Great Britain and its allies; that everything remain as it is convenient for the island kingdom; that especially in the centre of the Continent no combination of Powers arise strong enough to thrust its strong arm over the North Sea. The aversion to draw a conclusion as to what would be the position of the island kingdom in a differently arranged world outlines all the developments of the technical sciences. When the American, Robert Fulton, brought his first submarine plan to London, Pitt said: England will never be so stupid as to favour a weapon of war, after whose perfection the British Empire would have to fear destruction. The perfection was delayed. But the light motor, which made possible the mastery of the air, also caused Fulton's experiment to blossom in gruesome submarine regions. A hundred years after Pitt, the submarine with a large radius of action is completed and threatens no other Power so much as England, which has by far the greatest merchant marine and which cannot meet with the same weapon the enemy who is shut off from the sea. Another example. Admiral Lord Fisher, at one time First Sea Lord, has himself said that England destroyed the value of its older squadrons, which for years had secured its overwhelming superiority, when it decided to build dreadnoughts and super-dreadnoughts because it assumed that these would be too expensive for the Continental states to imitate. Soon, however, the imitation followed: and since according to human reckoning a naval battle on a large scale would be decided by the ships of greatest speed, strongest armour and heaviest guns, the German naval power could approach very closely that of the British; England had deprived itself of the advantage of an overwhelming superiority which could not have been wrested from it in another way. Whether it desired to delay technical progress or accelerate it — Fate could not be controlled. Torpedoes, submarines and mines are in this world, just as death has been since the fratricide of Cain. And the will of England, to force the world back into a condition suitable to itself, to make itself the arbiter of the world, and to be a determining factor on the Continent, where it is a stranger, could only be carried out if Providence were to aid, as when in Gibeon, through the mouth of Joseph, it compelled the sun to stand still. Mankind will not, of its own accord, perpetuate a state of affairs whose supreme aim is to guarantee the life of the British Empire.

ENGLISH JEALOUSY OF GERMAN COMMERCIAL PROWESS

This British Empire offers to the eye a picture of placid supremacy. But has the pulse of an empire that identifies itself with its commerce still the vigour and strength of youth? Even after the South African War, which might have been a warning against underestimating British military ability, England's economic life resembled that of a distinguished firm, grown some-

what obese in its traditional prosperity, doing only business agreeable to itself and demanding from its customers an adaptability to the family customs. Short working hours; every week-end entirely free, and many a holiday; fishing, rowing, sailing, taking the air on and in front of house-boats; playing golf, cricket, football and tennis; hunting, riding, attending races and other matches; if there is no time for the enjoyment of these things, life is not worth the dressing and undressing. Suddenly a new firm opens up next door. The owners are still poor, must first acquire a name and money, and they like work for its own sake, not alone as the means of accumulating wealth. Their offices and warehouses are open from morning till night. They hire young hard-working men and furnish just as good things cheaper than the older neighbour who has inherited his rights of possession; and they sell some things for three cents for which he asks twelve. These new comers grant holidays only if they do not interfere with business. The wishes of every customer are catered to, and if not absolutely insane, fulfilled. Salesmen cross every continent. If a new demand is discovered or the possibility of a new market scented, the trader takes counsel with the producer. Is it not possible to produce goods in the future that will be cheaper, prettier, more durable, to adapt them more to the tastes of the particular region? Is it not possible in some way to reduce the level of transportation costs? In the background an army of scientifically trained engineers and chemists plan the preliminary work, while in the foreground are seen the rattling advertisements and sparkling displays. And the seat of this young hustling firm is a country, inhabited by sixty-six million people, watered by the Rhine, the Elbe and the Oder, in coal the richest on the peninsula which we call Europe; a country with scientific methods of agriculture and enormous industrial capacities.

This spectacle naturally irritated the members of the old firm. If it should keep up, they might perhaps be forced to change their habits, become much more industrious and produce more cheaply, be less proud and domineering, and thus maintain themselves against the dumping and reckless competition the originators of which could not honestly be denounced as swindlers or dealers in inferior goods. The feeling of an old-established dealer in specialities, before whose small show-window a gigantic department-store rises, built with much sandstone, gold stucco, marble and glass, a veritable palace of display — such was the feeling of the Englishman when pressed hard by German competition. Unconvinced by facts, these English had also accepted as gospel truth the idea that it was impossible to combine large-scale industry and large-scale commerce with an agriculture capable of feeding a rapidly growing nation. When the Corn Laws were abolished, the farm lands of Great Britain were turned into meadows, parks, sporting grounds, flower and vegetable gardens and small holdings. That had to be if England wanted to be the mine and foundry, the warehouse and clearing-house of the world. But did it really have to be? Across the Channel lies Germany, raising cereals and turnips, stock and horses, increasing and improving its agriculture from year to year; and at the same time its chimneys are smoking, spindles humming, steam-hammers pounding, while coal, coke, iron, steel, dyes and export goods of every description are piling up everywhere. Agriculture, industry and commerce are served by the abstract sciences and its pupil, technical science, financed by dozens of strong credit banks. Such a combination, such a close coöperation was unknown to the England of Balfour and Asquith. A hundred thousand Germans speak English as well as their mother-tongue; have gathered experience in London, Manchester, Liverpool, Birmingham, Bradford and many smaller cities. To thousands, England's philosophers, poets, naturalists, painters, writers, historians, journalists have become friends, England's museums and libraries have become their homes. And the country

in which such a variety of living forces can be felt and seen, has furthermore a large standing army, which condition is, according to the Chartists, incompatible with freedom and civilisation; it has the most powerful war machine ever seen, in which serve — not in forced slavery, but mostly with happy pride — factory owners, engineers, agents, scholars, merchants and hand and brain workers. The ordinary Englishman to whom Goethe's lyric poetry is just as unknown as the chemical general staff of the Elberfeld dyeworks, stands before this Germany, which he only knows through the starred "objects of interest" of Baedeker and Cook, as before an insoluble, incomprehensible riddle.

ENGLAND AND GERMANY SEEK TO ALIENATE EACH OTHER'S FRIENDS

This Germany, under the leadership of the Emperor, seems determined to acquire supremacy over the seas, commerce, the Mahommedan Orient, at any price, even at that of carrying on a war on two fronts. Against this threefold danger Britain seeks protection. How could it hold India, the pivot of its policy; how with a handful of white men, but a small white foam on a dark, somewhat unsteady wave, could it govern the enormous masses of coloured people if a Califate, controlled by the will of Berlin, turned into enemies the Mahommedans, who so far had been the solid dike against the tide of the Hindu movement. In order to protect itself, it sacrifices fundamental, old-established principles of British diplomacy; it permits Russia, the clumsy giant, dangerous on the Persian Gulf and along the Pamir mountains, and still more as a possible ally of Germany, to be defeated by Japan, white men by yellow; raises the Empire of the Mikado to the rank of a Great Power; foresees just as little as continental Europe, which short-sightedly breathed relief, ignoring the inevitable results of this world-changing event. Germany's possible ally is to be weakened, and France, Germany's probable enemy (and predestined hostage), is to be strengthened. Together with the principles of "splendid isolation" and "free hand," the policy is also discarded never to permit any military power to get control of a part of the route of the English wheat supply. The agreement of April, 1904, ended the Anglo-French struggle over Egypt, which had gone on for twenty-two years, and ceded to the French the sovereign right (in the form of a protectorate) over the Sultanate of Morocco.

Germany had already conceded this to France a quarter of a century ago. The desire to lead France out of the trance produced by the continuous thought of Alsace-Lorraine and the "revanche pour Sedan" and to keep it sufficiently occupied in another continent, had caused Bismarck to have the German representative at the Madrid Conference of 1880 back all the demands of France and to make out as it were a blank cheque for the North African demands of the neighbour republic, so offended in its extremely irritable Chanticleer pride. Since the Parisian Governments were convinced, and with good justification, that Germany was and would remain disinterested in Morocco, and that no difficulties were to be expected from it there, all the more painful was the disappointment when difficulties arose and rapidly increased. The causes were manifold. The events of 1880 were kept from the nation, had perhaps been forgotten in the Foreign Office. The only carrier of the tradition there was the Privy Councillor, Von Holstein, well known both for his intimate knowledge of people, his mental capacity, and his defects of character and his whims; he had seen in the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, Delcassé, his personal enemy ever since he had failed to receive a favourable answer to his suggestion of an arrangement in the Far East. The public and

Parliament had become nervous because of the unsteady, sterile policy of the Emperor, who continually oscillated between a flattering and threatening of France, and the polite and dexterous but aimless diplomacy of Chancellor Bülow, and they impatiently yearned for "action." The attempt of the Emperor to give himself additional prestige by action, led, link by link, to a long chain of political and psychological mistakes, from his landing and speech at Tangier to the sending of a gunboat to Agadir. For seven years the Berlin Government is blinded by the illusion that the humiliation of a nation with the history and character of the French, could be of use to one who does not at the same time weaken it, take from it the means of defence and the possibility of avenging counter-thrusts.

GERMANY SECURES HUMILIATING CONCESSIONS FROM FRANCE

German pressure forced the sudden dismissal of Delcassé, who until 1904 was not especially anti-German or even bellicose; nor was he especially to blame for the Moroccan dispute. This dismissal was received sullenly as an unbearable humiliation even among the ranks of his most bitter enemies, foremost of them M. Clemenceau. This was followed by the Algeciras Conference, which made evident the isolation of Germany. Austria-Hungary could, in the most dangerous moments, render Germany the petty services of an agent or mediator (William's tongue, indulging in duelling terms, called it a "second"), but the Conference could not conceal to a clear eye the crushing defeat of the German enterprise. Italy, the third member of the Triple Alliance, was bound to recognise French expansion in Morocco because of a treaty (Delcassé-Prinetti) which had remained unknown to Berlin, and which conceded to Italy the right to Tripoli and Cyrenaica, and therefore even if it had wanted to, could do nothing for its allies. The total result of this thoughtless policy of adventure, directed by desire for prestige and personal vanity, was disastrous. In the France of Waldeck-Rousseau, Jaurès, Briand, Combes and Millerand, torn asunder by internal struggles on religious and educational questions as well as class struggles, and rejecting the thought of a war of revenge as stupid and criminal, in this land of the *déracinés*, tired Epicureans and cool skeptics, the hope for a lasting peace with a Germany which grudged it development in Northern Africa, diminished, and the resurrection of warlike instincts and activities began again with the glorification of the army daily awakened by the *retraites militaires*, to which before and after the Dreyfus affair hardly any more attention had been paid, being merely tolerated as a necessary evil. And throughout the world a feeling had spread, which reached even President Roosevelt, who had been courted by William with almost grotesque flattery, that Germany, whose hand could be seen everywhere—in the lands of the Manchu Emperor, Tsar, Calif and Cherif, in North and South Africa, Ireland and France—was endangering peace, was continually making disturbances, intruding into the political affairs of other countries, and must therefore be fenced in.

THE "ENCIRCLEMENT" OF GERMANY

I was the first one (I must not leave it unsaid), about a decade before the war, to describe this tendency by the word "encirclement"; this concept soon became part of every language, but I used it in the sense of measures of self-defence, not of aggressive action. The expression "fencing in" would

have expressed my view still better. However, not a war of offence was prepared, which would have been too dangerous for every Power, but a coalition of defence, a guarantee and security which was to confine within definite borders the unaccountable oscillations of German politics, and make it impossible for it to transform the threatening flourish of words and eagerness for armaments into actual deeds. The will of the world was not yet directly hostile to us. After the clumsy as well as useless gesture of Agadir (the dispatch to the Atlantic coast of Morocco of a war vessel with the name of a beast of prey, the "Panther"), and after the Mansion House speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lloyd George, who was unduly rude and thereby intimidating, and who accused Germany of hideous ingratitude and unbearable conceit, Sir Edward Grey, as head of the Foreign Office, summed up this attitude in the following sentences: "Germany's power is the best guarantee against the attempt of other countries to start a quarrel with this powerful empire without a just basis. Public opinion in Germany must, however, realise that a nation which possesses the greatest army of the world, owns a large navy and is going to build a still larger one, must expect the fear on the part of peaceful nations lest this army and this navy be used aggressively. Germany, which may be proud of its power, must, as it appears to me, do everything possible in order to remove the suspicion that it is preparing an attack." A removal of this suspicion was attempted at times, but only with words (and words too loud at that); the arming on land and sea, the "dumping" struggle for markets, the formation of and the commotion caused by militaristic societies, the Pan-German propaganda, all went on as before.

Unfortunately England, too, did not act in these critical years as Viscount Morley, the biographer of Cromwell, Burke, Walpole and Cobden, advised; still the most daring thinker in the House of Lords, in spite of his old age, he praised his colleague Grey as one of the wisest leaders of international British politics, and then said: "Germany's rapid naval increase compels us to be on our guard because it forces large expenses upon us; this, however, should not deprive us of a sentiment of sincere friendship for a country whose ambition is not only comprehensible, but which can even be called sublime. A people which has made such extraordinary progress in all fields must desire space on which that part of the population can thrive which cannot be used at home without losing its nationality or its high German ideals. And there is no lack of such space under the sun." But England could not make up her mind to grant Germany this space, but only to speak in a more friendly manner. The reason was that England felt as an awkward and oppressive burden the necessity of constantly keeping in the North Sea the strongest squadrons, which any day it might be necessary to use in southern waters.

The world has become restless as if the sombre will of an ambitious person had murdered its sleep, as Macbeth did that of Duncan and his drunken valet. In the east and the west the wind comes up, quickly growing into a typhoon, and through the brightest minds, here and there, the anxious question flashes: "Is fall coming, is the tree losing its foliage of old civilisation and culture, or is a new spring approaching, after hurricanes a 'germinal'?"

EVENTS LEADING UP TO THE "AGADIR" INCIDENT

In May, 1910, King Edward died. He had succeeded in bringing about the Triple *Entente*, the pacifying of Africa (favoured by the disastrous German war of extermination against the Hereros and the Hottentots), the reconciliation of the Boers, and the "fencing in" of the empire ruled by his nephew

"Willy." Under George V, British royalty again becomes less personal than since the beginning of the Victorian epoch. But the sunny days of "Merry Old England" do not return. The alliance, inspired by fear, with that Japan which had triumphed over a White Power, no longer permits the manner of a grand seigneur with which the British have hitherto governed coloured peoples in haughty superiority and stiff dignity. It makes still more difficult the relation with the United States, that daughter of England who grows stronger with an unheard-of rapidity, who has long forgotten the reverence of the Pilgrim Age for her mother, and who looks suspiciously at the ally of the yellow man greedily approaching its Pacific coast. On both sides suspicion grows, since the revolutionary spirit, imported from the West, ferments in the ancient body of China, which country both of the English-speaking World Empires want to keep open for themselves and secure from Japanese rule, without, however, arousing the anger of the nation of Nippon, dangerous alike because of its war bravery and its imitative faculty for all technical things. Because the rise in power and rank began only after the Daimio and Samurai periods had passed, and after a transition into a particular kind of constitutionalism, other coloured races believe that they will have to go the same way: Chinese, Hindus, Turks, Persians and all sorts of smaller Mongolian bastard races. Russia, which was forced to turn once more from Asia to Europe, finds there a Turkey falling to pieces and at the mercy of cliques of adventurers led by Talaat, Enver and Djemal; she also finds there an intriguing Austria-Hungary which, after the annexation of the Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, inhabited by Serbs, tries to subjugate the whole Kingdom of Serbia, makes the Vladika of Montenegro a vassal of Vienna, extends the Habsburg rule as far as the Aegean Sea, and even tries to drag into its net that Bulgaria which had been wrested by Russian arms from the Turkish yoke, and acknowledged as a Russian sphere of interest by both the Peace of San Stefano and the Congress of Berlin. Tsarist Russia was anxious to repair its loss of prestige, caused by the Japanese victory; and the dynasty of Holstein-Gottorp (better known by the wrong name of Romanov) cannot and will not accept the genuflection of a Mongolian Khan as a sufficient recompense for its humiliation. Since Russia has as yet no ice-free harbour, which this enormous empire has long since needed, and since it is still penned in by the Black Sea, it tears and shakes impatiently at the bars of its cage. Because it inherited religious and national hatred for Mahommedanism and its Tartar offspring from the distant days of Vladimir of Kiev, of the Tartar flood and the almost continuous wars with Turkey, it seriously embarrasses, in Persia and farther east, its British partner who is dependent upon the friendship of the Moslems. Italy also turns against Turkey. Italy does not believe that the hour of liberation of *Italia Irredenta* — Istria, Dalmatia and Trentino — from the claws of the Habsburg Double Eagle has yet struck, but she somehow wants to satisfy her national aspirations. The leap of the German panther on Agadir taught the Ministers of Victor Emmanuel that Italy must make haste to take firm possession of the shares assigned to it by the North African Treaty of Delcassé-Prinetti. In Libya, Turkey loses its last piece of African territory. Its helplessness is manifest and brings about a coalition against it, of the Serbian and Montenegrin kingdoms, the Greeks and Bulgarians. Agadir furnished the occasion; without the leap of the panther the Italy of Giolitti would never have gone to Tripoli; without the Turkish defeat in Tripoli the two Balkan Wars would not have broken out; and without the Balkan Wars the atmospheric tension would not have arisen; and the result of this last could (not *had to*) lead to the much greater world struggle. The Peace of Bucharest left to Turkey an insignificant piece of European territory, destroyed Bulgaria's hope of be-

coming a great power and, from a territorial point of view, strengthened Serbia and Rumania to such an extent that Austria-Hungary began to fear the day on which these nations, perhaps under the leadership of Russia and in union with the Poles of Galicia and the Czechs of Bohemia and Moravia, would demand the liberation of their national brethren in Bosnia, the Banat, Transylvania, Bukovina and Herzegovina.

GROWING UNFRIENDLINESS OF OTHER POWERS TOWARD GERMANY

Before this day rises from its scarlet veils in the gloomy grayish brown of a rainy morning, the blind lure for power, cowardly craving for deeds, is whirling in dangerously drunken dances along the edges of the precipice. Frightened children sing on their way through the dark woods. Frightened shepherds of the people try to hide their fear from the herd by threateningly waving their staffs, by sending their watch dogs ahead with a shrill whistle, or by seemingly undertaking some action or other. Such an urge has misled, in spite of the warning of Li Hung Chang, the Russia of the second Nicholas to Port Arthur, then on to the battlefields on the Yalu, at Mukden and in the waters of Tsushima. This same urge is raging now in the two other empires of the European continent. The Triple Alliance created by Bismarck's masterly hand is loosened, has almost become an empty phantom. For Italy this alliance always had been the waiting-room in which it kept itself warm until the hour of reckoning with Austria-Hungary became favourable; but the alliance could not bind Italy, whose long coast was open to sea attacks by another Triple alliance, with England's squadrons and guns turned against it. Since King Edward's visit to Reval in 1908, this new alliance was in process of formation. During the crises caused by the Austro-Hungarian annexation of Bosnia, the vanity and revengefulness of the Russian Minister Isvolsky paralysed the efficacy of that strongest alliance ever known, and forced Russia into a new retreat, with additional loss of prestige. Instead of sparing Russia and firmly backing up its rights to a free exit into the Sea of Marmora and the Mediterranean, thereby keeping alive the differences between Russian and British interests, Berlin fell furiously upon the empire of the Tsar, which against William's insistent advice "now carried on with England too." In order to strengthen the Habsburg position towards Italy and the Adriatic, the short-sighted cleverness of the chance-rulers of Vienna and Berlin made Albania, a half-savage country, without unity of religion, nationality or civilisation, into a monarchy, whose fragile throne a German prince and officer of the Imperial army ascended. In order to support Turkish rule in the south-east, favoured during the nineteenth century by Austria, but now tottering, the First Army Corps of the shadowy Sultan was placed under the command of a Prussian officer. Whoever commands this corps controls Constantinople and the Straits. Russia could not permit this. Furthermore this plan was hidden from its Minister Sazonov, the more cautious successor of the little firebrand Isvolsky, and after his return from Berlin and Potsdam, where he had been covered with garlands and sugar-coated promises of a friendship, he was ridiculed when the matter came to light. In Durazzo and in Constantinople, on both flanks of the Balkan Peninsula, the command in the hands of German officers? Impossible! Again the interests of Great Britain and Russia met in a negative attitude towards Germany. Both plans, as so many others of William, turned out to be empty shells. Nothing remained of them but an increased feeling of distrust.

When in the spring of 1914 the Parisians cheered King George and Sir Edward Grey, their sincerest rejoicings greeted the Anglo-Russian union

That the latter, running counter to all knowledge of history and prophecy, was formed and remained firm until Lenin's day of victory, has to be entered on the debit side in the ledger of Imperial German policy. The navy, Mahommedanism, commerce, Transvaal, Bagdad railway; relinquishment of Russian friendship, intrusion into Eastern Asia, support of Austria-Hungary, Japan and Turkey; the watch on the Adriatic and the Sea of Marmora; a community of distrust; blows and pinpricks and a disturbance of business through intrigue and "dumping"; and noisy boasts and abuses of leaders; all these were needed to unite the Empires of Britain and Russia. And between them stood France whose sword, since 1871, had never been completely sheathed and which had been kept half-drawn ever since the days of the endless Morocco chicaneries. On the Baltic Sea, William had signalled by flags to the Tsar, "The Admiral of the Atlantic salutes the Admiral of the Pacific." Nicholas answered ironically, "A happy journey." The Atlantic and the Pacific, however, interested other nations, which had no desire to dip their flags before foreign great admirals and war lords. That all the small fires, which had flared up from the beginning of the new century, never spread into a big conflagration, was almost a miracle, and prevents us from declaring the official guardians on the Thames, Seine and Neva so stupidly or deceitfully eager for conquest as a guilty conscience, trying to hide behind scapegoats, later on insisted. Messrs. Asquith, Grey, Morley, Burns, and at that time Lloyd George also, desired that undisturbed continuance of peace which makes their country the arbiter of Europe. Nicholas Alexandrovich, the founder of the Hague Peace Court, was a weakling, and his Sazonov resembled more a sick parrot than a wild beast. And France, since the defeat of the Nationalists, had for the first time a Cabinet of pacifistic complexion that "does not know revenge."

THE SERAJEVO MURDERS PRECIPITATE WAR

Then the shots are fired in Serajevo, the capital of Bosnia, the bombs burst that kill the successor to the Austro-Hungarian Empire and his wife. "From Bosnia there will some day come the most dangerous threat to peace. I am firmly convinced that there is the match which will set the powder ablaze." Count Peter Shuvalov, a Russian diplomat, who possessed a bit of the prophetic spirit, wrote this remarkable prophecy almost fifty years ago. Had the day now come that was to confirm it, June 28? On that day, Maria Theresa, Habsburg's pride, lost Silesia and Glatz as the prize of victory to Frederick, King of the Prussians. On that day in the small council chamber of the Viennese palace, Archduke Francis Ferdinand concluded before the crucifix his marriage with Countess Sophie Chotek and by solemn oath renounced all claim to the imperial throne on the part of this woman, not his equal in rank, and of her future children. And fourteen years later, again on the same day and in the bright sunlight, the bullet of the twenty-year-old Bosniak, Gavrilo Princip, killed the Archduke and his wife.

On Austrian soil, the bullet of an Austrian of Serbian race. The Serbian people, for centuries shamefully oppressed on their divided native soil, had just been freed from the yoke and could at last again breathe freely. After heroically and at the same time humanely conducted struggles, it had as victor over Turks and Bulgarians entered Skoplje, the long-lost and long-bewailed capital of the great Serbian Tsar, Stephen Duschan, to whom Albania, Bosnia, Macedonia and Thessaly were subject, but who as protector also ruled the Basileus of Byzantine, the Republic of Ragusa, and the Patriarchate of Phesae. All this greatness had been buried on St. Vitus Day in



The funeral of the ex-Empress Augusta Victoria, first wife of William II, at Potsdam in April, 1921. At the left is Admiral von Tirpitz; in the centre foreground are Field-Marshal von Hindenburg and General Ludendorff.

the battle on the Field of the Blackbirds at Kossova, where Sultan Bajesid defeated the Serbian King Lazarus. Only now, after 525 years, history, resounding with the glories of war, rose from its tomb. However, more Serbs still lived under the sceptre of the Habsburgs than in the kingdoms of Peter and Nicholas (Montenegro), and the centre of gravitation of Serbdom was still in Austria-Hungary. But those united in the two kingdoms could at least hope to reach the sea which is open to all the other peoples of Europe (except to the Swiss, who don't need it), and to see Serbia's silver double-eagle shine in golden armour on the Adriatic. For the first time after five and a quarter centuries, hoping hearts celebrated the day of St. Vitus as the Easter and not as the Good Friday of the Serbian faith. In spite of respectful remonstrances, Francis Ferdinand, who as the Inspector-General of the army had intended to review the troops in Bosnia, had selected this very day for his entry into Serajevo. On the day of this provocation, the weapons of Crabinovich and of Princip hurled the haughty Habsburg from his height into nothingness. A crime? Of course! Just as were the deeds of the Biblical Judith, of the Greeks Harmodius and Aristogiton, the Roman Marcus Brutus, the mythical Swiss William Tell, as of all those born later who murdered the tsars and sultans, emperors and kings, grand-dukes and presidents, dictators and ministers, in order to free their country from tyrants.

But no one had the right to make the ruling dynasty of Karageorgevich, the government of Nicolas Pashich or even the Serbian nation responsible for the deed of two youths who had scarcely outgrown their boyhood days. At first no one made such an attempt. Neither the eighty-four-year-old Emperor and King, Francis Joseph, ruler for 66 years, nor his responsible Ministers, Counts Tisza and Berchtold, thought differently from the chief of the Cabinet, Count Hoyos, who openly said that he did "not believe that the murder had been desired or prepared in Belgrade or in Petrograd." A department chief, Von Wilsner, sent by the Viennese Ministry of Foreign Affairs to Serajevo for the purpose of ascertaining the facts, reported from there that he was "convinced that the Serbian Government, far from taking part in the preparation and execution of the murder, did not even know of it."

SERBIA NOT GUILTY OF THE ARCHDUKE'S MURDER

A small pamphlet by the Belgrade Professor Stanojevic on *The Murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand* has conclusively proved that the only other persons who knew of and had helped to prepare the plot were two officers, Major Tankovic and Colonel Dimitrijevic, of whom the plotters had requested and received instruction in the use of weapons. The officers were arch-enemies of the Radical Government of Pashich, upon whose demand Dimitrijevic later was accused of an attack upon the life of the successor to the Serbian throne, Alexander, and who was court-martialled and shot. The Serbian nation had been torn to pieces, forced to live in servitude under the banners of Austria and Hungary and under the crescent of the Turks, continuously threatened in its own kingdoms. Serbia and Montenegro were blocked from the seas and robbed of their natural markets through the greed of the Magyar farmers and cattle breeders. It is therefore entirely comprehensible that the belief grew in the minds of fanatics that it might be possible to clear the road to liberation and unity by acts of terrorism. But neither the dynasty, the heirs of Karageorg, which had been reinstalled only ten years earlier, nor the Government, could desire to throw the country that had been almost doubled in size by the results of the Balkan Wars into a new state of turmoil, and demand new sacrifice of blood from a people already

worn out by long hard struggles. Such sacrifices in a war against the Habsburg Dual Monarchy, without a definite promise of aid on the part of Russia, and with Bulgaria, trembling with revenge, at its back, would, according to human reckoning, be in vain. We have long known from the documented statements of the Italian Ministers, San Giuliano and Giolitti, that as early as a year *before* the murders at Serajevo, a war of annihilation against Serbia had been planned in Vienna and Budapest and had been prevented only through the inflexible opposition of Italy. Whether or not in the Bohemian castle of Konopisht also, where William with his highest army and navy advisers visited the Archduke Francis Ferdinand in the spring of 1914, the discussion centred around this same theme, will never be definitely determined. It is credible. Any other purpose for this solemnly advertised conference cannot be thought of. Serbia after its victories was territorially too large for the servants of Habsburg and of Magyar ambition; its power of attraction for its co-nationals living in Austria and Hungary had grown too powerful. After the unsuccessful attempt to attack the entire Bucharest Peace Treaty, they at least wanted to rob King Peter's country of its fruits, break up his country, and not only take away the hope of getting Bosnia and Herzegovina, but gag it so tightly that at this point the danger of death for the monarchy should be ended. The murder of the heir to the throne (equally hated by the ruling family and the people) offered the welcome pretext. The war would have been fought without it; for in Vienna, Budapest and unfortunately in Berlin also common sense was overpowered by the belief, produced by the militaristic conception of duty, that the last hour favourable for such an enterprise must strike soon; and whoever lets it pass by without taking advantage of it, is guilty of contributing to the destruction and collapse of the country.

THE PEOPLES OF GERMANY AND AUSTRIA MISLED BY THEIR GOVERNMENTS

The people who pay the taxes and furnish *chair à canon* were not permitted to hear any of this; how otherwise could they have been worked up into the necessary "enthusiasm for the national cause"? For their benefit the crime which killed the Crown Prince of an empire, in the prime of life, together with his wife, was easily distorted into a film which showed the murder as the final link of a chain of malicious conspiracies, Serbia as a murderer's den, the Habsburgs and their cardinals, confessors, generals, ministers, governors and officials as the gentle fathers and shepherds of their peoples of Germanic, Slavic, Italic, Ugro-Finnish and Daco-Wallachian races. A flood of sentimental tears were shed. Fists were clenched in anger. Eternal justice with a voice of thunder shouted for atonement. Soon a "free hand" was secured from the Imperial Palace in Potsdam; Germany consented "to support Austria-Hungary even at the risk of interference by Russia, which would extend the field of battle to indefinite dimensions." This agreement, as a matter of course, also remained a secret; Serbia was on the eve of the election of a new Skŭpshtina, reason enough not to think of military preparations. That the empires should not be suspected of these intentions, the Chiefs of Staff of army and navy in both countries went or stayed on summer furloughs. And so the world that had been awakened from its light June slumbers gradually grew quiet again and lay down on the pillow of the soothing hope that with the demanding and the granting of satisfaction and reparations, the regrettable quarrel would be peacefully buried.

From the cloudless sky the lightning again flashed; the ultimatum was

presented at Belgrade. Without the shadow of evidence and against the better knowledge of its authors, it accuses the Serbian Government of being partly to blame for the murder, and demands unheard of and almost unbearable humiliation; Serbia nevertheless accepts almost everything, under the pressure of Russia and the Western Powers, and for the rest is willing to accept the decision of a court of arbitration. But Vienna has determined not to let such a favourable chance slip by again. Messrs. Poincaré and Viviani, the presidents, respectively, of the French Republic and of its Cabinet, are on the high seas on their way back from a visit at the Tsar's Court. William, too, who might get scared at the last moment, is far away from Berlin. In London the feeling for Serbia is clad in a gray fog. Neither Nicholas nor Sazonov have a firm faith in a successful war. Now or never!

AUSTRIA'S DECISION FOR WAR AN UNWISE DECISION

In order that the Serbians cannot swallow the ultimatum completely, it has been thickly covered with pepper and paprica. The fact that they nevertheless forced it down almost completely and did not disgorge even a particle in furious disgust is not mentioned; their answer is published only with the coloured, confusing, distorting comment of the Viennese clique, which prevents the superficial observer from getting a clear understanding of the matter. The Austro-Hungarian Ambassador, who had prepared his departure even before the arrival of the answer, breaks diplomatic relations with the kingdom; war is declared in Vienna; over the Danube the cannons roar; the plan has been successful, a plan which could grow only in minds distorted to the point of madness. An Austrian war against Serbia would change the alignments of power that had stabilised the Balkan Peninsula; therefore Italy was not only freed from the duty of aiding her ally but was also justified in complaining of a breach of the treaty made with Vienna. Vain folly supposed that the bluff which had caused Russia to retreat, in the entirely different atmosphere of the Bosnian crisis, would again be effective. This could not be; Russia, even under the most peaceful Tsar, could not tolerate the destruction of Serbia, unless it wanted to lose in south-eastern Europe the prestige of a Great Power, which it had already lost in Eastern Asia. And into a war, against Italy's wishes and against the Russian masses the Austro-Hungarian Empire dared to enter, whose armies consisted of a checkered conglomeration of Slovaks, Poles, Czechs, Ruthenians, Italians, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Dalmatians, Rumanians, each hating the Austrians and in return hated by them; an empire whose defeat, dissolution and disappearance these races most fervently longed for. This hopeless war Germany joined. William's warlike rhetoric warned the Viennese not to avoid it.

THE SAD LIFE OF EMPEROR FRANCIS JOSEPH II

In the royal castle in Vienna sat a very old Emperor, who breathed relief when his hated nephew, who had demeaned himself by a marriage to a court lady of lower birth, was removed from the Imperial ranks. A multitude of griefs and sorrows had afflicted this Emperor. His uncle, whom the Revolution of 1848 drove from Vienna, leaving the crown to the eighteen-year-old youth, Providence had graciously demented. The young Emperor in his youth lost Lombardy, in his manhood, Venecia, his claims to the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein, and his supremacy — even his seat — in the

German "Bund." His brother as Emperor of Mexico was sentenced to death and shot in Querétaro, his wife surviving him in a state of insanity. The only son of Francis Joseph (he himself is not even spared the horror of an attempt on his life), a thirty-year-old married man and father, is found lying with a bullet wound in bed, beside his mistress, dead. The insane King Louis of Bavaria, the cousin of the Empress Elizabeth, escapes from his doctor attendant, and is seized by him. The King, however, chokes his doctor to death and drowns himself in Lake Starnberg. Elizabeth herself is murdered at Lake Geneva. Her cousin, Otto of Bavaria, Louis' brother and successor, was called King but dwelt, incurably insane, a socially dangerous maniac, in a strongly guarded castle in the woods. One Archduke disappeared; another was given a commuted sentence for unnatural vice; a third, after a disastrous marriage, was deprived of all his titles and the honours of rank. A fourth, the handsome father of the last Habsburg Emperor, Charles Joseph, lived a dissolute life of pleasure, and an archduchess, who might have worn the crown of Saxony, waded through the swamps of depravity almost to the poorhouse. Now the heir-apparent of the Austrian Emperor is killed and once more a woman bleeds to death beside him, this time the woman allotted him by Church and State. All this and an infinite amount of smaller dynastic and political troubles Francis Joseph lived through in the sixty-six years of his reign, without ever being affected by any wave of emotion, without ever neglecting the duties of a punctual and diligent bureaucrat, who ever maintains his daily routine even in the darkest days of sorrow. He did not want war, never fervently believed in victory. And this old man feared that if he did not draw the sword of the realm, the nobility, the army, the people (in this order of rank did he see them) would say, "That's what happens when an eighty-four-year-old sovereign wears the crown. Because he who was beaten by Italy and by Prussia, can no longer ride on the field of battle and grudges the others, the younger ones, the glory of fame, we dare not protect ourselves against disgrace. If he were only dead!"

THE FRIVOLOUS COURT OF WILLIAM II

It would be worth while for a modern Tacitus or Suetonius to describe the court of William the Second. An Empress, of small mental horizon, of pietistic Lutheran faith, comes from a small, poor ducal house, submits to her husband's love of splendour, tasteless as that of an upstart, as if it were a heavenly commandment; she adorns herself with plumes, furs, pearls and tinsel, but at the same time is a good housewife and mother; with exaggerated Puritanic prudishness, she tries to maintain the superstition of the stork in life and art, fetching babies from the pond and laying them upon the pillows of young married couples. A song in which a lover dreams of a "trysting place in the dark deep night" was not permitted to be sung before her chaste ear. The sweet Gretchen of Goethe, who had borne Faust a child without being married to him, must not be brought before her eyes; only proper and unattractive women, and as few of these as possible, are suffered at this Court. Round about there flutters and hovers, coos and warbles, a swarm of degenerates, diplomats, officers, cavaliers of all ranks and ages, in the embroidered dress-coat and pumps of the privy councillor, in the short *attila* and tight-fitting breeches of the Hussars, the white leather suit clinging closely to the body of the *garde du corps*, and the eagle helmet, the golden glittering emblem of regimental honour. They kiss the hand of His Majesty at every reception and succeed in establishing this Byzantinism as a general custom. With glowing gazes of admiration they gaze upon their

Emperor whenever he looks up, whisper and proclaim him a universal genius, the wonder of the world, adore him as a deity, kneel before him (physically, not merely metaphorically), designating him, the All-Highest War Lord with his heroic grimaces, as "sweetheart." A half-dozen of these *amici* of ancient Rome, or *mignons* as they were called at the Court of the Valois, had been pushed past the prison door into oblivion; nevertheless their number remained frightfully large. On board the luxurious yacht on which William, accompanied only by men, made his annual cruise to the fjords of Norway, generals appeared as can-can dancers and clowns, dignitaries of the Court as music-hall songstresses, and handsome young sailors, dressed as women, formed the ship's orchestra, the "Ladies' Band of His Majesty." The chief of the military cabinet, the highest arbiter of all personal questions in the army, a terrestrial god, a Prussian general of gigantic stature, died of heart-failure as he was performing with superb artistry the most difficult steps in toe dancing, dressed as a *prima ballerina*, before His Majesty. This happened during an entertainment at a castle of a princely friend of His Majesty, on the eve of the day when in the German Reichstag the Emperor (revealed as a dangerous babbler by the report of an interview in the London *Daily Telegraph*) for the first time was violently criticised by all parties, even the spokesmen of the old Prussian junkers admitting that a resentment had developed among the people against the way in which the Emperor was acting. On such days, in order to show his contempt for all public opinion, William stayed near the southwest border of his empire, and after a mass destruction of game, contrary to all rules of sportsmanship, he shook with laughter over the crude and filthy jokes of vaudeville performers from Berlin, and applauded the dancing "stunts" of one of his generals. I am here indicating only those traits essential to an understanding of the events that have come to pass.

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EMPEROR WILLIAM'S LOVE OF FLATTERY AND SELF-DECEPTION

These disgraceful and outrageous conditions at Vienna, Berlin and the other smaller courts became known after the collapse, and a knowledge of these facts justifies the conviction that a system in whose highest ruling circles such morbid symptoms were possible, had outlived itself and was ripe for destruction.

It still remained unshattered, seemed to all shortsighted people firm as a rock; it remained even among the group of those, now growing rapidly, who no longer placed their hopes in the Emperor, but were convinced that the Crown Prince would raise the monarchy to its former dignity. Although he had never accomplished anything useful, he was cheered wherever he showed himself. Because he was slim, possessed a graceful wife and nice children, was not considered a physical coward and differed in other important respects from the pious and theatrical, strutting and parading All-Highest Lord (He who sits on the throne of Heaven is called the "Highest" and is, consequently, of a lower rank), the father scented the danger threatening him from the side of his son. He had on a large part of the inhabited earth the name of a *valeureux poltron*, who destroys his opponent only with his tongue, who after making a threatening gesture retreats before anyone who is ready for vigorous self defence. "His Majesty needs sunshine," the courtiers whispered, and tried to hide every cloud from him with coloured garlands and brilliant artificial light. Bismarck had already said, "The Emperor would like to celebrate his birthday every day," daily be honoured and excessively flattered as a real man can hardly bear once

a year. In a war against the greatest powers, even if they were only those of Europe, neither eternal sunshine nor perennial birthday joys could be expected. In spite of incessant bragging, William had an instinctive fear of war. During the disastrous campaign in South-west Africa, it was difficult to get him to listen to disagreeable reports. His generals knew him. The cleverest of them had long foreseen that the unsteady Berlin policy, chasing after phantoms, whose intrigues and attempted stage efforts were annoying to everyone, must some day lead to war. But will it then be possible to wrest the decision, the order of mobilisation from the "All-Highest"? Under the oak trees of the Saxon woods I heard the banished creator of the empire, Bismarck, moan: "The cowardice of the Emperor is almost our only political asset; he will commit every imaginable mistake and stupidity, but will always evade facing the consequences, that is war." The generals, too, had this opinion of him, and had therefore in several conferences discussed the question how the decisive order could be obtained. After the murder of the Archduke. "destined by the grace of God to succeed to the throne," whose intimate friendship William had sought with untiring efforts and by methods not always dignified, they now hope that his dynastic feeling and his vexation over his wasted labours will bring about the necessary decision.

THE ATTITUDE OF MILITARY SPECIALISTS TOWARD THE CRISIS

"Our politics and diplomacy were rotten; our army, however, the best in the world, can still make up for everything, if we attack now, and do not wait till the others have caught up with us or have even surpassed us in any type of armament." Thus the generals saw the situation. It was their duty, not only their right, to think along military lines. One can complain of militarism only when the thoughts and concepts, laws and customs indispensable to military life, determine the life of the state, its officials and citizens and its relations to other countries. In Prussian Germany this complaint was justified. Bismarck, during his almost thirty years of ministerial activities, had successfully combated militarism whenever it grew powerful; in his *Memoirs* he says on this subject: "It is natural that in the general staff of an army, not only young ambitious officers, but even experienced strategists should feel the desire to make use of the efficiency of their troops as well as their abilities, and to demonstrate this practically. It would be regrettable if the expression of a warlike spirit did not exist in the army; the task of keeping this spirit within those limits which the desire for the peace of nations can justifiably demand, is to be entrusted to the political and not to the military leaders. This spirit, which in itself I consider of value, becomes dangerous only under a monarch who lacks judgment and the power to resist onesided or constitutionally unjustified influences." How dangerous militarism had become under such a monarch became evident in 1913 in the small Alsatian town of Saverne, where serious conflicts between the civilians and the military had developed because the military officials wanted, at any price, to back up the stupid mistakes of an irresponsible lieutenant against criticism by civilians. Since then the following sentence was current in the officers' corps: "Our army, of which the whole world is jealous, is becoming the laughing-stock of the street. That is the result of forty years of peace!" The annual fall manoeuvres satisfy the ambition of the warrior no more than the dress-rehearsal that of the actor. If the Emperor, after all his gesticulations, whose insincerity was evident only to a few, had opposed this desire, it would have been considered conclusive evidence of his cowardice and the masses would have been found to

sympathise more than ever with the Crown Prince, who deemed it advisable to echo an old academic phrase about a "vigorous and joyous war."

THE RISE OF NATIONAL FEELING IN GERMANY

The so-called Government was much too weak and too ignorant of the natural and historically developed relationships of power, tendencies and personalities to reply with a full sense of responsibility to the urgings of the General Staff, "not to miss the last occasion for a favourable decision," with the statement that the hour was not at all favourable and that the decision for peace or, if need be, war, should only be rendered by statesmen. Large groups in industry and commerce are aware of the danger of forced production which is no longer assured sufficient markets, and have overcome their former fear that a war would destroy all the industry built up during the last four decades, by the hope that with Germany's military superiority the war would be very short, unconditionally victorious, and fought only on foreign soil, and would bring about an economic hegemony of Germany at least in Europe. This optimism, nowhere weakened by doubts, is general. "Declaration of war received here," is written by the soldiers with chalk on the barracks; on the cars rolling to the eastern front, "Gentlemen's excursion to Petersburg." The Emperor cries: "Now we will thrash them." He promises, "By Christmas we will be back home." On August 5, 1914, in the Ministry of War, journalists are told: "In eight days we shall be in Belfort and on the second of September, at the latest, in Paris." Still do the Gods blind mortals whom they want to destroy. The masses are disappointed. Once the Emperor had boasted, "I am leading you on toward glorious days." These days never came; what ensued was only quarrels, scandals, theatrical displays, festivals without solemnity. Every one feels that a high iron fence, a wall, has been built around Germany; that the space on this earth becomes too limited for the requirements of the nation; and because every act of international politics is publicly represented as the result of foreign guilt and baseness, scarcely anyone knows the real reasons for the universal mistrust. Gradually, with tenacious craftiness, the young national pride of the German was transformed into the utilitarian religion of a business organisation free from all conscientious scruples. The national feeling was of recent date, the nation unified in 1871 had no common history, only a history of tribes (the strongest of which had, only five years before, fought against each other), and in the desire for a *national* history permitted itself to be misled into the misty realm of an "ancient Germanism," particularly as it was costumed and furbished up by Richard Wagner, just as a similar deficiency made Israel seek refuge in the Logos of a religious system that acted as a substitute for a national consciousness. But even the genuine German character, or what is so considered, was entirely foreign to the spirit of those provinces which had never been or at least were no longer purely Germanic, and was particularly foreign to the character of the Prussian colonials, to whom the savage courage of their strength and the ability to adapt themselves nimbly to altered forms and demands of civilisation and culture, had given a predominant position. The German nation was then rapidly adorned with all kinds of trimmings and trappings from the inherited treasures of Christianity, and the German soul was decked out in a checkered and patched-up garment whose motley composition out of the rags and remnants of two geographic zones, only the stoneblind failed to see. Falsehood sat enthroned, about whose crippled body its raiment glistened in all possible colours. Behind the crucifix, degraded to a commercial sign

and used for catching customers, a little Nero, a little Heliogabalus squatted. On his lips the Sermon on the Mount; in his mind an entirely different cult; obtrusive and loud admonition to lead a plain and simple life and at court the pompous luxury, which indolent memory now imputes only to the *nouveaux riches*, those grown rapidly rich by war, defeat and revolution. The fish, says an old Latin proverb, rots first at its head; where under such an Emperor should truth be found? Who would proclaim its strict law to a people surrounded by lies?

GERMAN PROSPERITY AND GERMAN CHAUVINISM

Chimneys smoke, the export figures mount skyward, no decision on earth is rendered without the will of the German Emperor, the Admiral of the Atlantic, while the trident of Neptune is in our hands and the dry road to India via Bagdad lies open to us. Russians, French, Americans soon will burst under the high pressure of the greenish gases of envy, and the Englishman gets scared to death over our four-in-hand, navy, Mahommedanism, Bagdad and export figures. Only now, where everything is at stake, don't mention aloud before the ears of strangers, that in our land also some things are rotten, and that some even of the most brightly glittering objects are not unsullied. In spite of this we shall reach our goal. Year after year the circle of those drilled in the rites and rhythms of this utilitarian religion widened, and even before those in opposition were aware of it, this cult had poisoned the roots and soon afterwards every branch of German politics.

THE GREAT WAR OPENS

This is not yet evident. The trembling of the nerves still clouds the clarity of vision. Will peace be preserved or will the hurricane break loose this time, as the gloomy silence of the atmosphere seems to forebode? Only after the second call for aid from the Crown Prince, Regent of Serbia, did Tsar Nicholas answer that when the last hope of preventing a sanguinary outcome by any means compatible with the dignity of the Serbian nation has gone, Russia will not witness, with indifference, the fate of a nation of the same blood. It is only on the last day of July that the Viennese Government declares itself, for the first time, ready to negotiate with Russia concerning the ultimatum sent to Serbia. The exchange of dispatches between St. Petersburg and Paris also clearly shows the desire to maintain peace. But St. Petersburg fears that Berlin, Berlin fears that St. Petersburg, has a lead in the preparation for war. Ambassador Sverbejev reports the German mobilisation; and his revocation of the report (caused by a misleading "extra") is delayed in the German telegraph office. The news that Belgrade has been bombarded by the Austrians arouses Russia. But Vienna wants to continue negotiations. Too late. Germany, too, presents an ultimatum in St. Petersburg; failing to receive an answer the German Ambassador, Count Pourtalès, presents to Sazonov on the evening of August 1, at ten minutes to seven, the German declaration of war. On the night of August 4, German troops cross the Belgian border. Following a German proposal, but arising from British needs, Belgium had been neutralised in the course of the last century; at the order of the Prussian King and German Emperor the neutrality is now broken, because militaristically drilled minds consider an international treaty nothing more than a "scrap of paper," on which the foot of any one

striving to increase the national power may trample without scruple. Germany finds itself at war with Russia, France, England and Belgium. In the same moon of August, Japan follows. By autumn the fire has spread over the five continents of the world. The German people, who have to carry enormous burdens, against whom a thousand million people are soon arming themselves, breathes freely as if relieved from a nightmare. In the bullet-proof armour of the faith that they have been summoned for defence against the most flagrant injustice, for the protection of laboriously acquired national possessions, they go into battle, with joy in their hearts and songs on their lips.

IN WHAT SPIRIT THE GERMANS TAKE THE WAR

What was accomplished is worthy of the greatest admiration. Clothing, arms, food, ammunition, tools of every kind, transports on almost endless lines of communication, everything was in perfect order and continued to be so; and for a long time the citizen, who sighed because he was not permitted to join the army, was not much troubled by changes brought about by the war. The community of physical, spiritual and intellectual forces succeeded in drawing itself up in battle array between Ghent and Grodno, that is, on the largest battle-line of the European continent, such as the heavens had never seen before. Every one on duty, every war tool in its place, every possibility considered beforehand. And in no man's breast, in no strong woman's breast, does a heart beat with fear. Faith is rooted deeply and firmly. Our life, not only that of the richest, had become too luxurious; on rubber tires (four spares attached behind) it raced over swamps, tree-stumps and sharp stones. Therefore in many a heart there is anxiety lest a pampered generation will soon grumble and moan about tired limbs, when it is forced to lie down on the hard bed of strenuous war duties; whether muscles are still supple and can obey the will even in mass slaughter. This anxiety rapidly disappears. From the fullness of their comfortable lives, from their soft pillows, hundreds of thousands rush to their posts of duty. Those who can be way up front are happy, while those remaining in the rear hope: "To-morrow we'll get to the front." No one is afraid of privations. Every one longs for them, high state officials and bank directors, judges and lawyers, put on the uniform of the non-commissioned officer and of the private, and await in feverish joy — as children await their Christmas presents — their first chance to get into action. If anything deserves criticism, it is the boisterous gaiety of the streets. Everybody jests and laughs. Everybody expects each evening to bring news of another victory, and stays till long after midnight around the cafés to catch the dispatches. Banners everywhere and flags, songs and shouts. It is too much like a picnic, there is too little solemnity. Only far beyond all this noise, in the more quiet streets, in the pastures and in the villages, does the wanderer find a more serious mood. Strangers and often enemies seem to have become one people. Every soul, each in its own way, experiences the greatness of the moment and feels the strength (trained into obedience) of the national unity with which his heart beats in accord. Never before have Germans found their Germany so beautiful. All lies seemed to have vanished.

They only *seemed*. With untiring effort a new fabric of lies is woven on a thousand spindles to replace the old one. Soon there is a substitute for everything; for good and for bad, for what is noble and ignoble; for butter, ink, perfumes, manganese, coffee, tea, sugar, lubricating oil, mouthwash; for every need which could not be satisfied due to the blockade of the German coast. Iron replaced copper, vegetable fibre wool, tissue paper soaked in

sugar water took the place of the cotton needed for the manufacture of shells. Again the achievements deserve the highest admiration. And Germany is accustomed to value achievements.

How things were achieved was of little concern. Behind this transition to war morals, which also organised the wholesale distribution of "truth for export" (an official truth of somewhat rancid odour) and at home let the genuine natural truth become starved and blinded, the utilitarian religion of the unscrupulous confraternity of business was revealed. The epistle of the ninety-three prominent citizens, "To the Civilised World," showed for the first time and in a painful manner what had been developing quietly under the surface. "It is not true that we have violated Belgian neutrality." This phrase, formulated by a comedian, and a host of similar phrases that followed, merely repeated what immediately before the outbreak of the war a Bavarian (non-Prussian) diplomat, in a report to his Prime Minister, had summarised in the words: "Before the rest of the world nothing of course must be admitted." Nothing that might harm the reputation of Germany. True or untrue; it makes no difference. "Right or wrong, my country." The German principle went further than this pernicious British shibboleth, in fact much further. Was this the deepest business secret, the final conclusion of neo-German wisdom? The confraternity of business calls it "Patriotism," "National Duty"; it fondly imagines that this rigid system of denials, worthy of a band of forgers and thieves, creates a "united front, demanded during a crisis by the national feeling"; and it daily holds parades on the assumption of this fictitious front, impossible in a much-divided nation of sixty millions, and shifts from amazement to angry abuse when the world replies to these activities only with contempt. The achievement is admired, the general efficiency is often, and especially in France, overestimated; the political morals, however, are viewed by others from the snow-clad ramparts of ice-bound distrust.

THE PROCESS OF MYSTIFYING THE GERMAN PEOPLE

He who strives for justice may be surprised and may cry out pharisaically when, during the years of moral confusion, increasing pressure and torturing need, the seed of disaster ripened into a rank growth of weeds, enough to frighten any one. From east and west German victories were reported, never defeats, retreats, losses of human lives, of ships, of war implements. No one ever learned that as early as the first days of September, 1914, a decision had been brought about on the Marne, which, giving England time for mobilising her empire, destroyed the last ray of hope that Germany, encumbered by two lame allies, could win the victory. When I cautiously hinted that there had been a battle of the Marne, men of high rank wrote me that they were amazed that even I had been misguided by the lies of French propaganda into believing in the battle of the Marne "which of course had never taken place." So firmly was the temple of truth sealed. The fulfilment of the duty, so often preached to the Germans by the philosopher Fichte and the Social Democrat Lassalle, "to say what is," was strictly prohibited, and even the attempt to warn against dangerous illusions was threatened by arrest or even worse. Internally, hindrances; externally, losses; such was the case only with the enemy, not with us. They were threatened by bankruptcy, mutiny, disintegration of the state, revolt of the subject races, dominions and colonies, weakening of the alliances and angry impatience on the part of the neutrals. They are forced continually to accumulate further debts abroad, while we raise all the necessary money

within our country by war loans which are always oversubscribed. Don't we have everything that we need; more than we need? In addition, we have a whole bag of surprises, poison gas, submarines, Zeppelin fleets, long-range guns ("Big Berthas"), camouflaged patrol boats, commercial submarines, which will soon take away the enemy's breath. The Vice-Chancellor of the empire dared to make the statement that even financially Germany was stronger than her opponents, and could "shoot with silver bullets" longer than the British Empire. This grotesque bragging was believed by the people. Day by day they heard that the final victory was not only certain but near at hand, and would only be endangered if the confidence in victory should be weakened. Before and after every *event*, these tactics of incessant palliation had succeeded. Other tactics, however, were demanded by the *continued state* of a fifty months' war. An *event*, even a painful one, elevates the spirits and raises the will-power, which, victorious, willingly undergoes the severest privations. A *continued state*, even one surrounded by thousands of flags, rapidly grows monotonous; it gradually clips the wings of the spirit and lets it sink, bare and lame, into the daily cares and worries. The hope of winning, with the same strategies and tactics that teach the will to master an *event*, the mastery over an adverse *condition*, resembles the illusion that the emotional intoxication and sensual spasms of the engagement period will guarantee the happiness of married life. Because neither the military nor the political leaders were aware of this difference, their calculations miscarried.

INCREASING HARDSHIPS FOR THE GERMAN PEOPLE

For the soldier and the citizen the times gradually grew very hard. On the front and at home the most necessary things were lacking. A war financed within the country and the bolstering up of three financially weak allies, and the first one carried on with big industrial resources, was bound to bring enormous profits to a not inconsiderable group of producers and traders. To clip off with fiscal shears considerable pieces of these enormous profits does not seem necessary, for then the "enthusiasm" of that class which sipped the war like champagne, would be destroyed. Don't we know that the enemy will pay all the war expenses; the enemy whose defeat has been certain for a long time? Lest the enthusiasm of the lower classes should evaporate, wages are made quite generous. The middle classes, however, that great mass of intellectuals, steadily grows poorer. This is the only layer of society where questions like prices and wages, business and trade, hours and conditions of labour, are not regulated by the military authorities. To live in a cold room during winter, on bran bread, water, soup and turnips, is torture. Still worse the steady concentration upon material things and the necessity of suffering under the yoke of the questions of how and whence to get the money necessary for food, clothing, fuel, for instruction and clean bed clothes for the children. Who, with tired and irritated nerves can lift himself from the rage of such worries, into the realms of pure thought, art, science, or any other abstraction? Conscience itself rots and gradually forgets the necessity of an inner cleanliness that does not permit a particle of dust in the delicate mechanism of the watch. But under the strong scourge of the Chief Command, where incapable generals are thrown into authority over bragging slackers, impatience, discontent and anger may not openly express themselves about the way the beloved country is endangered. It is only in the dark, behind closed doors, that the crowd of heretics grows. From a thousand megaphones one hears the shouts

of: "We are sure of victory; only its scope is still indefinite; stick it out a bit longer, and no devil will rob us of the final triumph." There are whispers however: "We are conquering ourselves to death." How much longer can the undernourished people maintain itself against a countless host of enemies? A continuous state of affairs becomes unbearable, in which an eighteen-year-old lieutenant struts, like one divinely endowed, through the lines of petrified, respectfully saluting soldiers, while an almost fifty-year-old member of the militia, a judge, a professor, an artist or a merchant, is kicked around with his belongings like a head of cattle. On barracks, dug-outs and trenches, inscriptions different from those of 1914 can be read. "The same pay, the same food — and the war is soon forgotten." "I state it without fear — if Bill his resignation states — and Augusta (the Empress) for potatoes waits, — the end of war is near." And even more bitter expressions. If a heretic is caught at home, he is soon sent under fire; that is, drum fire, and not the more harmless fire of the old stake; but it does not change the character of the punishment. The dissenter must go to the front; and then there is surprise that the front should break down at the points of least resistance. In the west, in spite of the bravest perseverance, no decisive success; and a steadily growing pressure from the daring Americans, wonderfully equipped in every respect. In the east, the Russian forces checked only by the importation, ordered by the German military staff, of the Bolsheviki and their agitators. The absurd harshness of the Peace of Brest-Litovsk and Bucharest, from a military point of view, has buried the hope of a general peace based on common sense and farsighted reason. Woe to him who dares to hint at these ideas in public! My weekly, in which I dared do so, was almost ruined by repeated confiscations, was regularly prohibited in the army and navy, and twice suspended at home for a period of five months. As late as October, 1918, the posted proclamations of General Hindenburg shouted that it was Germany, which had been victorious on the eastern front and was sure of a final victory on the western front, which permitted free expression of every opinion during the whole period of war.

THE GERMAN REVOLUTION OF NOVEMBER, 1918

A mutiny of sailors, which sent a few hundred restless men from the coast into the interior, washed away the foundations of the monarchical confederation of 1871, the substructure of the German Empire. The diaries and letters of General von Moltke, who presided over the General Staff for nine years, till after the battle of the Marne, and other documents, prove that as early as 1915, unbiassed military experts no longer believed in a final victory, many even fearing the possibility of a complete collapse. This was retarded only by the patient spirit of self sacrifice of the nation, which was convinced, in the trenches and at home, of the righteousness of its cause. If the German had been told with as calm a wisdom as the British had been, that "It's a long, long way to Tipperary," that the task was terribly difficult, the disappointment would never have turned into a catastrophe. It was the product of four years of lies, after which the request for an armistice, sent to Washington at the insistent demand of the Military Command, reacted like a bolt from the blue, and set every thing ablaze. "We have been lied to and cheated," in this outcry of the leader of the ultra-conservative Junker party, the feelings of a whole nation were expressed in a painful moan.

The dynastic front, which had appeared unshaken for a half a century, was dispersed like chaff before the wind. The Emperor had long ago slid

from his heroic pose; now he deserts the army and flees to Holland because at Headquarters the Field-Marshal, as he writes, can no longer "guarantee his safety" (a safety which millions had dispensed with for four years in trenches and dugouts). The Crown Prince follows him there. Two dozen or more of German kings, grand dukes, dukes, princes disappeared over night before they, of whom hardly one had incurred hatred, were violently thrust from their thrones or thronelets. At first in Munich, immediately afterwards in Berlin, and then everywhere, the republic is proclaimed; officers, aristocrats, high state officials, academic and journalistic spokesmen of the monarchy, everybody cautiously went under cover before the storm, in a manner anything but heroic. It was only yesterday that the word "democracy" was tabooed as a disgraceful abomination, while to-day everyone paints himself and acts as a "democrat." It was only yesterday that everyone suspected of Socialist sympathies was denied the pettiest office. To-day the Social Democracy furnishes chancellors, ministers, governors; injects its followers into the whole official body of the empire, the states and the municipalities; and is flattered and bowed to by those just disinherited, exactly as was yesterday the glittering crowd of the privileged. A harness-maker, saloon-keeper, editor of provincial paper, and party official, who had hundreds of times sung the praises of the "international, revolutionary, emancipating Social Democracy," Mr. Ebert, son of a proctor in the University of Heidelberg in Baden, is made Federal President, in a certain sense heir to the powers of the Hohenzollerns and successor to William the Bombastic. After this who could, who dared, any longer doubt that a new Germany had come to be?

CHARACTER OF THE "REVOLUTIONARY" GOVERNMENT

Honesty, which everyone not superficial recognises as always the best policy, demands that the already torn veil be ripped to pieces. No! Germany has not experienced a revolution; she has only fevered through a convulsion caused by over-exertion and fright. It was not the impetuous and ardent desire for liberty, self-determination and responsibility for the state ideal, that overthrew the monarchy and erected in its place the republic, but the desire to mitigate the will of a world of enemies, and the hope thereby to secure less stringent terms of peace. Because this hope seemed to be disappointed (only *seemed*, for a German monarchy would have been burdened with much severer terms), because, nevertheless, the terms of the Peace Treaty were very harsh, new disappointment was manifested, which was generally expressed in these trite words: "Now we have done everything that Wilson and Company wanted, and yet they treat us so badly! With all their big words of freedom, human rights, brotherhood and self-determination, these people have only enticed us hypocritically into a trap." This attitude became the source of all evil. A people, says Duke Alba (in Goethe's *Egmont*), never becomes mature; a people always remains childish. This gloomy creed of a devoted Hispanic Roman Catholic and warrior might dim the judgment of one who sees the brave industrious German nation, superior in intellectual training and creative power to many of its neighbours, slipping again into the balefully methodic illusion which only a few years ago had seriously endangered its life. The rule of nationalists, hot for vengeance, became all-powerful; the White Terror, stronger than the preceding rule of military dictators, now gags the desire for truth. A glance back upon the early morn of the republic makes this development clear. At that time, Social Democrats in the rôle of Federal Ministers had greeted the

returning troops at the city gates, as "an unconquered army." And one of these so-called international pacifistic thinkers said, in the cantonment of a Prussian General, to President Ebert, who was just then much depressed over the incipient Communist disturbances: "Cheer up, Fritz! Everything will turn out all right." This confidence was based on inside information that close to Berlin well-disciplined troops of soldiers, entirely imbued with the spirit of the Imperial epoch, were ready to suppress every desire for an uprising and to effect a forceful restoration of "law and order." This happened a few weeks after the would-be revolution. In order to restore the law of the old *régime*, and the discipline of the strongly guarded barracks, by means of the old forces, it was not necessary to overthrow the pillars and supports of the State. If, however, the purpose of this overthrow was to clear the ground on which a free people might create a commonwealth of its own, it is clear that during the last five years nothing has been done in this respect.

GERMAN MISTAKES IN THE PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

A voluminous book would be required to describe all the mistakes that accumulated during these years, the first of which was the despatching to Versailles of a typical representative of the old diplomacy, with an excessively large staff. This envoy in spite of cleverness and a conscious striving for a semblance of democracy, could not conceal his training in the army and the court, and his first word, the first word spoken, after a blockade of four years, by the representative of the new Government, was a protest against the insistence upon German guilt for the outbreak of the war. On the prop of this mistaken psychology the new Government hobbled along on its thorny path. To the opponent all this seemed fraud; it appeared to have been borrowed from the "*Cour des miracles*" of Neo-romanticism, whose stock-in-trade were bloody bandages, hunchbacks, wooden legs, and the like, and to whose deceptive tricks a dignified nation even in its direst need should never lower itself. But the same principle still exerted its influence which, on the eve of the war, had been characterised in the report of a German diplomat in the apocalyptic and immortal words: "Before the rest of the world everything of course must be denied, everything." Not of course that the German people had as little lust for war as any other people, for war means sacrifices, but that William was at least one living example of the causes of the war whose outbreak and spread had been favoured by the irrational and anarchic economic system of Europe. The military defeat and the fact that immediately following it Germany still remained able to render reasonable reparations, was also denied. Who was the gainer by this persistent denial? Surely not the nation against whom it continued to awake a new distrust, and whose fate now depended on whether it would succeed in gaining the confidence of the world. The denial could help only the monarchic-nationalists.

The deeper the representatives of the political order became enmeshed in the old system of lies, the closer became the bond of solidarity between this system and the present rulers, and the more hatred was incurred abroad, thus bringing Germany into the realm of catastrophe; and only in catastrophes, at home or abroad, can a policy of desperadoes find hope of victory. With a truly infernal cleverness the nationalists succeeded in misleading all the German governments of the post-war period into a situation, the aim of which was (could not be other than) to discredit the new form of government, to contrast the splendour of the Imperial days with the misery of the republic, to place all the blame upon the malice and downright wickedness of

the victors (who owed their victory to deceit and dishonesty and to the betrayal instigated by the Socialists and Jews of Germany), to decry the Treaty of Versailles, as a means and not an end, the bridge to and not the shore of a fertile continent, to denounce it as the most hideous crime, the most contemptible document of history, and thereby to lash all minds into breaking the chains and avenging the sacrilege. The rulers did not always see this aim clearly; they were filled with the fear of being denounced as poor patriots, with the cowardly fear of the secret organisations, which were not backward in plotting murders, whose direct victims already amounted to half a thousand; and is it not wonderfully easy to hide from the searching eye what has been ruined by one's own inability, by placing it, with mournful patriotic mien, to the credit of the enemy's wickedness?

WHY THE GERMAN MASSES STILL SYMPATHISED WITH THE OLD MONARCHY

Just as the etymologist may speak of a social etymology, so the investigator of cause and effect may speak of the logic of the masses. A woman has stood for hours on the street in the rain to secure for her small household (to feed which she has available hardly half of the former, never munificent, wages of a labourer, and which consequently suffers dire need), to secure for her husband and children a half-pound of vegetable fat to add to their bread and thin soups, their only food for months. She has no leisure to think of the time when there was meat on the table every day, when she could give her little ones sweets, cakes, candies and chocolates, buy a Christmas tree, light the candles on its branches, and lay a great variety of little presents under it. Now she has no shirt, no bed-linen, no milk, no butter for her little boy. Eggs are only dreamed-of luxuries, there is no thought of Christmas, and if she would get a doctor for her little girl, who has been coughing so terribly for the last week, the hole in the budget cannot be filled up for months. And there are millions of human beings like this woman in the German cities. Is it not natural that a comparison of the fairly comfortable life in the days of the Emperor, with the grey misery of the present, should mislead this woman into thinking that the empire is to be preferred to the republic? Because the price of butter has risen beyond reach, William does not seem so bad as he is painted. That is simple. That is clear to the popular logic of the masses.

Of course it would be easy to prove that the price of butter, and all the present business, is but the final outcome of Wilhelmism. But the law of cause and effect, which would furnish this proof, is much too complicated, too subtle, for the dulled minds of those laden with cares, who, in patched shoes and threadbare clothes, tramp through the morass of their daily needs. And again, the attempt to prove this relation has not been made, at least never with the crude means adapted to mass psychology which alone could make it effective. Instead of exposing the complete picture of guilt, instead of continually dragging the enormous mistakes and blunders of the old system and its main representatives into the limelight, and thus gradually enlightening the minds of the masses, it was attempted, by palliatives and by a defence of the past, to create a kind of continuity of the governmental system. Who can even imagine that the leaders of the great revolutions in England and France would have spoken with tender solicitude of the generals, officials, favourites and creatures of Kings Charles Stuart and Louis Capet, or even of those monarchs themselves, who are not charged by history with the one-hundredth part of calamities caused by William? From the depths of the national consciousness the angry question would have been

echoed: "Why did they behead, exile, destroy, what was worthy of such consideration?" And the German Republic, daily called by its leaders "the freest in the world," cultivates and honours the memory of the monarchy as a sacred possession. And the result of all these doings is felt everywhere. Wherever the defeated military leaders (who were clever enough to place upon the civilians the blame for the surrender in the forest of Compiègne, upon which they themselves had successfully insisted), wherever Ludendorff, Hindenburg and their associates appear, they are greeted with many more cheers than Foch, Joffre, Pétain, Douglas Haig or Pershing have ever heard. Only those are popular who have led the country into war, into the illusion of annexations and the resulting hegemony, into defeat. Among the great number of Ministers who have held office since 1919, there has not been one who did not share richly the responsibility for what had happened. Not even those Ministers who were murdered by the nationalists were free from this guilt, neither Erzberger, who during the war had unscrupulously led the propaganda and had demanded for the Germans the choicest portions of north-eastern France, nor the intelligent and cultured but unproductive and vain Rathenau, who, as a favourite of the Emperor, had risen in the War Ministry to be Controller of Raw Materials; who played the Democrat only because it was advantageous; who objected to Ludendorff's peace proposals, although he boundlessly admired Ludendorff, as being premature; who after four years of war noisily recommended the impossible plan of continuing the war by mass uprisings; who advised not signing the Treaty of Versailles; and, when he finally obtained his seat in the Cabinet, the goal of his ambition, — left as the sole result of his official career a single sterile fruit, the Treaty of Rapallo, the first step towards German-Russian alliance. All these men wasted the greater part of their not too considerable talents in covering up their former mistakes and in the arduous attempt to prove that they had always been "in the right." All of them were and are intimidated by the terror of the nationalists, and as soon as they open their mouths are dominated solely by the fear lest they make themselves the least bit objectionable to the inexorably cruel guardians of integral nationalism. Hence the eternal, useless repetition, only harmful to the cause of Germany, of the accusations, heard thousands of times, and of the long list of "legal infractions," "arbitrariness," "cruelty," of which "the enemy" is accused. The stronger and more vigorous the denunciations of the enemy the more sure as well as louder the applause.

THE PRESENT TYRANNICAL AND INEFFICIENT GERMAN BUREAUCRACY

And is this to be wondered at? The perpetual assertion, inherited by one *régime* from the other, that a nation of immaculately spotless, angelic and modest people was forced into war and abject poverty by the malice, greed and envy of wicked neighbours and competitors; this legend taking hold of the minds of the people could not fail to have an effect. The German people are less free, less protected by law and justice than ever was the case before the war under the monarchy, are almost incessantly suppressed by military dictators and all kinds of "exceptional" laws, whose execution lies in the hands of generals and officers of the former empire. The administration of justice is characterised by the fact that all monarchistic plotters, murderers, traitors are left undisturbed, or if by some unpreventable misfortune their arrest is rendered unavoidable, they are given the most lenient sentences and often permitted to escape from prison. The German Parliaments are miserable caricatures of parliamentary government, and if they become inconvenient,



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Protecting the potatoes in post-war Germany. Mounted police driving off a band of peasants in search of food.

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Unrest in Germany. A Socialist mob demonstrating outside the Reichstag in Berlin.

any Government may at any time disregard them by obtaining emergency laws and dictatorial powers from the same Parliaments.

The body of officialdom, swollen to enormous proportions by culpable neglect, by comradeship and the nepotism of the ruling parties, was divested, by the crudest quack methods, of its superfluous fat, with unreasonable rapidity, as if what had been neglected so long was to be made up in a day; half a million of employees, whom the State had agreed to support, were thrown on the streets (the "right" to do this was immediately furnished, again by emergency laws), and the salaries of the officials remaining in office were lowered to such an extent that even the best paid could not live on them or, in case of death, pay their funeral expenses. So great was the hardship thus produced, that the Secretary of the Foreign Office shouted into the ear of the Minister of Finance an accusation that such niggardliness was bound to breed corruption even among those officials who were not yet tainted. The worker has lost the eight-hour day, the last acquisition that remained of the many promises of the revolution; then the only possibility of social reconciliation and of an existence worthy of a human being was destroyed. Shall they who perhaps are forced to slave eight hours in the dark mine pits, or ten hours in foundries or factories, for a quarter of the corresponding American wages, see in the institution of the republic a gift of fortune worthy of self-sacrificing defence? And where is the guard of this republic to be recruited, this republic which has given nothing to any class, not even land to the peasant, which only took everything and which is beset by grumbling groups of *déclassés*, aristocrats, officers and officials?

UNPARALLELLED PROSPERITY OF PROFITEERS AND OF THE PEASANT REGIONS — POVERTY IN THE CITIES

The Government brought no class a permanent gain, but for years a great swarm of persons enjoyed, if not wealth, at least a glittering imitation of it. Beside hollow-cheeked want, over the graves of the middle-classes, who have wretchedly eked out their lives by the sale of family heirlooms and necessary household goods, voluptuous luxury struts shamelessly. The carousing and debauched profiteers crowd the theatres and pack the concert-halls, dance-halls, restaurants, tea-rooms, bars, boxing and wrestling matches, cafés, race-courses, seaside resorts, Alpine villages, winter sport places, and the public and private dens, increasing every month in number, where half-nude or altogether nude female bodies are exhibited, bidding for the favour of visitors. They have the most expensive Rolls-Royces, the most elegant mistresses, rent the finest quarters in the mountains and at the seashore, buy all that money can buy, and never ask timidly what anything may cost. Where does all the money come from? It is not necessary once more to repeat here the thousandfold incidents of war profiteers, of the newly rich, the specious blessing of inflation, the capital smuggled out of the country, hidden at home, or disguised behind neutral names, the mad craze for foreign money and stock speculating, which possesses all layers of society, the evasion of taxation and the rooting out of the instinct of accumulation. Attention is called to the fact that all of those living on agricultural productions, still almost three-fifths of the population, never had such large and secure profits as in the period following the opening of the war and the blockade; that the depreciation of paper money to worse than ridiculous figures frees them from all mortgages and other debts, and has made possible the improvement and modernisation of peasant houses, large estates, herds of cattle, agricultural machinery and all other inventories. Churches, schools, local government and

private buildings even in the remotest villages are improved to an extent never thought of before; peasants, in order to get rid of the scraps of paper money, devaluating over night, have bought pianos, phonographs, motor-cycles, automobiles; for their wives and daughters: silks, velvets, furs, sweaters, laces, corsets, the finest lingerie, whole mountains of linen, dress goods, woollens, yarns; and even twelve-year old girls are already supplied with all their dowry; simple foresters carry on farming or cattle raising in their spare time, keep a dozen head of cattle, a half-dozen fat pigs in their barns, raise geese, turkeys, chickens, and catch enough fish and crabs to supply the demand of large city restaurants. Such is the situation in the country. And it is quite natural that the city population readily gives without thought its ugly paper money, which in its hands, pockets, or purses would become valueless, for goods or trifles, for enjoyment or glittering pleasures. Thus (as the German saying goes) "money circulates." No one has a special desire to offer this money as taxes to a watchful Government which has nobody's confidence, still less to pay it into a fund which is to furnish the sums demanded by the "enemy" for reparations. "The enemy would take everything anyhow." Every appeal to the conquered nation's sense of duty, to settle down to the meagre life of pauperised and heavily indebted creatures, is followed by the above or a similar answer. Moreover, in this over-tired, under-nourished people, grown obtuse by catastrophes, disappointed in their beliefs and superstitions in words, party dogmas, and leaders, all interest in politics has died out like a faint candle-flame after a short flickering in the wind; in the increasing worry as to the morrow, in the never-ending breathless struggle to secure the most necessary things, only the two allied words, "enemy" and "reparations," still sometimes begin to rouse a faint glimmer.

ALL MINDS REGARD "REPARATIONS" AS THE CENTRAL PROBLEM IN WORLD REHABILITATION

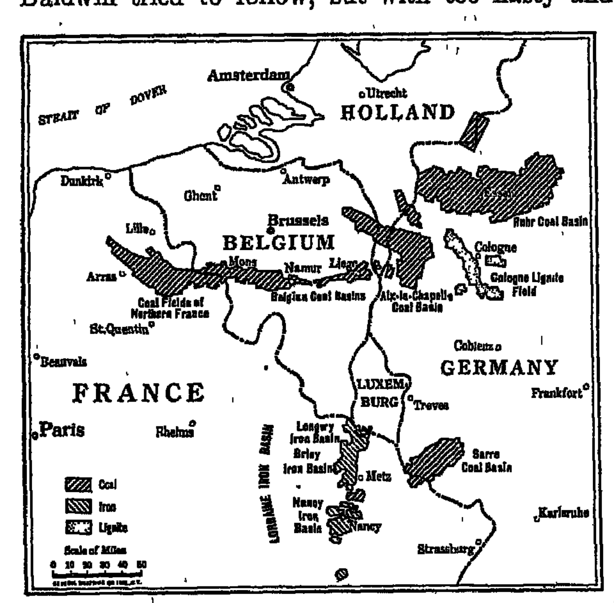
For in all minds, those that are empty, simple, or fully equipped with culture, the opinion is rooted that upon the solution of the reparations problem depends the destiny of Germany, of Europe, of even a much-greater portion of the world; upon it depends (as a poor metaphor might express it) the future of the planet which the myopic eye of the descendant of Adam considers as the Cosmos. It is peculiar how long this false opinion persists even among better minds. Whether during a period of thirty years Germany pays to the victorious Governments forty, fifty, even sixty thousand million marks (real marks, not paper marks), will not determine its destiny nor that of any other country. If Germany were determined to pay as much, we should have to imagine the country clothed in gloomy black, covered with mourning crêpe, for the reparations will surely not be delivered in the way the Treaty of Versailles provides, in such an awkwardly simple manner, an imitation of the manner of collecting damages in a civil suit. They simply cannot be delivered in that way. These sums may be paid either in raw materials, manufactured goods and labour, or from the profit on exported goods. There is no third possibility. If Germany pays in goods, products of the soil and labour, it will ruin the industry of France, its main creditor, which even later would largely depend, for repairs and separate parts, upon the industries of the debtor nation. If Germany should wish to pay from the income of the (at present very unfavourable) balance of trade, it must so restrict the importation of everything that can possibly be dispensed with,

so increase exports of cheap goods (the starvation wages making possible a "dumping" process of unheard-of dimensions), that this forced increase, in spite of the American and soon perhaps the Pan-British tariff barrier, would become unbearable to the other exporting states, even the strongest of them. But reparation is only an appendix in the body of the main problem. If this appendix should be freed from its inflammatory fever by a careful internal treatment, or cut away by the knife of the surgeon, the main problem would still remain unsolved. Of what does it consist and how did it arise? At least two-thirds of all Europeans were for four years applying their entire labour power to the purpose of destroying goods, annihilating values. Now about three hundred million Europeans (not entirely identical with those first mentioned) have no internationally accepted money, no half-way decent credit, can buy nothing substantial or valuable, especially no high quality goods, and thereby are depriving the other third, that is not yet robbed of its purchasing power, of its possible markets, of an opportunity to sell its goods, land and sea products, and manufactures; there starvation, here wealth suffocating in its own fat; there a lowering of consumption, here unemployment. And during the time of such narrowing markets, such disintegration of the continent into nations which cannot buy anything, and nations which cannot sell anything, in a period of crisis never before experienced on such a scale, and for such a length of time. Entire large industries which formerly had been the privilege, almost the monopoly of *one* country, were developed under pressure of war and the blockade in districts into which they had never before penetrated. Increase in production and decrease of buyers, reparation demands of the creditors whose fulfilment will still further weaken the debtor as a customer, and for a longer period of time; that is the problem.

THE TRUE SOLUTION OF EUROPE'S PROBLEM: FRANCO-GERMAN COÖPERATION

The key which could solve the question is to be found *only* by the road of Franco-German collaboration. Between the Pas de Calais and the Teutoburg forest, where Hermann the Cheruscan once defeated the legions of the Roman Imperator, between the Belgian Zeebrugge and the Westphalian city of Hamm, in the valleys of the main rivers, the Scheldt, Meuse, Moselle, Rhine and Ruhr, lies the richest industrial section of Europe. The richest, thanks to the favours of nature and of civilisation. Here are coal, ores, iron, while coke and steel are also produced; here are mines, foundries, smelting and rolling mills; machine, dye and other chemical factories; industrial plants of all kinds, served by the finest and most complicated railway system and the most intricate network of canals. For centuries there have been struggles for the control of this territory. Disregarding the outworn dynastic and nationalistic forces, which separated this territory, yearning for economic unity and a tariff union, by means of three boundaries, into Belgium, France and Germany, can the attempt to secure for it a unified administration, determined only by the counsel of economic reason, be a successful one? Upon the answer to *this* question the immediate destiny of Europe depends. This most profitable section of our continent (which is not very rich in natural wealth when compared with other continents) can never be so thoroughly exploited by three mutually suspicious or even hostile competitors to such an extent as it would have to be if Europe's position is to be maintained and this continent maintain itself in contest with present and future world trusts, with Pan-America, the British Empire, the Russo-Slavic and the Yellow-Mon-

golian systems. England, which owns nothing on the continent of Europe save Gibraltar, the naval fortress once wrested from the Spaniards, now one of Britain's guard-houses at the gateway to the Mediterranean, has grown accustomed to use the power and the rights, the sovereignty and the economics of the European states as trump-cards and ringing coin in its world politics. It must learn to relinquish this custom, which seems stable only to those who are short-sighted. To England belongs Australia, the heart of Africa, Canada, the enormous Hindu Empire. In this direction points the compass of the future. To the paths which Benjamin Disraeli, Lord Randolph Churchill, and Joseph Chamberlain proposed, and which Mr. Stanley Baldwin tried to follow, but with too hasty and too unsure a step; to the self-sufficient empire, protected by preferential tariffs, and supplying itself with raw materials and manufactured goods, with labour and with a market, which does not need to heap upon itself the odium of a "perfidious Albion," by attempting to make its trade the measure of all things, and exploiting the whole globe for this purpose, one day here and one day there. Much less than other continents, on which it has much greater possessions, can England afford to give Europe in payment. Because of its Channel coast and the coal and ore district, it has got into struggles and wars with Spain, the Netherlands, France, and the old as well as the later German Empire. And now too, England would like to prevent a Franco-German understanding, because here there might develop an economic power, disagreeably strong, a metal trust, producing cheaper than the Island Empire; and therefore, after having taken everything seizable from Germany, her navy, her merchant marine, her colonies, her commercial holdings, her oversea credits and even privately owned stocks, England preaches to the French daily, with Puritanic zeal, the duty of magnanimous affection for the poor German neighbour. The sooner England gives up this disadvantageous position, the better she will preserve her dignity and at the same time her advantage. If she desires only security on the coast of Flanders, which might become the sally-gate against the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, this desire can be fulfilled. Due to England's will, which permitted no military power to rise on this coast, Belgium was neutralised in the course of the last century. The neutralisation, guaranteed by strong Powers, including those of the League of Nations, of the entire industrial section between the Scheldt and the Ruhr, would give



The richest district in all Europe with iron, coal and lignite fields in abundance. Before the war, Germany possessed the immensely valuable iron-fields of Lorraine in addition to the great coal-fields of the Ruhr; but as a consequence of the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and of the occupation of the Ruhr, France, with her Ally, Belgium, now controls the whole of the economic nerve-centre of continental Europe.

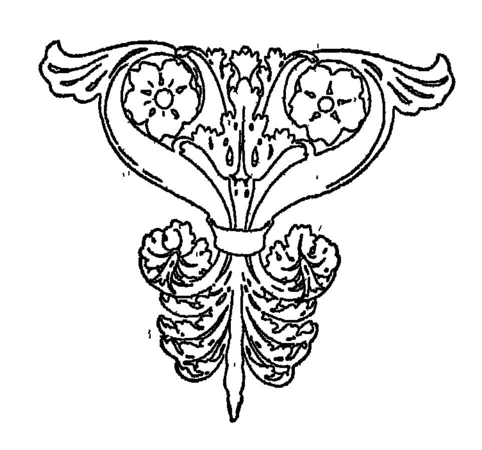
sufficient protection, would also give France and Belgium the "securities" that they so violently demand, and would take from them every pretence of veiled annexations and of interference with the freedom and self-determination of the Rhine and Ruhr population. If this industrial section, disregarding the political boundaries arbitrarily drawn by dynastic jealousies and diplomatic intrigues, is rationally combined into the economic entity to which it is predestined, it can readily help France and Germany to overcome the consequences of the war, strengthening them for the cultural task which the reconstruction of Russia puts upon them, and thus become the source from which will come the recovery of our continent. The nationalistic solution of the threatening problem is: Arming for a war of revenge which, no matter how it ended, would bring about new armaments and new wars, and let Europe's fate be as in Oedipean tragedy. The other solution demands Franco-German collaboration as the pre-requisite and germinal cell of a European economic and tariff unity. Only as George Washington saved the North American States, exhausted from war and weakened by rivalry, can the old Continent, too, be saved. Europe will become in the near future the home of at least economically united states, which later on will probably form a central administrative and political pool; or it will fall from its high estate, held for a thousand years, and, an outworn, calcinated organism, will become the vassal, the repair shop, the arsenal and the museum of younger nations.

GERMANY'S CHANCES OF REBIRTH

Only in a new Europe can a new and healthy Germany develop. Germany is still sick, in spirit more than in her economic structure. She is not quite so poor as she would like to seem, because she has always been, and is still, told that the whole world is hostile to her and, through jealousy and greed, is taking everything that she does not succeed in hiding. But is it possible to hide the wealth of a nation, even what is left of it? The number of those who carry on [illegible] large. The stables and barns of the farmer are filled, in the city the number of new palaces and villas, motor-cars, cafés, and amusement places grows; and three weeks before Christmas, in spite of sky-high prices, no accommodations were any longer to be had at mountain resorts. The class between the "money makers" and manual labourers, who, in order to remain efficient, must be allowed a minimum subsistence, that class, clothed in rags, is starving; decimation of the teaching staff; school classes up to a hundred and fifty pupils under *one* teacher; ink, pens, pencils, text-books — all terribly expensive; students who eke out their existence by playing pianos all night long in dens of vice, while instructors carry bags of coal; daughters of lawyers, ministers and judges serving as waitresses and scrubwomen — such is the fate of the middle classes of Germany to-day.

The insanity of the resistance, hopeless from the first day, against the occupation of the Ruhr, which devoured enormous sums, more than would have had to be paid for reparations up to at least 1928, has given the state finances the final blow. Whether the Ruhr occupation was lawful or unlawful, according to the wording of the Peace Treaty, is not discussed here. Surely many an injustice has been done the German people. But the eternal fuming about this has been just as ineffective as for years the continuous whining of: "Germany is lying on her deathbed!" Germany is not dying. She has been harmed more from within than from without. For, since 1914, she has been administered and governed much worse than was ever the case in the Imperial period of William. She must help herself, not demand help

from others; not see only the splinter in her neighbour's eye and deny the beam in her own; look forward, not backward. The picture that Germany presents to the world to-day is confused, unclear, gloomy; but gives no cause for despair. Similar symptoms of decay became visible after France's first great Revolution in the days of the *assignats* and the *Directoire*. And these days did not follow upon such a sudden, such a cataclysmic fall from the pinnacle of power, as Germany has experienced. Too long was Germany accustomed to obey silently, to protect her main industries and her best advantage in an aggressive war, and to make only those sacrifices which she was ordered to make. Blindly, she stumbled into freedom, bleeding from a thousand wounds, and has not yet found her bearings in the chaos. Boundless blessings did the Germany of the Nibelungen, Walter von der Vogelweide, Dürer, Kant, Goethe, Handel, Bach, Beethoven and Mozart give to the world; and boundless blessings will in future mature in her womb. This will come when Germany recognises that the truth is the strongest of all swords, that the religion of the spirit made flesh is not simply a commercial ornament or a holiday spectacle, that the method of fighting and the concepts of honour of the feudal period are not compatible with the new form of civilisation and culture, of industrialism, and that every nation, large or small, must conform with the spirit of humanity without conceit and arrogant contempt for others. If this spirit is revealed in modest majesty, it will lead Germany from the darkness into the light. That this new apocalypse may not come too late, is the New Year's wish of all those of good-will.



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Nicholas II, last Emperor of All the Russias, with his family. This photograph depicts them i the days of their glory and greatness.



© *Wide World Photos*

Near the end of their short lives. Probably the last photograph of four of the Tsar's five childre taken shortly before their murder at Ekaterinburg on July 17, 1918.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

"HOLY" RUSSIA

By Michael S. Farbman.

Russian Correspondent of *The Observer* (London). Author of *Bolshevism in Retreat; Russia and the Struggle for Peace; The Russian Revolution and the War.*

For a long time Russians prided themselves on the fact that Russia was a peculiar country, a country which need not submit to the usual laws of development. This belief was groundless. Russia has passed through the usual stages; and the Revolution of 1905 which established representative Government must have convinced the most sceptical that Russia cannot be considered as in a class by herself. And yet the very events which led up to and which followed this Revolution have contributed to the deepening of this notion that Russia is, in a sense, a peculiar nation. The unusual forms of the struggle, the incoherent attitude of the people, the rapid changes from revolution to reaction and back — all these contributed to the fascination and interest with which the outside world viewed Russian development during the last 25 years. Attention could not be relaxed; for there was always something new and surprising happening. Events had all the quick changes of the kaleidoscope, and a freshness and vigour quite unsurpassed.

In the short space of 25 years Russia made a bold attempt to acquire the character of a capitalist country, engaged in two tremendous wars and went through three gigantic revolutions. But the dramatic character of these events is not alone responsible for the fascination with which they have been regarded by Western Europe. This is due to the fact that into 25 years Russia has packed events which have transformed her from a semi-feudal to a modern European state. While the author's task is to give an outline of this transformation, he will emphasise its dramatic aspect only in so far as is necessary for the development of the main theme.

The change brought about by the Russian revolutions of the twentieth century was heralded by the great reforms effected by Peter the Great and by Alexander II. Peter's reform achieved its historical object completely. Alexander's reform, on the other hand, failed largely to accomplish its aim: the preparation of Russia for the new industrial epoch. The time was ripe for a clean sweep of the feudal forms of life; and many exponents of the thoughts of the time, and even some of the enlightened landlords, urged that the work should be done thoroughly. Alexander himself, too, looked upon the emancipation of the peasants as the beginning of a great cycle of reforms which should bring Russia to the level of other European countries. Her tragedy was that the Tsar Liberator was not strong enough to withstand the opposition of reactionary landlords and bureaucrats.

A PERIOD OF REACTION

And yet Russia was roused from the inertia in which she lay. A new wind blew over the country and its modernisation began, and it was

only the lack of accommodation and compromise, so characteristic of Russian thinkers and politicians, that wrecked what might have been a most promising beginning. The two opposing parties, the feudals and the progressives, instead of trying to understand one another, fell further and further apart. The crash came in the 'seventies when the impatience and impetuosity of the people's party led it to attempt to bring about reform by resorting to revolutionary methods, while the party of reaction was resolved only on destroying its opponents. The struggle culminated in the futile assassination of Alexander and in the consequent reaction inaugurated by his successor. The reign of Alexander III not only failed to develop the reforms inaugurated by Alexander II but even revived many features of the old Feudalism. Industrialisation, however, could not be checked. On the contrary the great work accomplished in this reign, the improvement of transport, notably the building of the Great Siberian railway, the introduction of foreign capital and the [illegible] of Russian finances, undoubtedly created the preliminaries for [illegible] towards progress.

A new epoch was dawning [illegible] R[illegible] was about to be born. The men who would order reforms by issuing a ukase and those who would exact reforms by throwing bombs were both becoming obsolete. Public opinion, mass movement, social and economic forces were all being mobilised. And though this new epoch started in the 'nineties of the last century, its proper place is in the present one.

ASSASSINATION AND REVOLUTIONARY PROPAGANDA

On February 14, 1901, Russia was shocked by the revival of political assassination, a revival the more appalling because the assassin and the victim both seemed to stand outside politics, the former being Karpovich, a University student, and the later Bogoliepov, the Minister of Education. But this detachment from politics was merely theoretical; for all politics in Russia at that time centred in the Universities. Karpovich's shot was in fact a reply to the Government's policy of arresting over two hundred students of the St. Petersburg and Kiev Universities and making soldiers of them as punishment for participation in political demonstrations.

The conditions fostering revolt among the students had always existed since the Government of Alexander III abolished the autonomy of the Universities in 1883. The new "reactionary" status of the Universities made it a crime for students to group themselves in any organisation for social, convivial, political or ben[illegible] [illegible] the professors, who up to that time had been [illegible] now to receive their appointment from the Mi[illegible]. [illegible] became officials, entitled to orders and promotions not on scholastic but political grounds. Henceforth there was no spiritual nexus between professors and students, the latter treating the former not only without respect, but with undisguised suspicion as spies of the Government. Owing to their readiness to use every opportunity of "demonstrating" in favour of autonomy, the students were naturally highly susceptible to revolutionary propaganda. Soon student and revolutionary became synonyms.

REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT IN THE UNIVERSITIES

Unrest in the Universities, then, was a chronic disease. The prohibition of all organisations naturally drove the movement in[illegible]

formed elaborate secret organisations, the so-called "Unions of fellow-townsmen."

Unrest among the students quickly became a barometer indicating accurately the general unrest in the country. Towards the end of the last century and at the beginning of the present, this unrest transcended all traditional manifestations in its violence and mass-character, exactly because the country was getting ripe for revolution.

The Revolutionary movement in the Universities started in 1899 and was due to very trivial causes. The St. Petersburg students resented an announcement made by the Rector which threatened them with expulsion and arrest if they broke the peace during the celebration of Founder's Day on February 8. They tore down this document, and on the day in question shouted down the Rector and compelled him to leave unheard. They then left the University singing revolutionary songs. But in Roumiantzev Square near the University they were met by mounted gendarmes and in the collision that occurred several of them were killed and wounded. The popular indignation aroused by this incident incited the students to renewed and more violent protests. In three days' continuous meetings they decided to embody these protests in a general strike of all students. This extraordinary form of protest, unique of its kind, was subsequently followed by the provincial Universities until as many as 25,000 students were concerned. The strike lasted till the end of the year, during which time no lectures were given.

The Students' Revolutionary movement was revived the following year and increased in effectiveness and strength up to the time of the Revolution of 1905. But it never recovered its purely professional and academic character. The students became simply the skirmishers of the general Revolutionary movement.

THE AGITATION SPREADS TO OTHER CLASSES

At first the Government was confused and almost ashamed at having to encounter this passive resistance from schoolboys; it felt degraded before the Western Powers by this indirect censure passed upon "the decrees of a savage and arbitrary power" by what the students called "the protest of science and learning." But the first shock past, it was not displeased; for the very closing of the Universities seemed to them to have killed the propaganda. The leaders of the strike, recognising their tactical error, then raised the cry "Back to the Universities," to prepare for more effective forms of revolutionary activity. The Government retorted by the issue of new regulations, which made any student who took part in any demonstration liable to arrest and incorporation in the army. When the Government actually sent over two hundred students to the barracks, the students organised with the assistance of the workers armed demonstrations in the streets and replied by assassinating the Minister of Education. The "soldier's clause" then became a dead letter. But this concession failed to kill the movement, which now became frankly and openly revolutionary.

The Revolutionary movement in the Universities acted as a leaven in various sections of Russian society. It was indeed the first popular and openly discussed phase of the political struggle. Political propaganda had so far been conducted with the utmost secrecy and could not therefore affect the great mass of the population. The revolt of the students introduced political discussion into those middle-class families from which most of the students were recruited. The workers for a long time had been in contact

with the more insurgent of the students who at the same time carried on propaganda among them and taught them the rudiments of reading and writing.

The call of the Social Democrats and of other revolutionary parties to come to the assistance of "our comrades the oppressed students" met with a most cordial response. In the provinces the Students' Revolutionary movement was the first harbinger of the political unrest. The provinces at that time were half asleep, and the arrival home of the students on strike compelled them for the first time to recognise that all was not well with the State.

PEASANT REVOLT A BOLT FROM THE BLUE

The sudden and simultaneous rising of the peasants in the two agriculturally important provinces of Kharkov and Poltava came on the Government as a bolt from the blue. Among its internal enemies it had never numbered the peasants, whom it was traditional to look upon as children who had to be punished or humoured. Their conservatism and devotion to the Tsar were never doubted. It required indeed many startling outbreaks of rebellion to convince the Government that the peasants could be disloyal. As a political force they certainly did not count. In dealing with them the Government was therefore guided solely by economic and never by political considerations. The peasants were not regarded as dangerous. But, with the creation of a modern army in Russia, all danger of violent and elemental outbreaks disappeared. Any attempt at revolt, however determined, could easily be dealt with. Moreover, it must always be remembered that the peasants never made any attempt to refuse soldiers for the army. True, the mothers in the villages used to sob over parting with their sons as violently as they would at a funeral. But for all that the normal attitude of the peasants to conscription was as fatalistic as their attitude to plague or death. In all these cases their point of view is expressed in the well-known saying, "God gave, God has taken away," a sentiment, half resignation, half satisfaction.

The impoverishment of the peasants continued unabated; but it provoked no open revolt. It was this long period of submission that made the revolts of 1902 the more alarming. They at once revealed the fact that the peasants were not the formless mass that the bureaucracy believed them to be but had actually been affected by the revolutionary ideas of the period. The character of these revolts is peculiarly interesting; for the attitude taken up by the peasant was not that of men registering a protest but that of men exercising a right. They came with empty carts and demanded from the agents the keys of the landlords' barns. But all they took was grain and fodder: these they considered their right. Taking cattle or implements would have been an infringement of "the law."

The subsequent legal proceedings threw a very interesting light on the rudimentary ideas of politics that prevailed among the peasants. They swore to a belief that their action was justified by a ukase of the Tsar and that the Grand Duke Michael, brother and heir of the Tsar, was actually concerned in carrying out the ukase, a circumstance which shows how real and deep-rooted in the peasant mentality was the idea of a Moujik-Tsar. For centuries all the disappointments which the people suffered were always ascribed to the landlords and the bureaucrats who controlled the Tsar and prevented him from gratifying his desire to befriend the people. This idea, however, survived only a few years longer, and was finally killed by the events that took place in St. Petersburg on "Bloody Sunday." These peasant revolts of 1902, primitive and elemental as they were, aroused anxiety in Govern-

ment circles and excited hope among the Revolutionaries. But the strikes which took place among the workers in the following year increased this anxiety and deepened this hope. They were indeed a sort of dress-rehearsal of the Revolution which broke out in 1905. But in this interval of two years the country was plunged once more into that big war which is ever the prelude to revolution in Russia.

TERRITORIAL EXPANSION

For centuries Russia prosecuted incessantly an aggressive foreign policy. The enlargements of her frontiers seemed never ending. And on the whole she was so fortunate in her wars that the belief prevailed that every declaration of war would enhance her prestige and extend her territories. Tsardom could only survive on condition that the forward movement swept on. Many enlightened statesmen saw the danger of this policy. But their advice counted for nothing; for the Autocracy was bound to this policy of expansion. The existence of an uncontrolled autocracy depends enormously on its prestige; successful war is the great means of enhancing prestige. War too was the only way of preventing Russia from becoming a self-conscious and articulate nation. War indeed arrested that development of social and economic forces which the Autocracy so dreaded. The permanent increase of territory and the incorporation of peoples of lower culture furnished the Autocracy with an instrument for playing off the uncultured majority against the civilised and aspiring minority. A period of peace always proved a period of progress, a period in which wealth accumulated and the people began to assert themselves.

So we are confronted again and again with the spectacle of the Autocracy cutting short these periods of progress by bringing about some new war.

INFLUENCE OF THE GERMAN KAISER ON THE TSAR

The causes of the Russo-Japanese War must be sought in the events of the last quarter of the nineteenth century and can therefore only be slightly indicated. The building of the South Manchurian railway, the occupation of Chinese territory by Russian troops, and the eventual extension of this occupation to Korea, were the cardinal and more immediate factors. That this Far-Eastern tragedy might well be the prelude to the greater World tragedy was dimly surmised by many statesmen with a broad European mind. And that Russia was practically pushed into this adventure by Germany appears to follow from the well-established fact that the Kaiser used all his considerable influence with the Tsar to make him concentrate on a huge ship-building programme. The deeper Russia plunged into expenditure on a fleet the less money and concentration were obviously left for recreating a big army.

A piquant illustration of the bombastic and theatrical way in which the Kaiser appealed to the imagination and worked on the vanity of the Tsar is furnished by Witte's account of the famous meeting between the two Emperors at Reval in the summer of 1902. "When the German Emperor's yacht was leaving port," says the Count, "the usual signalling began. The Kaiser gave the following signal: "The Admiral of the Atlantic Ocean sends greetings to the Admiral of the Pacific"—a message which considerably disconcerted the Tsar. It was clear that this signal, translated into ordinary language, could only mean: "I am aiming at a dominant position in the Atlantic, and I advise you to seek a similar mastery of the Pacific.

such a meeting may seem a small matter to-day; but in the Russia of November, 1904, it looked like a tremendous breach with the century-old tradition of repression and tutelage. A hundred representatives of the Zemstvos discussing State affairs in the Capital and presenting their resolutions to the Minister of the Interior, made a notable appeal to the imagination. The word "constitution" was carefully excluded from these resolutions; but their general tenour, and the courage and frankness with which they voiced the inmost desires of the people left no doubt whatever that the Congress was seriously bent on inaugurating a new era. At once, from all over Russia, from all classes, trades and professions, poured in a flood of addresses embodying more or less definitely the ten points of the Zemstvo Congress. Such a spontaneous expression of national consciousness is always a remarkable occurrence; but in a country like Russia where the mass of the people had previously been indifferent and resigned, it had all the appearance and significance of a miracle.

CAUSES OF "BLOODY SUNDAY"

In Government circles it made all the deeper impression because the bureaucracy could not make up its mind how to cope with it. Its members were intelligent enough to realise that it could end in nothing but revolution; but they were not bold enough either to suppress it or to take advantage of it. When eventually the situation became menacing, when banquets were being openly replaced by revolutionary demonstrations, the Government tried to do both. In a manifesto promulgated by the Tsar on December 12 reforms were promised but promised in the name of the Autocracy, as therefore a privilege and not a right, while in a decree issued by the Minister of the Interior three days later, the period of "trust" was declared at an end. These announcements instead of alleviating the situation only aggravated it. What results might have accrued from either manifesto or decree will never be known; for before any results could follow, the fatal catastrophe of January 9 destroyed all hope of reconciliation between Sovereign and people and swept away the well-meaning but rather futile figure of the would-be reconciler.

January 9, 1905, is likely to figure in history as "Bloody Sunday." Yet the bloodshed of that day is not the really momentous circumstance; for from the point of violence and barbarity the shooting down of the peaceful demonstrators of that day was not exceptionally atrocious. January 9 is significant because it furnishes the line of demarcation between Old and New Russia. Its significance lies indeed in the fact that it killed the last chance of a peaceful liberation of Russia. The workers' march to the Winter Palace originated in a petty strike in one of the factories of St. Petersburg. A few men had been dismissed. Their comrades asked the manager to take them back, and when he refused decided to go on strike. This was on January 3. On January 4 the workers at the great Poutilov works joined the strikers. On January 5 the strike became general in St. Petersburg. These facts alone are symptomatic of the general unrest; for over 200,000 men were affected and had obviously taken this course from sheer revolutionary excitement. Still more remarkable will the movement appear if it is remembered that the leaders of the strike were the members of a Union organised by the Secret Police as a bulwark against revolution. The inventor of this Union was Zubatov, the Chief of the Secret Police at Moscow, and it was called after him "Zubatovchina." The head, however, of the Union in St. Petersburg was a priest named Gapon. When the strike developed so enormously Gapon proposed to

the strikers that they should appeal to the Tsar. This proposed way-out seized the imagination of the strikers, and on January 6 they adopted this idea. A petition written by Gapon in which the workers appealed to the Tsar for his help and protection and promised him their loyalty and affection, was signed with enthusiasm by thousands of the strikers. Revolutionary agitators, however, made their appearance at the meetings of the strikers and openly ridiculed the naïveté of petitioning the Tsar and advised instead the use of armed force. But the workers refused to listen to them and decided to make an unarmed demonstration. The procession to the Winter Palace looked like a religious movement; for Gapon headed it with a cross and church banners, and the strikers accompanied by their wives and children sang hymns and dirges.

The demonstrators had not the faintest suspicion that their demonstration was regarded with disfavour in high quarters; for all the preparations made for it had been quite open and no police interference had taken place. Up to the 8th, then, the Government had probably not made up its mind what to do in the matter. To some members of it the spectacle of the workers flying for protection to the Tsar may well have appealed. But at the last moment the Grand Dukes and the military party seized the upper hand and decided to teach the strikers a lesson. The demonstration, which could have been stopped in the suburbs, was allowed to penetrate nearly to the centre of the city and was then dispersed by the firing of the soldiers under the command of General Trepov. Many men, women and children were killed and wounded and the rest fled. Many, however, gathered in groups in the snow-covered streets and tried vainly to make their way to the Winter Palace. Towards evening, however, a startling change come over the spirit of the strikers. In the factory suburbs red flags were flown and barricades erected; and the grim picturesqueness of the situation was enhanced by the fact that all artificial light had been cut off.

THE MORALE OF THE ARMY WEAKENED

From this time till the end of the year Russia resembled an armed camp, where soldiers were always mobilised to fight the internal enemy, who in his turn was becoming stronger and more violent every day. A struggle was also going on for the leadership of the approaching Revolution. The Liberals, basing their strength on the Zemstvos, continued their attempts to intimidate the Government by holding meetings and congresses and presenting addresses to the Ministers and to the Tsar. But they were manifestly losing ground to the revolutionary parties who became bolder the weaker and the more distracted the Government became. The Government indeed was embarrassed by two circumstances: the financial stress caused by the war and the collapse of the Russian army in the field. The last stage in the Government's resistance to the combined pressure of the peasant revolts, the workers' strikes and the Liberal opposition was reached when it became obvious that the *morale* of the army had been seriously affected and that it could not be relied on.

BREAKDOWN OF GOVERNMENT AUTHORITY

To enumerate the series of concessions extorted from the Government at this time would be futile. Sufficient to say that every month the Autocracy was compelled to move a step nearer to gratifying the wishes of the people only to find that the wishe of the people had [illegible]

further. Once the Revolution has begun, no amount of concessions seems to be able to satisfy it.

October, 1905, was the fateful month in which authority disappeared in Russia. It is noteworthy that it first disappeared in the Universities, a sphere in which it made the most violent efforts to assert itself. The Universities at last recovered their autonomy. All former prohibitions and restrictions were now removed. In Russia of the Autocracy, where nothing was permitted and no one had any rights, the Universities suddenly became centres of anarchy where everything was allowed and nothing prohibited. And this, quaintly enough, at a time when an army general, Glazov, was the Minister of Education. To become a free citizen all you had to do was to step inside the gates of a University. There everyone was welcome. It was a tragi-comical situation; for the Universities became, under legal sanction, storm-centres of the Revolution. No lectures were being delivered. The corridors and lecture-halls were all occupied by workers, women, and idlers who came to sing revolutionary songs, to listen to revolutionary speeches, to obtain revolutionary pamphlets. The police, prohibited by law from infringing this academic autonomy, could only stand at a distance and make sure that the revolutionary contagion should not spread outside the University's gates. The Government insisted that it was the duty of the Professors to maintain order in the Universities and to see that they were not subverted by revolutionary bands from the ends for which they were founded. But the Professors were powerless and could only urge the Government to help to abolish the scandal by permitting the right of public meeting outside the Universities. Ultimately this abuse of University hospitality was redressed by granting full civil and political rights to the people; but before that concession was made the country found itself in the throes of a general strike.

THE TSAR GRANTS A CONSTITUTION

This general strike was the greatest political demonstration that ever took place in Russian history. The most characteristic feature of it was a unanimity of feeling among so many and various classes. It started as a railway strike on a single line, but within a few days it paralysed the transport of the entire empire. On October 10 it was general as a railway strike; on October 11 the newspapers joined in and ceased to appear; subsequently banks and offices closed down, factories stood idle and even retail shops closed. Lawyers struck, justices of the peace struck, even doctors struck. On October 17 not a single trade or profession was functioning. On October 17 the Tsar issued a manifesto granting a Constitution and inaugurating an era of representative government. This manifesto is closely connected with the activity of Witte who, returning home from concluding peace with Japan at Portsmouth, U. S. A., was made a Count in recognition of his distinguished services and was put forward as saviour of the throne and country alike by the Court and by the reactionaries. Witte advocated the immediate granting of a Constitution. But he warned the Tsar that this would mean the ultimate abrogation of his autocratic power, and he therefore presented him with the alternative of quelling the revolt by appointing a military dictator.

These representations Witte made on October 6, and for ten days the Court was intensely preoccupied in discussing which course to take. The Grand Duke Nicholas, the actual head of the army, and the prospective Dictator, was called to St. Petersburg to consult with his nephew. But, in view of the fact that the bulk of the army was still in the East and that the units left behind were too weak to use as a striking force, it was finally de-

cided that the notion of a military dictatorship must be ruled out. Accordingly the manifesto proclaiming the granting of a Constitution received the signature of the Tsar. In connection with the Tsar's signature Witte tells a rather piquant story about the Grand Duke. "You see this revolver," Nicholas said to Baron Frederiks, the veteran Court Minister, "I am now going to the Tsar and shall implore him to sign the manifesto and Witte's programme. Either he signs or I shoot myself in his room." This story possibly explains the complaint of the Tsar that his signature of the manifesto had been extorted from him.

Though every one at that time recognised the total inadequacy of concessions which failed to grant the people their most ardent demand, that for Parliamentary Government, it was generally believed that consistent pressure might in time permit the country to develop the Duma into a real Parliament. But the tragedy of Russia was that she is not really a nation and is only able to pursue a national policy for a very limited time. When Russia is able to pursue a national policy, her creative genius finds full scope. But the national enthusiasm is spasmodic and is soon converted into racial, cultural and class antagonisms. The victory of October, 1905, gained as it was by a strike of all classes against a little group of people who had become isolated from the nation, a strike which had more or less the character of a national silence, proved the climax of the national effort. The very next day the centrifugal forces which are always latent in Russian politics revealed themselves and started to undermine the newly gained position of the people.

REACTION SOON TRIUMPHANT

The disruption of national unity came from both ends, from the extreme Right and from the extreme Left. In the midst of the national rejoicing over the establishment of the new *régime* news came from most of the provincial towns of *pogroms* directed against the Jews and the students, organised by "The Society of the Russian People," commonly known as "The Black Hundreds" and subsidised and patronised by the Tsar, the Government and the police. In the first fortnight after the promulgation of the manifesto violent *pogroms* took place in more than a hundred towns — in fact in every town save St. Petersburg. Four thousand persons were killed and six thousand injured. Another instance of reactionary violence was the treatment given to Poland. Within three weeks of the promulgation of the Tsar's manifesto martial law was declared over the whole ten provinces of Poland without the slightest justification. The other cause of disruption must be sought in the fact that one revolutionary group, that of the workers, became too powerful, prominent and self-conscious and thereby aroused the jealousy of and eventually alienated the other groups. In a few weeks the newly created Soviet of Workers' Deputies with Trotsky at its head had the arrogance to monopolise and to take over the Revolution, to the exclusion and to the consequent indignation of the middle-classes. By so doing they merely sealed their own fate. The great force which brought about the national strike of October, the Union of Unions, was thus destroyed, to the joy of the forces of reaction, who at once recognised that they had now to meet not a nation but a class.

The victory gained by the Revolutionists in October had not been decisive or complete. New battles had to be fought and won before Russia could be said to be a free nation. The forces which could have won the victory had been diminished and weakened. In two months reaction was once more triumphant; and the main cause of this triumph was the disruption of the

revolutionary forces. In November a general strike was declared by the Soviet of Workers' Deputies and conducted exclusively in the name and with the watchwords of a Proletarian movement. It was successful as a stoppage of work and as a means of intimidating the Government; but it revealed the fact that the liberal elements in the nation were estranged. At this point the Liberals had not become openly hostile to the extreme Left; they even welcomed its success in intimidating the Government. But they remained spectators and of necessity became suspicious. Every day they heard the Workers' Deputies preaching more and more frankly the doctrines of the class war; and eventually they became perplexed.

Early in December when the third general strike was declared with the avowed object of converting it into an armed revolt against the old order with Republican and Socialist watchwords, this middle-class did not know what to do. They hated the Autocracy; but they were out of sympathy with the advocates of class war. Even the instigators of the December rising knew that they were fighting a hopeless battle. Had the national character of the Revolution been preserved the army might have been brought to sympathise with its aims. But the moment this national character was lost, the Revolutionists could easily be presented to simple soldiers as the internal enemy. The revolt proved a failure. The strikers were isolated by the icy indifferentism of the middle-class. Many of the workers themselves refused to join the revolt. And so the task of the army leaders, who had been waiting eagerly for this opportunity of smashing the Revolution, proved easy and complete. The strike was far from being general; and so far as it became a revolt was confined to Moscow. The ancient capital and especially the Kremlin suffered severely from the rifle and artillery fire.

On December 20, when it became obvious that the armed revolt of the Moscow workers had failed, the leaders of "the Black Hundreds" were received by the Tsar in open audience, a favour which was meant and understood in Russia as marking the end of "Constitutional illusions."

THE FIRST DUMA

The December rising marks the beginning of the downfall of the Revolution. Authority came back as the victor who could now do whatever he liked. Punitive expeditions were despatched to all districts in which peasant revolts or workers' strikes had taken place; and indiscriminate massacres occurred. This, then, was the atmosphere in which the Elections to the first Imperial Duma were to take place. The Electoral Law was based on the assumption that the peasants were essentially conservative and traditionally devoted to the Tsar. Consequently the peasants were assured of a majority in the Duma. But when it was found that this peasant Duma, this Duma "of the People's vengeance," was permeated by a single idea, that of expropriating the landlords, the consternation prevailing in the Court and official circles was indescribable. The Government, directed no longer by Witte but by Goremykin, came down to the Duma with their minds made up to repel any attack on private property and to make no concessions.

The Government's first appearance in the Duma revealed the impossibility of any reconciliation. The Government, whose representatives were treated with indescribable contempt in the Duma, would have dissolved it the first day it met had they not shared the belief of their opponents that its dissolution would be taken by the country as a signal for revolt. But after 72 days of hesitation this drastic step was finally taken when Stolypin, the newly appointed Premier, declared that he was prepared with a plan for suppressing revolt and for conciliating the peasants.

The Duma was accordingly dissolved; but to the surprise of everybody no revolt took place. The Liberal members of the Duma who had let it be known in advance that they had no intention of being dissolved, left St Petersburg 120 strong for Vyborg, the nearest town in Finland out of reach of the police, and addressed the so-called Vyborg manifesto to the people, calling on them to refuse to furnish recruits, or to pay taxes, and to withdraw their savings from the banks. It is doubtful whether the deputies assembled at Vyborg had any serious expectation of influencing public opinion in Russia. But the complete indifference which their appeal met with must have convinced them that the Revolution had at last spent its force. In due course the deputies who had signed this manifesto were arrested, tried, imprisoned; and the movement they headed was killed by their being convicted of political offence, a conviction which under the Electoral Law incapacitated them from being again elected members of the Duma. In this way the second Duma was deprived of all the tried leaders of the Constitutional movement.

A PERIOD OF REVENGE AND TERROR

The Revolution was beaten and accepted its defeat. A period of revenge and terror followed. Reprisals were taken against all those who in the short months of freedom had openly declared their sympathies with the Liberal movement. Officials were dismissed in masses. The prisons were filled with thousands whose only offence was that they had demonstrated in favour of liberty. But this was not all. A real reign of terror was inaugurated. Court-martials were set up all over Russia, not to punish offences against military discipline but to deal with all activity of a revolutionary character. The law establishing these courts expressly laid it down that the members composing them should be mere ordinary officers and not trained military jurists. "These court-martials," says Witte in his *Memoirs*, "acting on the simple suggestion of the Government, condemned people to be shot right and left. Capital punishment became simply murder committed by the Government. People were convicted of offence committed five or six years earlier. They were convicted not only for political assassination but for the robbery of five rubles from a vodka shop. Men and women, adolescents and minors, were all convicted."

THE STOLYPIN "CRAVAT"

Stolypin was a novice, a provincial administrator who seems to have owed his appointment to sheer accident. In this respect he was the first of a whole series of Ministers whose selection seems to have been based on no ascertainable motive. Stolypin was the embodiment of the return of authority. But the more ruthlessly he strove once more to enthrone authority, the more assuredly he weakened the force of law. He inaugurated a reign of terror and he reigned by the force of martial-law. Rodichev, one of the deputies of the Duma, alluding to the numerous hangings which Stolypin had authorised, described his *régime* as the "Stolypin Cravat." The disappointment felt in Russia, especially among the young, was proportionate to the hopes that had been cherished. The cynical action of the authorities had an influence on their own *morale*. Devotion to the common cause, which had been the basis of education for generations, now seemed to be fruitless and absurd, and a strong reaction to egoism and pleasure set in. A general process of despondency and demoralisation followed. Suicide and madness among

the young became quite contagious; and instance after instance of desperate recklessness due to the removal of all inhibitions, shocked the public conscience. Nor could the older generation escape the general disillusionment. They however showed a marked tendency to seek salvation in the more enduring consolations of philosophical idealism. The prevailing inclination towards politics gave way to a reviving interest in philosophy and religion. Revolution became demoded, and philosophical aloofness and the search for God regarded as the correct attitude.

STOLYPIN CREATES 7,000,000 NEW PEASANT PROPRIETORS

Meanwhile Stolypin introduced a reform which produced striking changes in the position of the peasants. In a *ukase* promulgated on November 9, 1906, the peasants were declared free to denounce their allegiance to the Mir, the Russian village commune, and so to obtain property right in their allotments. This was a very bold step for Stolypin to take; for it certainly had the desired effect of splitting the peasants into groups and of transforming their revolutionary outlook. By increasing the number of peasant proprietors — in five years he created 7,000,000 of them — Stolypin established in the villages a counterbalance to the forces clamouring for the expropriation of the landowners.

The introduction of individualist farming into the villages, which had suffered so long from the communal and consequently unproductive system of cultivation, was certainly a progressive measure. But it aroused general indignation in Russia; for it was obviously meant as a counter-revolutionary scheme. Moreover, carried out, as it was, at a time in which the Duma was not in session, it was considered a violation of the people's rights which were based on the principle that no law could be valid which had failed to receive the assent of the people's representatives. This *ukase* was promulgated under the 87th Article of the Constitution, which gave the Government the right of framing emergency legislation on condition that all laws established in this way had to be submitted for approval to the Duma within two months of its being convoked. But the change brought about in the villages by Stolypin's reform was of a character which no legislation could reverse; and though the members of the second Duma refused to give their approval, they could not prevent the Government from proceeding with their plan for dissolving the Mir. In fact from this time the 87th Article could no longer be considered a justification for emergency legislation; it was employed regularly as a means of overcoming the opposition of the Duma. The most striking example of the way in which Stolypin employed this weapon as a means of legislating in spite of the Duma is provided by the conflict which took place between the Government and the Duma in the spring of 1910 on the occasion of the proposed introduction of Zemstvos in the Polish provinces of Russia. The Duma refused to agree with the national discrimination on which this proposal was founded. Stolypin then tendered his resignation to the Tsar. But the Court, afraid of a Revolution breaking out in case Stolypin left the Government, implored the Tsar to retain his services at any cost. Stolypin then demanded that the Duma should be prorogued for three days, and the Tsar acceding to his request, the Zemstvo proposals became law under the 87th Article.

The dissolution of the first Duma aroused the greatest consternation outside the country. It was felt that the chance of a peaceful development had once more been killed. Many readers will recall the toast which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gave to the first parliamentary delegates from Russia,

whose visit to London happened to coincide with the news of this dissolution—"Le Duma est mort; vive le Duma." The Duma certainly revived, but scarcely as vigorously as "C. B." would have wished.

AN "OBEDIENT" DUMA

The second Duma was more irreconcilable on the land question than the first. The majority of the deputies were peasants and Socialists. But after Stolypin with his court-martials and executions had succeeded in striking terror into the hearts of the people, he dissolved the Duma and changed the Electoral Law to the detriment of the peasants and workers. This *coup d'état* of the third of June, 1907, a direct contravention of the fundamental laws which made it the prerogative of the Duma to make any such changes, gave the Government a chance to create a Duma to their own liking. Their idea was to create "an obedient Duma" and the *coup d'état* of the third of June gave them their chance. From this Duma the peasants were almost excluded and a majority was returned favourable to the Government, composed of landowners, officials and merchants.

ENTENTE WITH ENGLAND

Russian internal politics were now at their lowest ebb; interest was automatically transferred to foreign affairs in which the country made several striking new departures. The greatest and most decisive of these was the official end of Anglo-Russian rivalry which in August, 1907, was replaced by an agreement between the two contracting Powers delimiting their respective spheres of interest in Persia, and settling mutual relations in Afghanistan and Tibet.

This was the beginning of that *entente* with England, which was arranged by the late King Edward and cemented by his visit to Reval in June, 1908. This *entente* was a new stimulus to the Franco-Russian alliance and established the historical balance of power between the Western and the Central Powers of Europe.

From this time Russia got a new outlook and a new sense of nationality, two circumstances which contributed largely to the recovery of her military power so completely shattered by the war with Japan. A programme of rebuilding the fleet and of reëstablishing the army was carried through the Duma with the marked interest and approval of public opinion; and this increased concentration on foreign affairs and on the new position of Russia in the ranks of the European Powers, was favoured by the peacefulness of the internal situation.

DEATH OF COUNT TOLSTOY

The first sign that the stagnation in domestic affairs was passing was manifested in connection with the death of Count Leo Tolstoy in 1911. Since Tolstoy was considered a rebel and had been excommunicated by the Church, any meeting called to honour his memory became *ipso facto* a protest against the existing *régime*. The intensity of feeling aroused in the youth of the nation, who worshipped Tolstoy as an apostle of the truth, revealed the fact that the national depression which had set in in 1907 was passing. The series of political strikes which occurred a year later showed clearly that the tide was turning. In 1913 the question of the imminence of anoth-

Revolution was frankly discussed; while in the succeeding year palpable signs of the growing revolutionary mood were visible. The unrest among the workers in the towns increased in volume and in impetus up to the very eve of the outbreak of the World War. In fact a strike in the St. Petersburg factories which broke out on July 8, 1914, developed so quickly and so threateningly that the unmistakably revolutionary mood which it revealed may possibly have contributed to the German belief that the war would be unpopular in Russia. Of the development of this strike little is known; for at the time people abroad were preoccupied by their interest in the Austrian ultimatum to Serbia. Subsequently, too, the outbreak of war so completely transformed the situation that the strike ceased to attract attention. Yet the political character of the strike cannot be doubted. It involved 140,000 workers and was accompanied by collisions with the police and the soldiers, and by the erection of barricades. Moreover, its outbreak was characteristically enough made to coincide with the arrival in the city of President Poincaré. Yet the moment it became known that the international crisis was developing in the direction of war, strikes were immediately replaced by patriotic demonstrations.

ENTHUSIASM AWAKENED BY THE WORLD WAR

In fact the enthusiasm with which the war was greeted was really a turning point in Russian history. No doubt much of this enthusiasm had no special significance. But a loftier element was unmistakably present. The joy which united the Tsar and the people, the Blacks and the Reds, the great Russians, the Georgians, the Finns, the Jews and the Poles, cannot entirely be explained by elemental patriotism alone. If the mass of the people felt only instinctively that the war was a break with the past, the more enlightened were so conscious of its significance that they made many attempts to explain it. It is difficult to try to formulate the feelings of masses of people in categorical expressions. But it cannot be doubted that the break with Germany was welcomed with delight as a sign of the escape of Russia from her self-imposed century-old mission of acting as policemen of Europe, and that the alliance with the Western democracies was hailed as a promise of the early Europeanisation of the country.

The relief that spread over the country at the idea that Russia could be democratised without submitting to the disruptive forces of revolution was intense. The moderate Socialists indeed unhesitatingly accepted the war as a means of escaping revolution. They firmly believed that the mere necessity of developing all the productive forces of the country which such a crisis demanded would inevitably compel the Government to give the country full freedom of organisation. They felt that the successful prosecution of the war was absolutely incompatible with the continuation of a bureaucratic or autocratic supervision. Unfortunately this hope proved delusive. The Government failed to grasp the spirit of the people. They made the fatal mistake of confusing this enthusiasm for the war with loyalty to the Tsar and trust in the bureaucracy. All attempts to organise the popular forces, whether made by public schools and universities, by Dumas or Zemstvos, were systematically hampered as a needless competition with and as a kind of censure on bureaucratic methods. The bureaucrats were determined that the war should be won by them and that all the credit for winning it should go to them.

It was in this spirit that the Tsar's Ministers adjourned the Duma after that one historical meeting of July 25 at which all parties demonstrated their

determination to prosecute the war to a finish and to give the utmost support to the Government. The adjournment had the full effect of a deliberate rebuff to the representatives of the nation. But though it had all the appearance of a blow aimed at the newly established union of the people and the Government, it failed to shatter it. The people and their representatives were too much concerned with the exploits and sufferings of the army to exaggerate the significance of this attempt on the part of the Government to keep them at a distance.

The part played by Russia in the war during 1914 and 1915 is well known and has been generously appreciated in the west. There is no need to give here any detailed enumeration of the victories and defeats of the campaign. But two incidents — the dash of the Cossacks and Guards into East Prussia at the outbreak of the war, and the disastrous retreat from Galicia in 1915 — cannot be left out of the most summary survey of modern Russian history. The first incident had a decisive effect on the general war situation. The second marks the beginning of the crumbling of the monarchy and the empire.

THE DISASTER OF THE MAZURIAN LAKES

The striking feature of the East Prussian campaign was its unparallelled recklessness and impetuosity. From a tactical and strategical point of view it probably deserves censure. Everything dealing with this campaign that has so far been published reveals its unsoundness as a military scheme and explains the tragedy it resulted in. But, judged as a demonstration of loyalty to the Allies, it ranks with the most chivalrous records of the World War. In this way Russia gained the credit of participating in the biggest incident of the war, the defeat of the Germans in the battle of the Marne. It is a well-established fact that the Germans reckoned with a possible Russian invasion; but the plan of the General Staff was to ignore Russia and to make the first stroke on the western front. France had to be defeated even at the cost of allowing the Cossacks to enter Berlin. But the quick onslaught of the Russian "barbarians" and the destructive force of their advance, which drove before them a panic-stricken horde of refugees, broke the nerve of the German people and forced the General Staff to change their matured and deep-laid plan. Four army corps were actually sent to drive out the Russians and one was stationed in reserve on the eastern frontier. In this way the French General Staff received notable assistance from the invasion of East Prussia and the disaster to the Russian arms.

THE TSAR ASSUMES SUPREME MILITARY COMMAND

The disaster of the Mazurian Lakes, coupled as it was with the discovery of treason in high military circles, had reverberating effects in the country. The Government, which had adjourned the Duma till November, 1915, felt bound to convoke it in an informal secret session in order to relieve public excitement. But the reports it produced on the war situation only increased this excitement. As Milukov points out, the Duma saw clearly that the Government was either deliberately distorting the real facts of the military situation or was itself incapable of realising them. But still the Government refused to invoke the aid of the people. All that they were allowed to do was to organise hospitals and to collect clothes and food as comforts for the soldiers. It was not till the spring of 1915, when the country experienced the crushing disaster of the retreat from Galicia, that the Government gave in,

convoked the Duma, and permitted the Zemstvos and municipalities to start organising war industries.

At this stage the unity established between Government and people at the beginning of the war, was finally broken. The popular forces now insisted more and more on having some say in the supply of munitions; while the Government made frantic efforts to retain entire control. In this atmosphere of tension the Tsar was induced by the Tsaritsa and her circle to take over the supreme command on August 23, 1915, a step which proved fatal alike to the successful prosecution of the war and to the continuance of the dynasty.

PERNICIOUS INFLUENCE OF RASPUTIN

The dismissal of the Grand Duke, who stood for the embodiment of the war spirit in Russia, was one of the crucial events of the war and was directly due to the sinister influence which that "holy man," Rasputin, exercised over the Tsar's family. It so happened that the Grand Duke who was responsible for the introduction of Rasputin to Court (1907) was the first to discover the real character of this charlatan. It was the Grand Duke who in 1913 brought about his banishment, a banishment from which Rasputin came back at the beginning of the war full of hatred for his enemy. This hatred he soon managed to communicate to the Empress who was already jealous of the Grand Duke's attempt to control her actions. Her earliest letters to the Tsar written at the beginning of the war are full of the most unconcealed scorn for the Grand Duke, whom she always calls by the contemptuous diminutive Nikolasha. The key to this contempt is to be found in Rasputin's correspondence with the Empress. Already, when he gave his blessing to the war and prophesied the coming defeat of Germany, Rasputin had the audacity to telegraph to the Empress that his only fear was lest Nikolasha should save the Germans from their otherwise inevitable disaster. This telegram he sent from Siberia, his place of exile. When, however, he returned to the capital he never wearied of impressing on the Tsaritsa the necessity of removing the Grand Duke who, he said, would bring disaster on the Tsar's family, either by losing the war and precipitating a revolution or by winning the war and replacing the Tsar as Autocrat.

The Tsar obviously refused to be influenced by this argument. But when the great defeat in Galicia enabled the Tsaritsa to point to the realisation of Rasputin's prophecy, the Tsar was sufficiently impressed to consider the idea of removing the Grand Duke. But he was so afraid of the consequences of taking such a step, so afraid of its influence on the army and on the Allies, that he shrank from assuming the responsibility. It needed the continuous solicitations of the Tsaritsa, who worked on his feeling of jealousy of the Grand Duke and on his sense of religious duty as Autocrat, to nerve him to the attempt. The Tsar hesitated and only made up his mind to take over the supreme command himself after receiving a number of urgent telegrams from Rasputin in which he impressed on the monarch the necessity of producing "thunder and lightning," and a series of letters from the Tsaritsa in which appeals to the Tsar's ambition and sense of duty were mingled with expressions of mystical devotion and tenderness. The letter which the Tsar received from the Tsaritsa on August 22 is worth quoting:

"I cannot find words," declares the Empress, "to express all I want to; my heart is far too full. I only long to hold you tight in my arms and to whisper words of immense love, courage, strength and endless blessings. More than hard to let you go alone, so completely alone! But God is very near to you, more than ever. You have fought this great fight for your country and throne—alone and with bravery and

decision. Never have they seen such firmness in you before, and it cannot remain without good fruit. . . . Lovey, I am here. Don't laugh at silly old wifey; but she has the 'trousers' on unseen. . . . Your faith has been tried and you remained firm as a rock. For that you will be blessed. God anointed you at your Coronation. He placed you where you stand and you have done your duty. . . . Our Friend's prayers arise night and day for you to Heaven and God will hear them. . . . This is the beginning of the glory of your reign. He (Rasputin) said so and I absolutely believe it. . . . All is for the good. As our Friend says, the worst is over. . . . When you leave (I) shall wire to Friend to-night through Ania (the Tsaritsa's lady-in-waiting, one of Rasputin's devotees) and he will particularly think of you. Only get Nikolasha's nomination (*i.e.*, his transference to the Caucasus) quicker done. No dawdling! It's bad for the cause and for Alexeyev (the Head of the General Staff) too. . . . I know what you feel; the meeting with N. (Nikolasha) won't be agreeable. You did trust him and now you know, what months ago our Friend said, that he was acting wrongly towards you and your country and wife. It's not the people who would do harm to your people, but Nikolasha and his set, Gutchkov (a popular member of the Duma), Rodzianko (the Speaker of the Duma), Samarin (the Procurator of the Holy Synod who was responsible for the 2nd dismissal of Rasputin). . . . You see they are afraid of me. . . . They know I have a will of my own when I feel I am in the right. . . . You make them tremble before your courage and will. God is with you and our Friend for you. All is well; and later all will thank you for having saved your country. Don't doubt! Believe and all will be well; and the Army is everything. A few strikes are nothing in comparison; as they can and shall be suppressed. . . . Please give this little image of St. John the Warrior to Alexeyev with my blessing and fervent wishes. You have my image I blessed you with last year. I give (you) no other; as that carries my blessings and you have Gregory's (Rasputin's) St. Nicolas to guard and to guide you. I always place a candle before St. Nicolas at Znamenje for you; and shall do so to-morrow at three o'clock and before the Virgin. You will feel my soul near you."

The next day, August 23, 1915, the Tsar dismissed the Grand Duke and himself assumed the supreme command.

THE TSARITSA'S UNSEEN TROUSERS

With the departure of the Tsar for the front the Tsaritsa's "unseen trousers" became more visible. Ministers now made their reports to her, and tried to gain her support and approval. In fact she and her circle had the government practically in their own hands. As her correspondence with the Tsar shows, she could always effect a change of Government either by hammering at the Tsar in her letters or by making personal visits to him at the front. From this time Minister succeeded Minister for no obvious reason; strange figures emerged upon the surface; and the guiding principle in any appointment or dismissal was the attitude of the incoming or retiring Minister towards "our friend" Rasputin.

The vexed question of Rasputin's influence over the Tsaritsa and of the Tsaritsa's activities from 1915 to the outbreak of the Revolution should probably be regarded as a problem of psychopathology. The last Russian Empress was indeed a complex type. Her German origin made her a good wife and a good mother; but there was an element of meanness and penuriousness in her nature. Brought up at the English Court she had acquired many of the characteristics of a refined and educated woman; but this did not prevent her from revelling in the grossest forms of superstition and pseudo-mysticism. Clever and masterful she undoubtedly was; the flattery of Rasputin, who compared her with Catherine the Great, was not without an element of truth. Her will-power was remarkable. She ruled the obstinate but will-less Tsar with extraordinary skill and tact. But she was herself the victim of the stronger will of Rasputin and of that inexplicable atmosphere of oppression and doom in which the whole Court was involved. The Tsar's *entourage* lived a life of great seclusion in a narrow circle from which even some of the Grand Dukes were excluded. Like conspirators they re-

ferred to one another under assumed names. The spiritual centre of the circle was Rasputin and the position of the greatest man in the State or Court depended, not on the worth of his services to the State, but entirely on his attitude towards Rasputin or on what Rasputin thought of him.

In 1916 many of the Grand Dukes, notably the Michaelovichs and the Vladimirovichs, no longer visited the Court because of their opposition to Rasputin's influence. In this oppressive atmosphere the Tsar himself seemed to have lost his grasp on affairs. On his own initiative he took not a single step. The Government, too, lost control of the situation. There was no stable policy. Sincere and devoted monarchists anxious to preserve the dynasty implored the Tsar to pursue a definite line of policy. But the process of dry rot had set in and nothing could arrest it. The situation indeed was so fantastically unsound that at a meeting of the War Council in 1916, Gutchov, the Chairman of the Duma's Military Commission and President of the War Industries' Committees, condemned the policy or rather the lack of policy of the Government in the most scathing terms. "If the German General Staff," he declared, "were allowed to direct our internal affairs and the conduct of the army it would do exactly what our Government is doing."

But all warnings and criticisms seemed in vain. The monarchy and the empire were in the hands of an irresistible fate. The Tsaritsa saw clearly the on-coming of the tide; but she concentrated all her energies on defying the members of the Duma whom she regarded as conspirators against the throne. The situation had resolved itself into finding men who were prepared to wage a ruthless war against popular forces; and in this search for reactionary Ministers the Tsaritsa, most unfortunately and with tragic results, followed blindly the advice of Rasputin.

RASPUTIN RULES RUSSIA

After the bewildering success of his intrigue against the Grand Duke, Rasputin promptly endeavoured to secure the control of the nation's internal policy. His first trial of strength against the State machine began in a quarrel over the canonisation of a pseudo-saint in his own native province. Using his success in this quarrel as a lever, he succeeded in the summer of 1915 in removing an important group of Ministers headed by Scherbatov, Minister of the Interior, and Samarin, civil head of the Church. Now for the first time the newspapers and the ambassadors of foreign powers fully understood his rôle, and Ministers were dismissed in the teeth of a public outcry which was reflected all over the world. Within the year Rasputin was responsible for the dismissal of the following directors of Russian policy: Poliavanov, the War Minister chosen by the Grand Duke Nicholas; Sazonov, Foreign Minister from the beginning of the war; and, greatest loss of all from a military point of view, General Alexeyev, Chief of Staff, sent to the Crimea on a "holiday" in November, 1916.

Poliavanov was succeeded by Shuvalev as War Minister, a man whom the entire Russian press denounced as guilty of taking bribes when acting as Chief of the Commissariat. Sazonov was followed by Sturmer as Premier and Foreign Minister, a man whom public opinion suspected of being pro-German and who had a crooked business record. Rasputin's dictatorship was now common talk in Russia. His lodgings at 64 Gorokhovaya, Petrograd, were popularly known as the "Staff Headquarters of Russia." The Empress had become the unreflecting tool of his interests and desires, and appeared to be incapable of exercising any independent judgment.

TREASON CHARGED

In the autumn of 1916 the long-threatened crisis arrived. People began openly to talk about treason, and the Duma which had been convoked for a short session frankly denounced as treasonable the activities of the Government and of the Court. In a speech in which he enumerated the incomprehensible appointments and dismissals of Ministers, Milukov raised the question in the bluntest fashion. "Is it stupidity or treason?" he asked, "which is responsible for this state of affairs?" He himself was inclined to think it was stupidity; but his audience, by acclamations, made it quite plain that they believed it was treason. It may have been only stupidity; but the effects had all the disastrous character of treason. This concentration on a quarrel with the Duma, with Zemstvos and with all other popular forces, which were only too eager to help, was undoubted treason to the army, which was exposed to its fate of facing the enemy with no hope of receiving from its country the sympathy and support it so dearly needed. The consciousness that the home front was unsound and going from bad to worse was slowly permeating and poisoning the *morale* of the army.

POSITION OF THE RUSSIAN SOLDIER AND THE RUSSIAN ARMY

The Russian soldier received great praise before the war and great blame afterwards. The praise was probably exaggerated; but the blame was certainly undeserved. The position of the Russian army was peculiar. It can be safely said that people in Anglo-Saxon countries cannot understand the Russian soldier, and have no standard by which to judge him. It was this lack of any standard of judgment which made all the dramatic and unbelievable happenings at the Russian front so bewildering to the Western public. That the Russian army never regarded itself as a part of the people and was never so regarded by them, is a significant fact which the Western public fails to realise. The Russian Imperial army was a machine designed not for the protection but for the oppression of the people. In Russia there was never a cult of the army. On the contrary the army was always hated as the tool of the Autocracy and the instrument of coercion. The masses of the people may not have shared this conscious hatred; and yet the fear of the army and the dislike of the soldier's life were probably greatest among simple people. It was the blind fear of the primitive man for a gigantic machine. To be conscripted was looked upon with as great a horror as being thrown into prison. One and the other were God's punishment for sin. To be conscripted was to be lost body and soul. The discipline of the Russian army demanded from the private soldier absolute, unqualified obedience and was enforced by unmitigated frightfulness. Such automatic obedience was essential to the main objects for which the army was employed, the extension of Russian territory and the suppression of internal rebellion. The patriotic appeal was never made to the soldiers, and in the circumstances, could not be made. The Russian Imperial army was never called upon to defend a course with which it could sympathise. It had to fight Turks, Japanese, Chinese, people who were too remote to be regarded as the enemy in the ordinary primitive sense. In fact the business of Russian soldiers was to fight in foreign lands and not to defend their native soil. So though the army was famous for obedience and discipline, the character of this discipline was in itself a danger. It had altogether too narrow a basis. Religion, the Tsar and the fatherland were its basis according to the military text-books. But as a matter of fact the basis was sheer brute force.

FOR THE FIRST TIME THE ARMY BECOMES POPULAR

This blind obedience and passivity of the Russian soldier, admirably maintained in previous and unpopular wars, could not long be preserved in the World War, which was too much a people's war to allow of the survival of the old popular hostility to the army. For the first time there seemed to be a real point of contact between the army and the people. For the first time the Russian troops were really heartily cheered by the crowd. Hitherto there had been only pity for the individual soldier and fear and hatred for the army as a body. Now fear and hatred were replaced by sympathy and love. Moreover the army itself was no longer a narrow, professional, obedient machine. It was diluted by millions of untrained peasants who had no traditional experience of discipline, and by thousands of intellectuals who, fired by education and patriotism, were highly critical. The lack of munitions, the absence of reinforcements, in fact any signs of disorganisation in the army were noticed by them and attributed to treason. Criticism was of course fatal to any discipline based on uncompromising obedience; and the moment criticism permeated the Russian army, the army was doomed. The armies of the Tsar were indeed so thoroughly unsound that at the very beginning of the war orders to advance had in many cases to be supported by threats to turn machine-guns on the troops. Along with tremendous examples of endurance and courage, symptoms of dissolution and decay made an early appearance. The colossal rolling-back of the Russian troops from Galicia in 1915, the greatest disaster ever known in Russian military history, practically destroyed the Russian army. It is hardly surprising that the complete demoralisation thus brought about should have its effect on the entire national psychology.

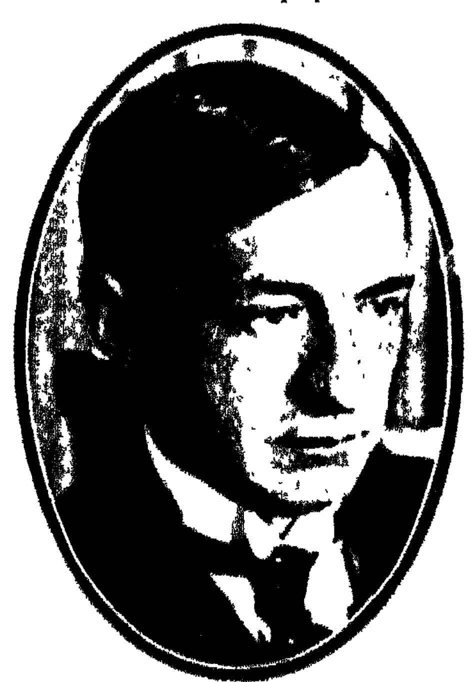
DISCIPLINE DISAPPEARS IN THE ARMY

The High Command made an attempt to mislead the Russian public and the Allies by explaining the disaster as a crisis in organisation and in the making of munitions. But it was a crisis on a much larger and more serious scale: it was a revolution in the mentality of the Russian soldier. For the first time he began to criticise and judge for himself. And the result was that the whole structure of the Russian army was shaken. The very foundations of discipline disappeared. In the course of the war the Russian soldier had more and more begun to distrust his officers; now he ceased to fear them. The Government could indeed replace the guns and munitions lost during the retreat. But never again was it able to inspire in the soldiers confidence in their officers. Frightfulness was tried again and again; but with results the reverse of those anticipated. The disintegration of the army had begun; nothing could now arrest it; the old imperial authority was gone, and only the assertion of a new authority could again give backbone and spirit to the vast military organisation.

When General Krymov came to Petrograd early in 1917 as a delegate from a group of officers to confer with the leaders of the Duma, he recommended a Court revolution. At that time, the idea of deposing the Tsar in favour of the Tsarevich with the Grand Duke Michael as Regent, had so rapidly gained ground in Court and bureaucratic circles that the *coup* was actually fixed for February, 1917. The Duma, or rather its Progressive *bloc*, discussed what they should do and according to Milukov they decided to assist this *coup* and to proclaim the regency of the Grand Duke as the only way of establishing a constitutional monarchy in Russia. On November 5, 1916, the Tsaritsa warned the Tsar that a plot had been formed "to clear him out" and to put her into a convent. "It is not [illegible]"

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Justice in Soviet Russia: the Red Tribunal in session. This Tribunal is said to have condemned more people to death than any other court in the world.



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M. Alexander Kerensky, who made an unavailing attempt to stem the tide of Bolshevism after the first Revolution.



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Madame Catherine Breshkovsky, often called "the little grandmother of the Russian Revolution," though she recoiled at the excesses of Bolshevism. Born in 1844.

PROTOPOPOV THE EVIL GENIUS OF THE MONARCHY

Meantime the appointment of Ministers for no ascertainable reason became so flagrant that it began to be known as the game of Ministerial leap-frog. When, however, a man like Protopopov was made Minister of the Interior people thought the limit had been reached. Protopopov was the Vice-President of the Duma and had been the chairman of the parliamentary delegation to the Allies. On his way back from London to Russia he stopped at Stockholm, where he entered into some obscure negotiations with German envoys for a separate peace. He came to Petrograd, saw the Tsar, and was promptly appointed Minister of the Interior. The idea obviously was that, as a member of the Duma, Protopopov was in a position to keep its members in hand. But the Duma, which was at this time fighting for a Government responsible to it, considered the acceptance of office by its Vice-President as treasonable and boycotted him. But the more the Duma repudiated him the more *persona grata* he became with the Empress. Protopopov was the evil genius of the monarchy. With his appointment the monarchy went crashing down. In society and in Government circles he was hated as a parvenu; but he believed that he was the man of destiny appointed to save the Tsar and Russia. He believed in his star, which was Jupiter, and the more opposition he met with the more he believed in it. At the beginning of the Revolution he had become raving mad; even on the day of his appointment he was not normally sane. The exaggerated love he expressed for the Tsar, the devotion he offered to the Tsaritsa, and the blind obedience he paid to Rasputin — all show that his mental state was unbalanced. In any case the visits he paid to the notorious astrologer and fortune-teller, Charles Perrène, in quest of his horoscope, and this despite the warnings of the police, who told him that Perrène was suspected of being a German spy, reveal sufficiently the man's foolish vanity as well as his superstitious faith in disreputable imposters.

THE SERIOUS PROBLEM OF FOOD SUPPLY

The main task which confronted Protopopov as Minister of the Interior was to solve the urgent problem of the food supply. Great scarcity already prevailed in the country; but the situation was most serious in the capitals. Methods of food control were being [illegible]. But still food got more scarce; so that in the autumn [illegible] Petrograd and Moscow had to stand for hours in queue[illegible] lining up of people in these queues terrified the Government, first of all because it was recollected that the French Revolution began with bread riots, and secondly because these queues were naturally centres of gossip and therefore of revolutionary propaganda. Just as the Government was unable to solve the problem of keeping the troops furnished with munitions, without the help of the local war committees, so now it was obviously unequal to the more difficult task of organising the food supply. But in no circumstances would it abandon any vestige of its authority. "No delegation of authority" was the advice given the Tsar by Rasputin. Just as in the previous year he had succeeded in convincing the Tsar that it was his duty to God and to the country to take over the supreme command, so now by the use of the same argument, he prevailed upon him to forbid any surrender of control in the matter of providing the people with food. Rasputin's immense power over the minds of the imperial family was destined to increase to a point where it was necessary to destroy him in order to put a stop to his iniquities.

WAR BETWEEN THE DUMA AND THE BUREAUCRACY

The Duma, the municipalities and the Zemstvo Unions all sent petitions to the Tsar begging him to hand over control of food supplies to a body which had the support of the people. General Alexeyev and the Tsar's *entourage* at Headquarters appealed to the Tsar to the same effect. But he, fortified by the impassioned appeals of the Tsaritsa, insisted on retaining full control. This conflict over the question of food control led to that open war between the Duma and the bureaucracy which is generally regarded as the beginning (November 1, 1916) of the Russian Revolution. In the Duma, in presence of the Allies' ambassadors, Sturmer, the Prime Minister, a man of German extraction, was openly charged with treason. But the Tsaritsa and her circle remained unmoved.

"We are living through hardest times," declared the Empress, "but God will help us through. I have no fear. Let them scream—we must shew we have no fear and are firm. Wifey is your staunch one, and stands as rock behind you."

The Tsaritsa's appeal to the Tsar to be firm had its effect. The food supply was allowed to remain in the incompetent hands of Protopopov. But Sturmer, guilty or not guilty of treason, had to go. He was replaced by Trepov, the Minister of Transport, a man outside the inner circle. This appointment was made by the Tsar at headquarters without the privity of the Tsaritsa, who frankly expressed her dissatisfaction with it.

"Trepov I personally do not like," said the Empress, "and can never have the same feeling for him as for old Goremikin and Sturmer—they were of the good old sort. The other I trust will be firm (I fear at heart a hard man). . . . This one I, alas, doubt caring for me; if he does not trust me or our Friend, things will be difficult. I told Sturmer to tell him how to behave about Gregory and to safeguard him always . . . You, Lovey, will tell him to come to me, too, sometimes."

The change of Prime Minister failed to improve the situation. The Duma, with the support of the country, demanded a Government responsible to it and refused to accept a bureaucrat. The consequence was that Trepov had no chance of even addressing the Duma. His sole appearance before that body was greeted with shouts of "Resign," and his important announcement of the readiness of the Allies to hand over Constantinople to Russia only became known when it was published in the newspapers next day. Nothing daunted by this failure to conciliate the Duma, Trepov tried to improve the situation by urging the Tsar to dismiss Protopopov because insane. But the Tsaritsa fought tooth and nail for the retention of Protopopov, protesting that he was perfectly sane. She admitted that his wife had consulted Bekhterev, the famous specialist; but she said this was merely to obtain advice as to Protopopov's nerves. The letters written to the Tsar by the Tsaritsa at this time are most pathetic; she seemed in a sort of ecstasy.

INTIMATE LETTERS OF THE TSARITSA TO THE TSAR

"It is difficult writing and asking for oneself, I assure you," says the Empress, "but it's for your and baby's sake, believe me. I don't care what bad one says of me. Only when one tries to tear devoted, honest people who care for me away, it's horribly unfair. I am but a woman fighting for her master and child, her two dearest ones on earth. And God will help me to be your guardian angel. Only don't pull the sticks away upon which I have found it possible to rest."

This sentiment finds eloquent expression in almost every letter. Another sentiment which is iterated and reiterated is the imperative necessity of acting on the advice of Rasputin.

"Once more," she urges, "remember that for your reign, baby and us, you need the strength, prayers and advice of our Friend."

In another letter she repeats this counsel:

"Our Friend entreats you to be firm, to be the master and not always give in to Trepov. You know much better than that man; and still you let him lead you. Why not our Friend who leads through God! Only believe more in our Friend instead of Trepov. He lives for you and Russia."

The Tsar was in a dilemma at this time. Every man of importance recommended him to conciliate the Duma by granting its demand for a responsible Government. The letters of the Tsaritsa leave no doubt that the Tsar was desirous of acting on this advice.

"Would I write thus," she says in a letter dated December 13, "did I not know you so very easily waver and change your mind and what it costs me to keep you to stick to your opinions?" (To make him firm she strikes the note of duty towards his son.) "We must give a strong country to baby; we dare not be weak for his sake. Else he will have a yet harder reign, setting our faults right and drawing the reins in tightly which you let loose. You have to suffer for faults in the reigns of your predecessors. And God knows what hardships are yours. Let our legacy be a lighter one for Alexei! He has a strong will and mind of his own. Don't let things slip through your fingers and make him have to build up all again. Be firm. I, your wall, am behind you and won't give way. I know He leads us right; and you listen to a false man as Trepov."

"Only not a responsible Cabinet, which all are mad about," she says. "It's all getting calmer and better; only one wants to feel your hand. How long years people have told me the same: 'Russia loves to feel the whip.' It's their nature: tender love and then the iron hand to punish and guide. How I wish I could pour my will into your veins. The Virgin above you, with you. Remember the miracle, our Friend's vision."

The Tsaritsa was conscious that the monarchy and the dynasty were at stake. Every one of the Tsar's advisers was conscious of this. But while they advised the Tsar to give in, she believed that the only way was to be unyielding.

"Darling," she writes in other letters, "remember that it does not lie in the man Protopopov or X.Y.Z.; but it's the question of monarchy and your prestige now, which must not be shattered in the time of the Duma. Don't think they will stop at him. But they will make all others leave who are devoted to you, one by one. And then ourselves! Remember, last year, your leaving for the army, when also you were alone, with us two against everybody, who promised Revolution if you went. You stood up against all and God blessed your decision. . . . The Tsar rules and not the Duma. . . . Show to all that you are the master and that your will must be obeyed. The time of great indulgence and gentleness is over; now comes your reign of will and power. And they shall be made to bow down before you, to listen to your orders."

THE TSARITSA WINS—RASPUTIN ASSASSINATED

The Tsaritsa's frantic appeals to the Tsar's firmness proved successful. On December 17 the Duma was prorogued, until February. On the evening of the same day Rasputin was assassinated by the Grand Duke Dmitri Pavlovich, by Prince Yousoupov and by Pourishkevich, the leader of the Right wing in the Duma. "This assassination," says Milukov in his *History of the Revolution*, "undoubtedly perplexed rather than satisfied society. The public did not know all the details of this nightmare which took place in the palace of Prince Yousoupov. But they felt that what had happened was degrading rather than elevating, a circumstance which was wholly disproportionate to the greatness of the tasks of the times."

The assassins had killed their man under the belief that their action could compel the Tsar to face realities. In this belief they were mi[illegible]

The first palpable sign that the Tsar had determined to make no concessions was the promotion of Protopopov from acting to actual Minister of the Interior and the supersession of Trepov as Prime Minister by Prince Galitsin, an old gentleman who had no connection whatever with politics. The attachment of the Tsar and Tsaritsa to Protopopov, an obvious madman by this time, can only be explained by the fact that he was now regarded as the successor to Rasputin, who had often prophesied that his own death would mean the downfall of the dynasty. Protopopov had been so devoted to Rasputin that the Tsar and Tsaritsa believed that so long as he was retained in their *entourage* some portion of Rasputin's spirit remained with them. The ignorance and superstition of the Russian *moujik* found a perfect counterpart in the attitude of the Tsar of all the Russias and his Tsaritsa.

FAILURE OF FINAL APPEAL TO THE TSAR

This irreconcilable attitude of the Court finally convinced the people that the only hope of constitutional change lay in a Revolution. The idea of a Court Revolution, of replacing the Tsar by the Grand Duke Michael and of incarcerating the Tsaritsa in a convent, rapidly gained ground. But before this Revolution from above—whose possible consequences we cannot here discuss—could materialise, a Revolution from below—which was the beginning of the momentous changes marking the past seven years—broke out.

The crucial question of the day was the food question and everybody feared that February 14, the date appointed for the reassembling of the Duma, would witness an outbreak of revolutionary activity among the workers. On February 10, Rodzianko, the Speaker of the Duma, went to the Tsar to warn him that even at the eleventh hour he could still save his throne by granting the Duma's demand for a responsible government. "So you continue to demand the dismissal of Protopopov?" asked the Tsar. "Yes, Your Majesty," replied Rodzianko. "Formerly I asked for this; now I demand it." "How dare you!" protested the Tsar. "Your Majesty must save yourself," said Rodzianko. "We are on the eve of tremendous events; and no one can know what will be the end. What your Government and yourself are doing is exasperating the people so much that anything is possible." "I shall do what God wants me to do," was the Tsar's reply. Rodzianko did not fail to make another appeal to the Tsar to desist from his fatal course.

Rodzianko's final appeal is worth quoting. "I am leaving you, Your Majesty," he said, "with the conviction that this is the last time I am likely to report to you." "Why?" asked the Tsar. "I have been talking to you for an hour and a half," Rodzianko replied, "and I see clearly that you are being led along a very dangerous path. You are going to dissolve the Duma and I shall no longer be President and shall therefore make no more reports to you. But what is worse I warn you that it is my conviction that in less than three weeks such a Revolution will take place as will sweep you away." But the Imperial decision to dissolve the Duma was irrevocable. The Tsar had made his final submission to the will of the Tsaritsa and Protopopov, who believed that the dissolution of the Duma would, in the words of Maklakov, a former Minister of the Interior, "act like the stroke of a cathedral bell," and be an unmistakable call for aid addressed to the millions of the Tsar's devoted subjects. Galitsin, the Prime Minister, was therefore furnished with a ukase dissolving the Duma, with a blank space left for the date. But February 14 came and the Duma reopened without giving the signal for the popular demonstrations anticipated by the Government.

COSSACKS JOIN THE STRIKERS

The excitement, however, caused by the scarcity of bread rapidly developed into bread riots. These riots started on February 23 when about 80,000 workers struck and marched in groups through Petrograd shouting "Bread!" Next day the number of strikers increased to nearly 200,000. The police occupied the bridges over the Neva; but the workers crossed the river on the ice. Then occurred the unexpected and sensational incident which decided the fate of the Revolution. In a collision with the mounted police the demonstrators received the support of the Cossacks. The rioters increased in numbers and in violence. The next day the workers swept over the Neva and the situation became so threatening that Rodzianko telegraphed to the Tsar, "Situation critical. Anarchy reigns in the capital. The Government is paralysed. Transport of food and fuel is in disorder. Unrest is growing. Shooting is going on in the streets, and one group of soldiers is firing at another. It is necessary immediately to choose a man who has the confidence of the country to create a new Government. To delay longer is impossible." This telegram was sent to the commanders of the various fronts with a request that they would support its appeal. Brussilov, Rusky, the Grand Duke Nicholas and the other commanders replied expressing their readiness to support Rodzianko's representations. But the Tsar, who was at Headquarters, was not in the least degree impressed. He ordered General Habalov, the commander of the Petrograd garrison, immediately to suppress the riots.

On February 27 Rodzianko dispatched another telegram to the Tsar, the salient words in which were: "Measures must be taken immediately; for to-morrow it will be too late. The last hour has arrived; the fate of the country and of the dynasty is at stake." The same day sporadic outbreaks occurred in the barracks of the famous regiment, the Volynsky Guards. This mutinous spirit soon spread to the other barracks, the soldiers in some cases killing their officers, seizing their arms and joining the demonstrators in the street. Acts of incendiarism were now committed, fires breaking out at the Law Courts and in some of the prisons. General Habalov tried to organise small detachments of soldiers to put down the riots. But these detachments became less and less reliable; and soon the sole force at the disposal of the Government was the police. But the riots, violent as they were, had not yet culminated in Revolution. The Revolution was brought about only when the dissolution of the Duma on the evening of the same day supplied the popular movement with an idea. The workers on strike and the mutinous soldiers were now united in the common cause of defending the Duma. The cry was, "To the Duma! To the Duma!"

THE LAST DAYS OF NICHOLAS AS TSAR

Fortified by this popular support the Duma finally repudiated the Tsar's authority and entrusted to a Provisional Committee, representing all parties and headed by Rodzianko, the business of forming a *de facto* Government. The first act of this Committee was to enter into negotiations with the Tsar's Government with a view to making a final attempt at a peaceful solution. A meeting between the Prime Minister (Galitsin), Rodzianko and the Grand Duke Michael took place, at which it was decided that all of them should advise the Tsar of the urgent necessity of appointing a government responsible to the Duma. Rodzianko telegraphed to the Tsar asking for a manifesto dismissing the old Government and appointing a new one in touch

with the Duma. The Grand Duke Michael telephoned directly to General Alexeyev who had just returned from leave, asking him to convey immediately to the Tsar (the Grand Duke's) advice to dismiss the old Government and to appoint Count Lvov, the President of the Zemstvo Unions, or Rodzianko head of a new Government. The Tsar on receiving this report from Alexeyev asked him to thank the Grand Duke for his counsel and to inform him that he (the Tsar) knew what he had to do. Soon afterwards the Tsar received a telegram from Galitsin in which he implored the Tsar to take the Grand Duke's advice as the only way of preserving his dynasty. After receiving this telegram the Tsar communicated by telephone with the Tsaritsa at Tsarskoe Selo. The result was a telegram sent to Galitsin informing him that no changes in the personnel of the Government could be allowed, that General Ivanov was being sent to Petrograd at the head of reliable detachments of soldiers, and that Galitsin himself was invested with dictatorial powers.

On the night of February 28 the Tsar left for Tsarskoe Selo against the advice of Headquarters. Alexeyev and the other generals believed that there were only two courses open to him, either to return to the capital with the intention of acceding to popular demands, or to go to the front and to receive the backing of the army in refusing such demands. To return to Petrograd in a spirit of hostility seemed to them madness. They presented this view quite frankly, but the Tsar would listen to no reason in his desire to return to the Tsaritsa and his children who were then ill with measles. The apprehensions voiced at Headquarters by Alexeyev that the Tsar might not be able to reach Tsarskoe Selo were realised. The Imperial trains which left Mohilev at six o'clock on the morning of February 28 were stopped at Dno, half-way to Petrograd, under the pretext that a bridge was destroyed. The trains then made a détour, but were stopped at Bologoe and had to turn once more, reaching Pskov on the evening of March 1. In these two days the Tsar was cut off alike from his family, from his Government and from Headquarters. Soon after the Tsar left Headquarters a final telegram came from Rodzianko to the effect that the Revolution in Petrograd was in full swing, that the Government had ceased to function, that the Ministers were being arrested by the mob, and that a Committee of the Duma, "in order to prevent officers from being murdered and to calm the passions of the moment, had decided to assume the functions of government."

AUTOCRACY CEASES TO EXIST

While the Tsar's trains were being prepared for leaving Headquarters, General Habalov, the commander of the Petrograd garrison, Beliaev, the War Minister, and the Grand Duke Michael, with four companies of infantry, one company of Cossacks, two batteries and one platoon of machine-gunners, went to the Admiralty, which in view of its commanding position was believed to be able to defy any popular onslaught. The other Ministers were either arrested by the mob and brought to the Duma or went into hiding. Lack of munitions and of food soon made the position of Habalov and the Grand Duke at the Admiralty precarious; and when they learnt from the aide-de-camp of the naval Ministry that there was danger of the mutinous garrison attacking the Admiralty with artillery they decided to retire. With the evacuation of the Admiralty the old Government ceased to exist.

The Imperial trains proceeded as usual, being received at every station by the local governors and police. But no authentic news of events in the capital reached the Tsar. At three o'clock P.M. he sent a telegram in English

to the Tsaritsa from Viasma. The contents of this telegram show how little the sender appreciated the tragedy of the situation: "Left at five this morning. Thoughts always with you. Wonderful weather. Hope you feel well and at peace. Many troops sent from the front. Tender love from Niki." The Tsar's quiescence continued. It was not disturbed by the shunting of his train. "During lunch and dinner," says a member of the Tsar's suite, "there was talk about everything save current events, on account of the presence of servants, of the reluctance of the Tsar to speak French, and of his general objection to the discussion of politics." General Doubensky, the official historian at Headquarters, who was in the train, says that the Tsar was a brave man, slept and ate as usual, and entertained his suite with conversation. When, however, the Imperial trains arrived at Pskov, the tragedy of the situation became apparent. General Russky who arrived there to meet the Tsar insisted on his conceding all the popular demands.

ABDICATION OF THE TSAR

The Tsar thereupon dispatched a telegram to Rodzianko: "For the sake of saving the country and for the happiness of the people I order you to form a new Ministry. But I will myself appoint the Minister responsible for Army, Navy and Foreign Affairs." Rodzianko replied that the Tsar's concessions came too late and that the only course open to him was abdication in favour of the Tsarevich with the Grand Duke Michael as Regent. Rodzianko's telegram was supported by seven others sent from the various commanders at the front with the Grand Duke Nicholas at their head. At the same time it was announced that the Duma Committee was sending two members, Gouchkov and Shoulgin, to receive the formal announcement of the Tsar's abdication. In order to avoid unnecessary humiliation the Tsar sent a telegram announcing his abdication. Doubensky's diary contains a characteristic description of the impression produced on the Tsar's suite by the despatch of this telegram. "When Voyekov learnt that this telegram had been sent," says Doubensky, "he went to the Tsar and asked his permission to stop it. The Tsar granted it. Voyekov then ordered Naryshkin to run to the telegraph office and stop the telegram. The telegram, however, had been already sent off; but the head of the telegraph office promised to do his best to recall it. When Naryshkin came back and told this, all members of the suite with one voice said, 'All is finished'." Half an hour after this incident the Tsar was walking near the train and noticed Doubensky at the window crying. The Tsar looked at him in a friendly way, winked, and saluted him. "Here," said Doubensky, "was either strength of character or cool indifference to everything." The Tsar relinquished the throne, complains Doubensky, with no more concern than if he were an officer giving up the command of his squadron.

The arrival of the envoys from the Duma Committees seemed to signify that the Duma considered that the needs of the situation could be met by the abdication of Nicholas without abolishing the dynasty. The Tsar received them in the train in the presence of all the members of his suite. The Tsar, Goutchkov and Shoulgin sat at a small table, the members of the suite standing near. The Tsar spoke without excitement or warmth, in a quiet, correct, business-like tone. Goutchkov said he was present in the name of the Duma Committee to give the necessary advice how to save the country. "Petrograd," he said, "is entirely in the hands of the Revolutionists. The attempts to send troops to the capital from the front is useless; for every detachment will go over to the side of the Revolutionists the moment it

breathes the Petrograd air." General Russky supported Goutchkov and said he could not send any troops to Petrograd. "So," continued Goutchkov, "struggle is useless. Our advice is that you should abdicate the throne. I know, Your Majesty, that the advice we offer you is tremendously serious. We don't expect you to accept it at once. If you like to consider it we will leave you; but in any case you have to decide to-night."

The Tsar listened quietly. "I have already considered the question," he replied, "and I have decided to abdicate." Goutchkov then told the Tsar that he would have to be separated from his son. "Nobody," he said, "will agree to leave the education of the future Tsar to those who have brought the country to its present plight." The Tsar replied that he was not prepared to be separated from the Tsarevich, and proposed to abdicate in favour of his brother, the Grand Duke Michael. The envoys accepted the Tsar's suggestion and handed over to him a draft of the manifesto announcing his abdication. In an hour and a half the Tsar brought it back, revised and typed and signed. Some minor corrections were made and initialled, and before the envoys left for Petrograd another copy was made and entrusted to the care of General Russky. Goutchkov, who was unaware that the Tsar had decided to abdicate before the envoys arrived, was struck by the failure of the Emperor to play up to the great scene.

But the question of the Tsar's feelings or lack of feeling had no interest for Petrograd. When the envoys brought back the Tsar's abdication they returned to a Duma which was already being attacked for its desire to retain the monarchy. The Provisional Government seemed to have no option but to invite the new Tsar, the Grand Duke Michael, to resign his recently acquired position and to leave the question of monarchy or republic to the decision of a Constituent Assembly. The Tsar Nicholas abdicated on March 1 and the Tsar Michael on March 3. On March 8 Nicholas was brought to Tsarskoe Selo and interned as prisoner in his Alexandra Palace.

II. Russia in Revolution

Until the Revolution Russia was not and did not feel herself to be a nation. For generations Russians have lived without knowing or feeling the full happiness of having a country of their own, a motherland. The Revolution suddenly revealed to Russia a new aspect of life. Russia became a nation and a motherland. The idea of the State as something alien was suddenly transformed into an idea of the State as something intimate, as "our own." There was always a deep faith in ideals in Russia. This it is which most European students of Russia have regarded as the specific religious spirit of the country. For centuries Russia has been seeking the truth, believing that a time would come when her conscience would be delivered. The Revolution was the deliverance of the Russian conscience.

UNIVERSAL EXALTATION OF SPIRIT

A vast transformation took place. The mutual hostility of people and government, of race and race that prevailed in Old Russia, was replaced by common joy and love and a universal exaltation of spirit. An English writer has described the situation in glowing terms: "Life is flowing in a heaving, purifying torrent," he says. "Never was any country in the world so interesting as Russia is now. Old men are saying '*Nunc dimittis*'; young men are singing in the dawn; and I have met many men and women who seemed walking in a hushed sense of benediction."

SHORT-LIVED UNITY

But this period of exaltation and benediction was short-lived. Dangers, internal and external, were lying in wait to destroy it. In an article expressing his joy at the marriage of Russia to freedom, written at the time, Maxim Gorki struck a note of warning. "The years of war," he says, "have proved with a horrible obviousness how sick Russian civilisation is, how badly we are organised. We have been starving for freedom. But with our inclination to anarchy we may very easily devour that freedom." Unfortunately, Gorki's warning was a prophecy. The devouring of freedom began the day after "the sunniest and greatest of all Revolutions took place." The short-lived unity of the people was once more broken, and the divergence of class from class and race from race became wider every day.

The first great division took place on the question of war or peace. No compromise seemed possible between the contending parties. Both operated with almost the same set of ideas. The mass of the people, the peasants, the workers and the soldiers, each class intent on its individual aims, desired the termination of the war, the better to enjoy the fruits of life created by the Revolution. The so-called War party -- the bourgeoisie, the military leaders and the intellectuals were convinced that the prosecution of the war to a successful finish was the only means of consolidating the gains of the Revolution. The quarrel between the two opposing groups continued up to the time of the Bolshevik accession to power. But as early as a fortnight after the outbreak of the Revolution it was manifest that the mood of the majority of the people and of the army at the front was in favour of a speedy termination of the war. But while the majority of people were unanimous in wishing for an early peace, they were divided as to the method of bringing it about. Peace at any price was favoured by a minority only. The majority, organised in the so-called soviets of workers and soldiers' deputies, ardently believed that the Russian Revolution was a factor of international significance and created conditions favouring a general peace. This belief found expression in the peace manifesto addressed by the Petrograd Soviet to the peoples of the whole world.

DECLARATION OF "NO ANNEXATIONS AND NO INDEMNITIES"

This idea of bringing the war to an immediate end by appealing to the conscience of the world democracy was of course nothing but a dream. The formula put forward in this manifesto was in essence that already expressed in President Wilson's declaration for "Peace without Victory." The Russian formula of "No Annexations and No Indemnities" was on its appearance derided in all the Allied countries as perverted idealism. In Russia it was hailed with fanatical enthusiasm as almost a divine revelation. It would, people felt, either bring about the desired peace or, if rejected by the German Government, it would infect the Russian armies with new zeal for the continuation of the war, while at the same time, by exposing the imperialistic aims of the German Government, it would help to break German unity.

This ingenious scheme for splitting German unity and for inspiring Russia's half-broken armies with fresh enthusiasm had the unexpected result of dissolving Russian unity and of widening the breach between Russia and the Allies. The prompt repudiation which the scheme met with from the spokesman of the Allies relieved Germany of any need for showing her hand. Still

more damaging was the effect which the Soviet manifesto had on the unity of the Russian people. It placed the Provisional Government in a dilemma; for they could neither accept it nor repudiate it. This unfortunate situation of the Provisional Government led to the first and most disruptive crisis of the Revolution. After nearly a fortnight's hesitation the Government was compelled by the pressure exerted by the Soviets formally to pledge themselves to a peace unqualified by annexations or indemnities. But in advising the Allies that they were taking this course Milukov, the Foreign Secretary, instructed the Russian Ambassadors in the Allied countries to make it clear that this acceptance was not to be taken as any modification of Russia's war aims or of her determination to fight to the end. Milukov's equivocation was taken as a challenge by the Russian democracy.

DEMORALISATION OF THE ARMY

The political crisis that followed the so-called Milukov incident marked the end of the romantic period of the Revolution, and the beginning of civil strife. It seemed as if the nation would relapse into a state of dissolution. The economic and financial situation became desperate. The failure to achieve any agreement with the Allies as regards war aims worked to the advantage of the extreme Socialists. Its effects became more evident every day. At the same time the counter-Revolutionists began to lift their heads and lifted them more boldly in proportion as the extreme Socialists became more successful. Meantime the disorganisation of the army progressed at an accelerated pace. The stagnation of the front, the anti-war propaganda of the extreme Socialists who recognised that they had now got their chance, the insidious tactics of sham fraternisation practised by the Germans, and the longing of the soldiers to return home in order to share in the distribution of the land — all these influenced and contributed to the decomposition of the army, which now actually started to demobilise itself.

The Provisional Government, which was rapidly losing prestige, and which regarded with alarm the increasing popularity of the Bolsheviks, was more and more captured by the idea of making an offensive the solution of the situation. The army leaders too, believing it was better to encounter death than dishonour, refused to remain in the degrading position of nominal chiefs of a revolting soldiery, and likewise plumped for the offensive, a course which also had the sanction of the Allies and which if successful would have inflicted the greater damage on Germany especially as coming from a revolutionary army.

KERENSKY A THEATRICAL AND HYSTERICAL POSEUR

While then there was sufficient inducement to rush an offensive, it was generally recognised that only a miracle could make such an offensive successful. The organisation of this miracle was left to Kerensky, the hero of the hour. He was indeed the only hero the Revolution threw up. A theatrical and hysterical *poseur,* Kerensky was almost worshipped in the early stages of the Revolution. His great opportunity came in July, 1917, when as War Minister his business was to organise the promising but fatal offensive on the German front. With a group of enthusiasts Kerensky made propaganda all along the front appealing to the soldiers to show their mettle and patriotism. His speeches at the front were hailed in Russian and Allied newspapers as a sure sign of the revival of the Russian war-spirit. But the



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M. Nicolai Lenin, the soul of Bolshevism and first Soviet Premier.

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M. Leon Trotsky, the fiery War Minister of the Russian Soviet Republic.



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M. Michael Kalinin, the idol of the peasants and chairman of the Central Executive Committee of Soviets, 1918.



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M. George Chicherin, a diplomat of the old régime and later Foreign Minister in the Soviet Government.

FOUR BUILDERS OF THE NEW SOCIAL ORDER IN RUSSIA

effect was purely transient. The soldiers listened, applauded, and even swore to fight and to die for the Revolution. But the moment Kerensky left they refused to move against the enemy.

THE RUSSIAN OFFENSIVE ENDS IN DISASTER

The Russian military position at the time afforded not the slightest justification even for an offensive on a limited scale; but there were many temptations to ignore strictly strategical considerations. There was an idea that a success on one sector of the front might inspire the whole Russian army and people with a new patriotism and zeal for the war. Even defeat was thought to have its saving features; for it would certainly inspire the people with a desire to repel the invaders. The scheme was to collect on a narrow sector of the front thinly held by the enemy specially chosen shock troops and so to ensure a splendid beginning. But even on this narrow sector it was found necessary to concentrate foreign contingents and regiments made up almost exclusively of officers. This heterogeneous force, consisting partly of foreigners, partly of counter-Revolutionists, was thrown away in a sheer gamble on the destinies of Russia and the Revolution.

The offensive, launched in this fashion, could only end in disaster. Yet nobody could have foreseen the magnitude of this disaster. The offensive opened on July 1, 1917. On July 18 the German counter-attack started and by July 21 not only were the Russian arms destroyed but Russia ceased to exist as a Great Power. Most of the detachments which participated in the offensive were reduced to a state of rapid decomposition. Authority and obedience ceased to exist. Entreaty and persuasion lost force too. The rout became an unprecedented panic. The disaster was complete, and the High Command was compelled to order a retreat along the whole front.

LENIN ARRIVES UPON THE SCENE

The German militarists were exultant. The Russian offensive gave them a pretext for carrying out their long-cherished desire of aiming a blow at Revolutionary Russia. They could now do whatever they liked with Russia. They were sure of a peace with Russia; and that is why they believed it wise not to take full advantage of their military predominance. The internal struggle, which from this time became more violent, seemed almost to guarantee them an invitation to be called in as saviours from anarchy. The domestic situation was now dominated by the Bolshevik "bid for power." The hero of the situation was now Lenin. A political exile in Switzerland at the beginning of the war, Lenin, as the leader of a small but determined section of the Russian Socialist party, started at once to make preparations for converting the war with Germany into a civil war. Already in November, 1914, the five Bolshevik members of the Duma had been arrested and sent to Siberia for receiving from Lenin a resolution in which it was asserted that the defeat of the Tsarist armies would be heartily welcomed by the working-classes. Lenin won only a scanty success in his propaganda for class war; but he never thought of giving up. He called conference after conference of anti-war Socialists to formulate plans for the approaching class war. When the Russian Revolution actually started he was overjoyed at the success of his own prediction, and went back to Russia with the deep conviction that he was destined to head the long-promised world Revolution. Refused a passage through France and England, Lenin and a group of his adherents

did not hesitate to accept the offer of Swiss Socialists to make arrangements for his going to Russia through Germany in a sealed car. His trip through enemy territory aroused great indignation and bitter comments in bourgeois circles; but he received a magnificent reception at Petrograd from the Soviet. At once from the platform Lenin made a speech in which he declared that what was taking place in Russia was the beginning of a revolution destined not only to displace the existing system in Russia, but also to break down the resistance of "capitalist" governments all over the world.

FIRST BLOODSHED IN THE REVOLUTION

This fantastic misconception of the aims and spirit of the Russian Revolution was treated even by his own supporters as a delirious dream. Lenin's failure to impress members of the Petrograd Soviet seemed to demonstrate his absolute isolation; but it had no depressing effect on Lenin. The popular excitement roused by the Milukov note to the Allies in April was a revelation to Lenin of the ease with which a popular movement could be set on foot. Accordingly, despite the fact that he was in an insignificant minority, he made an actual bid for power by appealing to the workers and soldiers to take the power into their own hands. "The Provisional Government," he said, "is a government of a little crowd of capitalists who have to make way for the Soviets. Workers, soldiers, say it now so that every one may hear, 'We demand that we alone shall have the power.'" This watchword, "All power to the Soviet," was not generally taken up by the masses, which still believed that the Provisional Government would succeed in securing peace and in convoking a Constituent Assembly. The July offensive gave a new resonance to Lenin's appeals. On July 4 a rising of Petrograd factory workers actually took place with the ostensible object of transferring power from the Provisional Government to the Soviets. But the Petrograd Soviet was at that time in the hands of the Moderates, and the intention of the insurgents was not only to destroy the Provisional Government but to depose the executive of the Soviet. The Bolshevik leaders at first took no official part in the rising, which was quite spontaneous in its character. But when the majority of the Petrograd factory workers joined in it and detachments of soldiers and Kronstadt sailors arrived in Petrograd to support it, the Bolsheviks unmistakably identified themselves with it. At the head of a big procession supported by soldiers and sailors they marched to the palace in which the Soviet was sitting and demanded that it should either assume the power or relinquish authority altogether. The insurgents were obviously in complete control of the street crowds, and shooting in the streets became more and more frequent. Those killed in these street riots were the first victims of revolutionary violence.

Meantime the Provisional Government, which seemed paralysed by the course of events, received a reinforcement from the front and crushed the rising. But there was as a matter of fact no need for fighting. The mood of the crowd and of the soldiers was changed when the Government published documents purporting to prove that Lenin and others had been in the pay of the German Government. The soldiers who had hitherto supported the rising were now only too glad to quell it as instigated by the Germans. The Bolshevik party was driven underground. Lenin and his lieutenant Zinoviev went into hiding. Trotsky and a few others were arrested and imprisoned. The Bolshevik newspaper, *The Pravda*, was suppressed and its printing office smashed by the crowd.

FALL OF THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT

But the jubilation of the Moderates was ill-founded. The process of undermining the Government and all that the March Revolution stood for now went on with accelerated speed. The second stage in the fight of Lenin for power began. Now he dropped the watchword of "All power to the Soviet"; for the Soviet, as constituted by the Mensheviks and the Social Revolutionaries, was incapable in his opinion of assuming power; and even if it did assume power, could organise no real revolutionary gain.

The Provisional Government was now tottering to its fall. The next blow it received was from the Right. The hero of this new episode was General Kornilov, the general responsible for the July offensive. The relations subsisting between Kerensky, the Prime Minister, and Kornilov, the Commander-in-Chief, are still obscure. The outstanding facts are clear enough. Both men were agreed that the only means of overcoming the growing anarchy was the creation of a dictatorship. To establish this, Kornilov sent a few of his crack divisions to Petrograd. They were timed to arrive at Petrograd at a moment when they could be joined by a *junta* of officers favourable to the overthrow of the Soviets. Neither candidate for the Dictator's post trusted the other. And the nearer Kornilov's "wild" division under General Krymov approached to Petrograd, the more Kerensky became scared. Suddenly he dismissed his co-plotter, declaring him a traitor to the Revolution. Kornilov refused to resign, declared Kerensky deposed, and ordered his troops to advance on Petrograd. Kerensky, hailed as the saviour of Russia, appealed to the Soviet to defend the Revolution and sanctioned the formation of worker-guards. In this real or alleged danger to the Revolution, the offences of the Bolsheviks were forgiven and their leaders released from prison.

While then the Kornilov mutiny led to the arming of the workers, it produced a most demoralising effect upon the army. That a Commander-in-Chief, in the face of the enemy, should denude the front of its best troops in order to march on the capital of his own country, was as unprecedented as it was disastrous. The soldiers now made no secret of their desire to abandon fighting and go home. In fact the Cossacks left the front in a body and marched home to the Don valley. The majority of the commanders remained neutral in the mutiny; but some, notably General Denikin, who had pledged themselves to support Kornilov, were compelled to take sides and were arrested by the Government emissaries.

TRIUMPH OF THE REVOLUTIONARY SOVIET

The mutiny was quelled about the end of August without a shot being fired. Krymov's force, unsupported by the front and opposed by the armed workers of the capital, had no alternative but to surrender. The Soviet was now the jubilant victor; but it was now a different Soviet. The mood of the workers and soldiers was now frankly revolutionary. They demanded first new elections to the Soviets, the Menshevik majority on which they claimed was unrepresentative. The new elections gave the Bolsheviks a great majority in the two capitals. Trotsky now became the leader of the Petrograd Soviet and openly made preparation for an armed revolt.

The Provisional Government placed all its hopes on a change in the international situation. Believing that an early peace might consolidate their positions, they begged the Allies to convoke an Allied Conference to define the aims of the war. Failing to secure this they supported a scheme

for holding an international Socialist Conference at Stockholm as a lever for bringing about a revolution in Germany and a consequent general peace. But the Allies refused to grant passports to the intending delegates. Deprived of the prospect of this conference the Provisional Government was left without a policy and was now merely awaiting its doom. The Bolsheviks, on the other hand, considering that their chance was approaching, developed a fiery energy.

They had first procured arms at the time of the Kornilov mutiny. When they conquered the Soviet they at once started openly to organise the Red Guards, commandeering arms from the armament factories. In agreement with the wishes of the High Command, Kerensky informed the Soviet that a great portion of the Petrograd garrison was to be sent to the front. This decision of the Provisional Government furnished Trotsky with a pretext for organising a so-called "Military Revolutionary Committee" of the Soviet which should consult with the General Staff with a view to discovering whether the decision in question was due to strategical or political reasons. By this means Trotsky won the devotion of the entire garrison, which disliked nothing more than being sent to the front. This Military Committee became the General Staff of the Bolshevik rising. That it was allowed openly to function was sufficient proof that Kerensky was at the end of his tether. His frantic appeals to the various commanders at the front to send reinforcements to Petrograd met with no success. There were no reliable troops available.

On November 5 Trotsky appeared before the garrison of the Peter and Paul fortress and carried a resolution among them in favour of the overthrow of the Provisional Government. With the adherence of this garrison and the arrest of the officers, the last bulwark of the Kerensky *régime* was gone. The next morning the Military Committee began to take over power. On the evening of November 7 the railway and electric power stations, the post and telegraph offices were in the hands of the Committee. By 7 o'clock in the morning the Headquarters of the General Staff were occupied by the troops of the Committee. Kerensky succeeded in reaching the front in a motor-car. The remaining members of the Provisional Government barricaded themselves in the Winter Palace. Under threat of bombardment they surrendered and were imprisoned in the fortress. The Military Committee thereupon proceeded to issue a manifesto declaring the revolt successful. It ran as follows: "To the people of Russia. The Provisional Government has been deposed. The power of the State is now in the hands of the Petrograd Soviet of workers' and soldiers' deputies. The objects for which the people have been struggling, the immediate offer of a democratic peace, the abolition of the rights of the landlords, the workers' control of industry, the establishment of a Soviet Government—these objects are now guaranteed. Long live the Revolution of workers, soldiers and peasants!"

The same evening a Congress of Soviets met in session at which Lenin made his first appearance in public since his escape in July. His dramatic appearance was at once a cleverly arranged surprise and a symbol of victory. He congratulated the Congress on having established the era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat and announced the decision of the new Russian Government to offer peace to all the belligerents. In another speech he announced the Government's decision to expropriate the landlords and to nationalise the land, a decision which his audience hailed as the fulfilment of some of their life-long dreams. Exalted by the extreme beneficence of these decrees the Congress cheerfully acclaimed the establishment of the new government to be known as the Council of People's Commissars, with Nicolai Lenin at its head.

VARIOUS REVOLTS QUELLED BY THE BOLSHEVIKS

Nobody believed that the Bolsheviks as a Government had come to stay. Every one expected that Kerensky would succeed in collecting a force at the front sufficiently strong to retake Petrograd. But Kerensky was so disliked by the soldiers and distrusted by their officers that he found it almost impossible to recruit any troops at all. After a few days' delay he at last moved on Petrograd with only a small detachment of Cossacks under General Krasnov and some artillery. In the two collisions he had with Trotsky and the Red Guards he was badly beaten. Soon dissensions arose among the Cossacks. The privates refused to fight; while the officers plotted to make away with Kerensky, either by killing him or by handing him over to the Bolsheviks. He succeeded in escaping in disguise. This incident occurred on the sixth day after the Bolshevik *coup*.

In a few weeks after the sudden elevation of the Bolsheviks to power the Russian Imperial army, which had been in its last agony for months, gave up the ghost. In accordance with the Peace decree of the Congress, the Commander-in-Chief, General Doukhonin, was ordered to make to the German Command a proposal for an armistice as a preliminary to settling terms of peace. His demand for details and conditions was regarded however by the Bolshevik Commissars as a refusal to obey orders and Krylenko, the Commissar for War, was appointed to replace him and ordered to the front with a detachment of Kronstadt sailors. At the same time a proclamation was circularised among the soldiers at the front advising them to keep a keen watch on the generals, who were doubtless manoeuvring to wreck the prospects of peace. The soldiers, who wanted peace at any price, were worked up into such a state of fury by this proclamation that, when Krylenko with his sailors arrived and the General Staff was entraining for Petrograd, they dragged the ex-Commander-in-Chief from his carriage and murdered him.

With the death of General Doukhonin and the disappearance of the General Staff the remnants of the army demobilised themselves and left the front in a torrent which congested all the roads leading to the interior. At this time Kornilov, Denikin and other generals concerned in the Kornilov mutiny, were released from prison by their guards and made their way by a circuitous route to the Don where they joined the Cossacks and created the nucleus of an anti-Bolshevik army. Actual fighting between this army and the Red Guards started about December 1.

On November 22 Trotsky, as Commissar of Foreign Affairs, addressed a note to the Allied Governments proposing an armistice on all fronts. The subsequent publication by the Bolsheviks of the secret treaties existing between the Imperial Government and the Allies was intended as a justification of Russia's determination to conclude a separate peace. Peace negotiations were started in accordance with the Bolshevik promises made to the workers, soldiers and peasants. But in addition to obtaining peace at any price, the Bolsheviks were obviously bent on using the peace negotiations as a means of conducting a world-wide propaganda against the bourgeois-capitalist system. In consequence, the Russian envoys confronted the German peace delegates with an uncompromising demand for a peace of complete justice, a peace unqualified by annexations or indemnities. This piece of bluff was based on the belief that the German Government would not dare openly to flout the principle of "a democratic peace." As a matter of fact the Germans were perplexed by this manoeuvre. But on November 25, after a few days of hesitation, they accepted the principle without reservation, an acceptance which was hailed by the Bolsheviks as a tremendous

THE PEACE OF BREST-LITOVSK

But this jubilation was short-lived. When the concrete terms of peace were presented by the German diplomats two days later, they were found to embody every possible claim for annexing territory and obtaining indemnities. For several weeks a duel went on in which Von Kühlmann the German and Count Czernin the Austrian diplomat sought to show that in certain circumstances annexation was tantamount to self-determination; while Trotsky, believing that he had the ear of the world, made speech after speech in which he tore this argument to tatters. The big strikes which were taking place at this time in Germany and Austria could easily be attributed to peace propaganda, and increased the chances of a democratic peace. But with the collapse of the strikes the Germans breathed more freely, and it was not long before General Hoffmann banged the conference table with his sword and warned Trotsky not to forget that he sat there as representative of a beaten nation.

The German General Staff were eager to free their hands of the east in order to fling new forces at once against the Allies in the west. Moreover they were at this point encouraged to press their demands by the fact that they had just concluded a peace with the Ukrainian delegates. Trotsky's protest, that these delegates represented only a phantom government, was swept aside; for the Germans had not only made a treaty of peace with them but had secured from them an invitation to enter the Ukraine as allies and saviours. Eventually an ultimatum was presented to the Russian diplomats; and Trotsky, in accordance with his tactics throughout the negotiations, refused to sign "a rapacious peace" but declared that, as Russia neither would nor could continue to fight, the Russian army would be demobilised. The Peace Conference then broke up. But this unprecedented situation lasted six days only. Another ultimatum was presented to the Russians by General Hoffmann, giving them 48 hours to sign the German peace terms. The Bolsheviks then made an attempt to call their followers to arms; but no appeal to patriotism could recall to the front the remnants of the broken Russian armies.

The Germans then made a fresh advance, and this advance was so rapid and overwhelming that in two days it succeeded in intimidating the Bolsheviks. They sent telegrams to the German Headquarters announcing their readiness to sign the peace terms. But the German advance continued for two days longer. Then General Hoffmann acknowledged the receipt of Russia's surrender and the advance was stopped. Delegates were then despatched from Russia who were authorised to sign the German peace terms under protest but without any attempt to bargain.

But the terms then offered were much more onerous than those which Trotsky had refused to accept ten days earlier. They included the annexation of Batum by Turkey, and several new and very oppressive economic clauses. Peace was actually signed on March 2 at Brest-Litovsk. The terms of peace aroused all over Russia a bitter sense of national humiliation. All the parties opposed to the Bolsheviks were in favour of continuing the war. Even among the Bolsheviks themselves an influential section, including Trotsky, were for refusing ratification of the peace and for waging a revolutionary war. After an unsuccessful attempt to obtain the Allies' assistance in case of a break with Germany, the peace treaty was ratified by the Fourth Congress of Soviets on March 15. Lenin's speech supporting ratification is noteworthy as containing the famous plea for giving Russia a respite in order to recreate the army. On March 22 the decree was passed for the

creation of the Red army, and Trotsky was relieved of his post of Foreign Secretary and made Commissar for War.

FATAL FAILURE TO CALL A CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY

While the Brest-Litovsk negotiations were going on Russia was shaken by an internal convulsion. For fifty years the idea of a successful revolution had been inseparably connected in the popular mind with the establishment of a Constituent Assembly. When therefore the Revolution of 1917 took place not a voice was heard in opposition to the proposal to convoke such an assembly. It was considered impossible, however, to convoke it at once in the midst of a great war and with large portions of Russian territory in the possession of the enemy.

In retrospect it is evident that the postponement of convocation was the most fatal mistake committed by the three Provisional Governments; for this postponement had the fatal effect of leaving the country without any recognised authority. The mere circumstance that every great reform had been left uncarried put a premium as it were on violent and unconstitutional action. The agrarian revolts which swept over the south of Russia like a hurricane and which gave the Bolsheviks their great lever, were all due to the postponement of these elections. When the Bolsheviks came into power they at once tried to solve the most crying national problems by issuing decrees, thus openly defying the very idea of a Constituent Assembly. But so deep was the traditional reverence for the Assembly that even the Bolsheviks dared not formally defy it. The elections which had been fixed by Kerensky just before his fall were therefore held; but when the Bolsheviks found that they had been placed in a minority in this Assembly they did not hesitate to dismiss it without ceremony on January 17. Their readiness to treat with insolence and contempt, as early as the second month of their rule, an institution to establish which generations of Revolutionists had sacrificed their lives and fortunes, proves better than anything else how convinced they were of the stability of their power. The night session at which the sailor Russakov ordered Chernov, the Speaker of the Constituent Assembly, to stop talking and to go home to bed — the only session the Assembly had — will always remain one of the flattest and most serio-comic scenes in the history of the Revolution.

CREED OF THE BOLSHEVIKS

The Soviets had now no rivals. They remained now the sole authority in the State. Ten days after the dismissal of the Constituent Assembly an All-Russian Congress of Soviets, sitting in joint session with a Congress of Peasants, passed the famous declaration of the rights of the working and exploited peoples. This declaration, which the Bolsheviks put on a level with the Declaration of the Rights of Man, proclaimed Russia a republic of workmen's, soldiers' and peasants' Soviets, vested the whole central and local authority in the Soviets, proclaimed the Russian Soviet Republic a free alliance of free nations and a federation of national republics, and set forth the aims of the republic as being the abolition of the exploitation of man by man, the abolition of the division of citizens into classes, the suppression of all exploiters, the establishment of a Socialist organisation of society and the securing of the victory of Socialism in all lands.

By the end of March Lenin's notion of a respite seemed likely to be realised. Soviet Russia, though reduced to narrow boundaries, was still alive. The Bolsheviks could now employ whatever resources were left to them in quelling the revolt of Kornilov and the Cossacks. In a few weeks this first stage of the Civil War had terminated with the victory of the Reds, Kornilov was killed in action, Alexeyev died, and Kaledin shot himself to avoid imprisonment. But the dismemberment of Russia, assisted as it was by the German invaders, proceeded at a rapid rate. The Ukraine, the Don, the Kuban and the northern Caucasus all declared their independence and fell under German influence; and it was with the express intention of preventing the Soviet Government from in any way "infringing" the independence of any of the new succession states, that Count Mirbach, the German Ambassador, arrived at Moscow.

THE GERMANS IN RUSSIA BRIGANDS AND LOOTERS

The Germans, who had posed as saviours of the Ukraine, quickly revealed themselves as a band of brigands and looters. They not only requisitioned food and horses for the service of the army, but every individual German soldier tried to send home as many parcels of stolen food as he could. In addition the invaders at once started to interfere in the internal relations of the State. In April, 1918, they arrested the very Government which had invited them to come into the country and proclaimed General Skoropadsky, a former Russian General, then an avowed pro-German, the Hetman of the Ukraine.

In the Ukraine such opposition as the Germans encountered came from small groups of nationalists and revolutionists. But every week the indignation of the great body of Russians at the invasion grew greater. Demands for breaking off relations with Germany became more and more insistent. Since, then, the Bolsheviks refused to take this step the Social Revolutionists made an attempt to render the relations between Germany and Russia impossible. These tactics culminated in a sensational speech made by Kamkov, the leader of the Social Revolutionists, at the Fifth Congress of Soviets held at Moscow in July, 1918. Addressing the delegates in the Great Theatre he denounced the atrocities committed by the Germans in the Ukraine and, marching straight up to the box occupied by Count Mirbach, shouted, "Do you suppose the Russian soldiers will stand idly by and see their brothers murdered by the agents of this barbarian?" The next day two members of the Social Revolutionary party arrived at the ambassador's residence disguised as officers, shot him dead and escaped. The assassination of Count Mirbach was the signal for an armed rising of the Social Revolutionists. They had a marked initial success; but they were finally put down by artillery fire. This July rising of the Social Revolutionists in Moscow coincided more or less with the commencement of the second and decisive stage of the Civil War.

REVOLTS THROUGHOUT THE COUNTRY

In the midsummer of 1918 Soviet Russia was encircled by a ring of bitter and determined enemies. The western provinces, the Ukraine and the Donetz basin were occupied by the Germans. The Don region was in the hands of Krasnov, who commanded nearly 100,000 Cossacks and was making a successful dash north and south. Behind Krasnov's army Denikin was creating his new army of volunteers. Georgia, Azerbaijan and Armenia

declared their independence. The middle districts of the Volga, with the important towns of Samara and Kazan, were held by the Czechoslovaks on behalf of the Constituent Assembly. Vladivostock was practically in the hands of the Japanese, Archangel and Murmansk were occupied by Anglo-American troops. Finland had now been cleared of the Reds by the iron hand of General Mannerheim, who was always in readiness to strike a blow at Red Petrograd.

This was a formidable encirclement, formidable from its military strength and from the valuable resources which it held. The Anti-Bolshevik armies monopolised the ablest of the Russian generals and possessed such cadres as remained of the old Imperial army. They had the whole of the cavalry with them. Moreover the occupation of the Ukraine, the Donetz basin, the Volga grain district, the Urals, Siberia and Finland, was an effectual blockade that cut off Soviet Russia from access to food and raw materials.

These natural and acquired advantages, reinforced by the support of the outside world, constituted the strength of the anti-Bolshevik coalition. But it had very real weaknesses which in the end brought about its disintegration. The heterogeneity of this coalition was its vulnerable feature. The majority of the anti-Bolsheviks undoubtedly favoured the Allies. But a considerable number of them, including Krasnov, Skoropadsky and Mannerheim, openly supported the Germans. Another disruptive force was the rivalry between the different political groups and generals. Most important of all was the inability of the Whites to put forward a programme of internal reforms acceptable at the same time to the peasants and to the landlords in their own ranks. In the case of Kolchak and Denikin it was proved again and again that it was far easier to conquer territory from the Bolsheviks than to hold and administer it. Denikin's campaign, which was by far the most successful of those waged by the anti-Bolsheviks, eventually failed because the General's entourage succeeded in alienating the Cossacks. The motto of Denikin was "a united and indivisible Russia." He was quite unable to understand how deep the desire for national autonomy was in Russia, and ruthlessly suppressed all such movements among the Don and the Kuban Cossacks.

But not only had the Bolsheviks to make headway against this encirclement, but they had also to encounter sporadic revolts of the peasants in the regions they themselves occupied, and occasional acts of treason on the part of the old officers of the Imperial army whom they employed. Their main strength lay in the fact that they had been left in possession of most of the machinery of war belonging to the old army — artillery, armoured cars and munition factories. Their main difficulty was their lack of munitions, which owing to the scarcity of coal and metals could only be produced on a very limited scale. In a year's time, however, Trotsky, who was responsible for these supplies, could boast that he had increased the productivity of the munition factories to the pre-war level. But this success was achieved at the cost of paralysing all other manufactures.

MURDER OF THE TSAR AND HIS FAMILY

Towards July, 1918, the iron circle of the White, German and Allied forces round Soviet Russia was contracting. Kolchak was making rapid marches with the idea of establishing a joint front with the Anglo-American force at Archangel; while the combined armies in the south and south-east were converging on Moscow. The situation of Soviet Russia now became critical. The rising of the garrison of Yaroslav on the northern Volga caused the Bolsheviks considerable alarm; while the murder of the Commissar

Volodarsky in the streets of Petrograd, the first political assassination of the Revolution, moved them to something like a panic. They retaliated in the most brutal and indiscriminate fashion. Their idea was to strike such a terror into the minds of their internal enemies as to prevent them from giving the slightest assistance to the advancing White armies. The instrument of this terror was the Cheka, the extraordinary Commission for fighting counter-revolution which had been set up a few weeks earlier. In this mood of insensate panic the Tsar and his entire family were brutally murdered in prison at Ekaterinburg on July 17. When another Commissar, Ouritzky, was killed at Moscow, and Lenin himself was wounded by a woman belonging to the Social Revolutionary party, the Terror became systematised and reigned supreme. The advance of the Whites continued successfully for some little time. Kolchak succeeded in getting as far as Ekaterinburg which he captured eleven days after the murder of the Tsar's family. But this marked the limit of his success. The dissension among his peasant soldiers and the unrest in the villages in the rear of his armies were so considerable that a partial success of the Reds against his centre had all the effects of a decisive victory. He was compelled to retreat into Siberia.

But before Kolchak was finally disposed of, a much more formidable army commanded by Denikin was endangering Soviet Russia from the south. Denikin's advance coincided with the determination of the Bolsheviks to send help to the newly established Communist Government in Hungary. The first effect of Denikin's advance was to arrest the dispatch of the promised reinforcements; but the Bolsheviks soon discovered that in order to hold their own against Denikin they must not only concentrate their military strength but increase it to a very considerable extent. Denikin's strength lay in his cavalry, an arm in which the Bolsheviks were conspicuously deficient. Trotsky's appeal for a Red Cavalry met with a very sympathetic response, and in a few months the Bolsheviks possessed a considerable and efficient cavalry force commanded by a private Cossack soldier called Boudeny. The appearance in the field of these Red Cossacks signified the ultimate defeat of Denikin.

THE BRUTAL CIVIL WAR

The Russian Civil War, especially at this period, was remarkable for the way in which it developed new tactics. At first the generals on both sides followed the methods of the World War. Gradually, however, new and peculiar forms of fighting were evolved. Denikin's cavalry used to make dashing breaks through the Red forces and frighten them into retreat by appearing in their rear. His infantry could then advance through a country practically deserted by the Reds. These tactics were adopted by Boudeny, with this difference that he was accompanied by skilled agitators who used the short time they remained in Denikin's rear to preach revolutionary doctrine among the peasants. The Russian Civil War was in its way as brutal as most civil wars are. The destruction it wrought was nearly as serious as enemy occupation might have brought about. But, though both armies suffered severely from typhus and other epidemics, the actual war casualties were quite insignificant. The battle was won or lost either by propaganda and risings in the rear, or by the secession of whole fighting units. Battles in the real sense were the exception.

Another factor which doomed the anti-Bolshevik force was their lack of coördination. They seemed never to be able to strike simultaneously. For instance, Yudenich's attack on Petrograd, instead of coinciding with Deni-

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Detachments of Boudeny's famous cavalry parading through the Red Square in Moscow. In the background is seen the old Duma building, now a museum.



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A hooded Red guard in front of the famous Kremlin in Moscow, with the Red Flag of Russia attached to his bayonet.

kin's advance, started a fortnight after his retreat from Orel. More striking is the fact that the Polish armies, which should have assisted Denikin, only moved a year later. This lack of coördination was not due entirely to bad organisation but was the outcome of different aims. The Poles and Georgians, for instance, were much more afraid of Denikin's programme of a "united and indivisible" Russia than of the Bolsheviks, whom they hated only in a political sense.

In October, 1918, the main onslaught of the anti-Bolsheviks was beaten back. The end of the World War, followed by the German Revolution and the dissolution of the German army of occupation, gave Lenin at last the respite for which he had hoped. The Brest-Litovsk peace, rendered void by the victory of the Allies, was formally annulled by the Soviet Executive two days after the signing of the Armistice on the western front.

Internally this period marked the culmination of militant Communism. In the constitution and organisation of their party the Bolsheviks were accustomed to enforce the principles of stern discipline and unquestioning obedience. The success they met with in creating the Red army accentuated this inclination towards centralised authority and military organisation. Gradually the principle of militarisation penetrated their general conception of the new state; and was even felt in the organisation of culture and education. It operated with the greatest force in the organisation of industrial life. Here it finally culminated in a frank conscription of labour and an attempt to create labour armies.

NATIONALISATION REIGNS SUPREME

The result of this attempt to bring about a rigidly centralised state was the growth of an enormous and bulky bureaucratic machine. Even in Russia, where bureaucratic organisation was endemic, the sheer bulkiness and unproductive inertia of this new Soviet bureaucracy staggered people. It became obvious to the more enlightened leaders of Communism that these elements of dictation and compulsion must of necessity fail to bring about the reconstruction aimed at. With Civil War raging and hunger increasing, the Bolsheviks however had no other thought than to apply in still more stringent fashion the principle of compulsion. Nationalisation now reigned supreme. "Even the tails of herrings were nationalised." Everyone was dependent on the State for food, for clothing and for education. But the resources of the State diminished every day. In the midsummer of 1918 the Bolshevik Food Administration were able to supply to the people of the two capitals only 4.5 per cent of the normal ration. The people then had to depend for their supplies on contraband food brought to the towns by enterprising peasants who often disguised themselves as soldiers. Life under this militant Communist *régime* was so restricted that it could only be lived by hourly offences against the existing laws. Even the buying or selling of a loaf of bread was a misdemeanour.

WAR BETWEEN THE BOLSHEVISTS AND THE PEASANTS

Alarmed by the disruptive influence which the scarcity of food had on the national *morale* the Bolsheviks put as much energy into obtaining food as they expended on overcoming the White armies. Believing that the nationalisation of land involved the nationalisation of the produce, they demanded that the peasants should hand over to the State all food above the bare mini-

mum needed for their consumption and for seed grain. To this claim the peasants put up a most desperate resistance. They were prepared to deliver up what surplus they had, but only in return for the manufactured goods they needed from the towns. But so catastrophic had been the decline of industrial activity that the Bolsheviks had no goods to offer. They therefore propounded a theory that the first duty of the peasants was to provide the State with food in return for the service it was doing them in waging war against the landlords. But though the peasants were clearly on the side of the Bolsheviks in the Civil War and did their best to obstruct in every way the progress of the Whites, they felt not the slightest sympathy with the theory put forward by the Bolsheviks. They wanted an immediate equivalent. Persuasion failed: the peasants refused absolutely to give up their surplus grain.

The Bolsheviks then resorted to intimidation, and an attempt was made to play off the poor peasants against the rich. This step failed; for the agrarian revolution had practically eliminated rich and poor alike, the post-Revolutionary village consisting of a practically homogeneous class of small holders. This policy then proved a flagrant failure. It only succeeded in alienating the sympathies of the peasants from the Bolsheviks, a circumstance which so impressed Lenin that he beat a hasty retreat. At this time he was still unable to realise that the only rational incentive to a larger productivity of grain was freedom to sell it. "The peasants," he said, "desire freedom to sell grain. They do not understand that freedom to sell bread in a hungry country is freedom of speculation, of profiteering for the rich. We shall never allow this." It took Lenin indeed nearly two more years to understand that unless the towns yielded they would surely die.

"THE BREAD WAR" WAGED BY THE "FOOD ARMY"

These two years were marked by a ruthless struggle with the peasants for the grain, the so-called "Bread War." Requisitioning of the entire surplus of grain was now the Bolshevik policy; and requisitioning was actually carried out by an army, the so-called Food army. But though methods of requisitioning and the size of the Food army were steadily increased, the amount of food actually obtained steadily decreased. This was chiefly due to the refusal of the peasants to cultivate any more land than was compatible with their bare existence. In the autumn of 1920 the decline of agriculture and the consequent scarcity of food became so clamant that everyone felt that the limit had been reached. Common sense left only one course open. The whole country insisted that the only way of obtaining food for the cities was to drop requisitioning and thereby to give the peasants the necessary stimulus towards increased production. But the Bolsheviks refused to contemplate such a surrender. To allow free-trading in grain was to them tantamount to giving up Communism in any shape or form. Before Lenin was prepared to make this great renunciation the final stage of the Civil War had to be passed through and internal convulsion had to arise.

The final stage of the Civil War was characterised by the cessation of hostilities with the border states and the evacuation of Archangel by the Anglo-American forces. Kolchak was now at the end of his tether. He was retreating along the Siberian railway and encountering the marked hostility of the peasantry. On December 27, 1919, he was arrested by a group of his revolted officers and some weeks later was tried and shot by the revolutionists. Denikin had a less unpleasant fate. He retreated to the Crimea and then had to surrender his command to a younger and more liberal-minded general,

Baron Wrangel. But his army became for all military purposes inactive. By this time the Civil War was practically over and the Bolsheviks were the victors. But the victory had cost them dear. The fact that the waging of the Civil War had compelled them to put five million men into the field and to put all available resources at the disposal of the General Staff, is sufficient of itself to explain the utter exhaustion of the country.

WAR WITH POLAND

It was now obvious that Soviet Russia was in no condition to withstand a well-directed blow from a fresh and vigorous army. In this situation an invasion of Russia made by the Poles in realisation of their old dream of reëstablishing the frontiers of historic Poland, proved a real danger to Russia and the Bolsheviks. In a few days the Poles took Kiev and were preparing to cross the right bank of the Dnieper. But the unexpected happened. The invasion aroused a wave of patriotic and nationalist feeling in Russia. General Brussilov made an appeal to the officers of the old army to come back and to save the fatherland, an appeal which was remarkably effective. The Bolsheviks, who throughout the Civil War had had to encounter permanent opposition, were now organising the country's defence in a sympathetic atmosphere. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the invaders were driven back and that the Bolsheviks were acclaimed as vindicators of the national honour.

But the Bolsheviks were too sanguine in the estimate they put on their military victory and exaggerated also the extent of European sympathy which they had received. They interpreted the counsels of moderation addressed to them by the British Foreign Office as inspired by fear lest the Red army should penetrate into Europe. They themselves now began to believe in the possibility of extending their Revolutionary frontier to the Rhine. That the attack on Warsaw was made in this confident expectation is proved by the strategy employed by the Bolshevik General Staff, which used the cavalry in a wide encircling movement, one wing of which was ready to invade East Prussia and the other to penetrate Galicia. This faulty strategy was responsible for the ultimate defeat of the Red armies before Warsaw. This attempt to transform a national into a revolutionary war estranged once more middle-class opinion in Russia; while the attempt to popularise revolution by the bayonets of an invading army infuriated even Polish revolutionary opinion and contributed to make Russia once more the bugbear of Europe.

PEACE WITH THE SURROUNDING COUNTRIES

The Poles took full advantage of the retreat of the broken Bolshevik armies and occupied a considerable stretch of Russian territory. But they could not, and had no desire to, go further. Accordingly they made overtures for peace, overtures which met with a ready response from the Bolsheviks. The latter were indeed desirous of making peace with all their neighbours. Peace was signed with Esthonia on February 2, 1920; with Latvia on March 14; with Poland on October 12; and with Finland on October 14.

The concluding stages of the Russo-Polish War were marked by the ultimate defeat of Wrangel, the separatist movement in the Ukraine and the end of the independence of the Caucasian Republics. The result of the Civil War was practically to re-integrate Russia. The border states she had lost differed so much from her in race and culture that the recognition of their independence

was not felt as a blow to her honour and prestige. The Bolsheviks had a certain right to claim that they had preserved Russia's independence. But they could not be blind to the fact that Civil War and Militant Communism had brought the country to the verge of poverty and had lowered its none too highly developed culture.

The country was now clamouring for a chance to develop its productive forces and even in the ranks of the Communist party a violent discussion was going on as to the necessity of modifying the policy of the party. The necessity of making radical concessions was soon forced upon the Bolsheviks in a very dramatic fashion. The garrison of the fortress of Kronstadt, the bulwark of Bolshevism and "the pride of the Revolution," suddenly presented the Bolsheviks with an ultimatum demanding free trading and corresponding reforms of a political nature. The first instinct of the Bolsheviks was to crush this revolt with an iron hand. But while the Kronstadt sailors were being shot down for demanding free trading, Lenin exploited this dramatic incident to compel the Communist party then in session to make an immediate and drastic change of policy. He told the Congress that the dissatisfaction felt by the peasants with the Communist *régime* was a fact which could not be glossed over. "The mind of the peasants," he declared, "is made up. . . . We must give back to the small holder an incentive, a stimulus and a push." He accordingly recommended the instant abolition of requisitioning and the reëstablishment of free trading. That Lenin fully recognised that this meant the end of the Communist experiment and the reintroduction of capitalism into Russia is proved by his oft-repeated declaration that while the restoration of capitalism into a Communist state must undoubtedly be considered a retardation of progress, its restoration into Russia, a country with "primitive and semi-wild" economics, must be regarded as a distinct step forward and a blessing.

RENEWED HOPE THROUGH RUSSIA

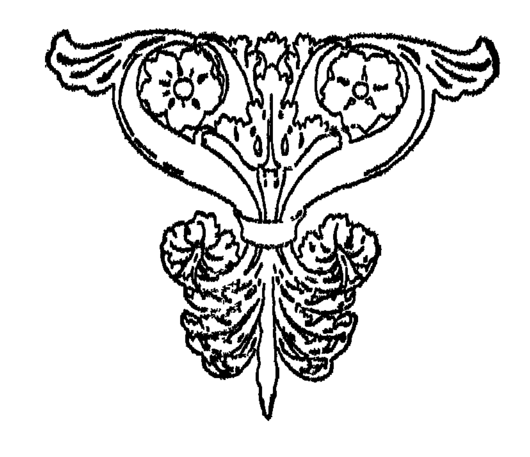
The first step in a long and gradual surrender of Communist principles was made at a time when a Soviet delegation headed by M. Krassin was negotiating a trade agreement with the British Government. This trade agreement was considered a very important move towards breaking the isolation of Russia. The news of the proclamation of the "New Economic Policy" by the Communist party put an end to the reluctance of the British Government to sign this agreement. With the introduction of the New Economic Policy and the ratification of the Trade Agreement, the active and belligerent stage of the Revolution was over. The processes of evolution were now given full play. The country, especially the peasants, were now free to benefit by the tremendous gains the Revolution had given them. Food now began to appear in the shop windows of the newly reopened shops. A spirit of enterprise, initiative and renewed hope swept over the country. Even the refusal of the Bolsheviks to follow up the economic concessions by the granting of any kind of political freedom failed at first to mar the joy of the people in their newly acquired freedom to buy and to sell. But the unprecedented failure of the crops in the autumn of 1921 and the famine that followed soon changed this joy and demonstrated how thoroughly crippled and impoverished the country really was. The famine showed clearly that economic concessions alone could never solve the problem of Russia's reconstruction. To bring into active coöperation all the forces in Russian life — economic, cultural and political — is the task to which the rulers of Russia must set their hands. Whether this coöperation will be arrived at by mutual

understanding or whether Russia in her evolution is destined to go through yet another convulsion, remains to be seen.

The death of Lenin is of course a disturbing factor; for there is no doubt that in the latter part of his life the Bolshevik leader became increasingly a Russian statesman and patriot and decreasingly a world revolutionist. He propounded indeed and became the embodiment of a policy of the rapprochement of Russia to the outside world and of the reconciliation of the interests of the peasants and the urban workers in his own country. His death occurred, however, at a time when his efforts to restore Russia to her old place in the council of Europe were beginning to materialise.

The recognition of the Soviet Government by Great Britain on February 1, 1924, and the tendency on the part of the other European powers to terminate the long isolation of Russia seem to enhance the chances of the country's peaceful development.

It is too early perhaps to try to estimate the entire value and consequences of Russia's return to the comity of European nations. But already there are signs that it will rank as the greatest event that has taken place since the ratification of the Treaty of Versailles. Its effect in Europe will be to strengthen the tendencies which make for coöperation as against those which stand for rivalry and competition. In Russia itself the effect of recognition will be to raise the status of the representative and to lower the bureaucratic department of the Russian State. The more completely Russia recovers contact with the democratic West the more obsolete will become her "native" forms of Government and the more completely she will have to fall in line with the customary forms of democratic control.



CHAPTER XXXIX

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY: THE DISSOLUTION OF AN ANCIENT EMPIRE

By Professor Carl Pribram, J.D.C.

Chief of the Statistical Section of the International Labour Office, League of Nations, Geneva. Formerly Professor in the University of Vienna.

And Professor Karl Brockhausen, J.U.D.

Professor in the University of Vienna. Formerly Imperial-Royal Austrian Government Councillor. Author of *Austrian Administrative Reform*.

A. E. I. O. U. "Austria Erit in Orbe Ultima." — Austria will endure on earth forever — thus runs the proud prophecy foretelling the eternal duration of the Danubian monarchy. The peoples of this state believed in this prophecy for centuries. And when, in the early days of this century, some doubts arose here and there, the English historian Professor R. W. Seton Watson, in his book, *The Future of Austria-Hungary*, proved, with scientific acumen, the assured stability of the state.

And yet this state has now collapsed utterly and has been torn asunder as no other in the World War. It vanished over night. A tragedy was enacted on the world's stage more shocking, more terribly moving than any that the poet's imagination could invent.

If we would portray the almost inconceivable in such a way as to make it comprehensible, the history of the collapse must be prefaced by a short outline of the process of growth and the causes of dissolution.

I. Early History

The primal cell out of which grew the Austrian Monarchy was the East Mark, founded fully one thousand years ago. The name itself is a programme; for *Mark* (English: *march*) means a protecting dike, a border wall.

The point where the Danube leaves the mountain territory of the Alps and flows into the broad Hungarian plateau, is an open door between two worlds. On the one side of this door dwell the acquisitive, saving, and soberly ambitious western peoples. On the other side roam the imaginative sons of the steppes, restless and always ready to eke out their own poverty by sharing the fruits of their neighbour's labour. Through this door the Huns and Avars, later the Magyars, the Mongols and the Turks, pushed into western Europe.

The founding of the East Mark closed this door. The territory which was once the open door of invasion into Europe, became a bridge to carry European culture into the Balkans.

The entire history of Austria is a logical result of its foundation. Here was a state founded with an object which lay outside of itself — a watcher

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One of the last photographs of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand of Austria and his wife, whose assassination precipitated the World War.



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Charles Habsburg, the last Emperor of Austria, who abdicated in 1918, and was exiled to Madeira, where he died April 1, 1922.



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Emperor Francis Joseph, Emperor of Austria, whose life was a series of tragedies culminating in the catastrophe which overtook his country as a result of the World War.

at the gate, a shield for others, a state built upon an altruistic basis. And for a full thousand years Austria actually fulfilled its "Mission," it protected Europe from invasion from the East. Vienna, its heart and centre, was twice besieged by the Turks, but never taken; and it was from Vienna that the power went out which so completely destroyed Ottoman rule in Europe that Austria's mission was ended. The nation's destiny had been fulfilled and thereby its reason for existence undermined at least in part.

AUSTRIA'S GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION — ITS GROWTH OUT OF DIVERSE ELEMENTS

Along with this external mission there had developed a second, internal task, of equally great importance. The small nations, splinters left hanging between the Böhmerwald and the Adriatic, like shells stranded after the ebbing flood of mass migration, grouped themselves for protection around the bulwark of the East Mark. They came voluntarily, allying themselves with the East Mark by treaties and marriages. Land after land came in without compulsion, like the iron drawn to a mighty magnet, and the little East Mark grew into a European Great Power. The polyglot empire was built up out of a dozen nations.

And thus the protecting wall was erected, guarding the eastern frontier from Bohemia to the Adriatic, while Hungary, further to the eastward, lay open to Turkish invasion. When King Louis II of Hungary and Bohemia was defeated by the Turks at Mohacs in 1526, dying on the field of battle, the house of Habsburg came into possession of these lands also, by succession as well as by the decision of the Bohemian and Hungarian Estates. This fixed the basic outline of the monarchy for 400 years. It was enlarged when the Turks were driven southward to Belgrade and pushed back out of Transylvania. In the eighteenth century, Poland was divided between Russia, Prussia and Austria; in 1879 Bosnia, which had been under Turkish sovereignty, was occupied, to be annexed in 1912.

Apart from the forcible division of Poland and the pushing back of Turkey, broken off parts of which came into the possession of the monarchy, this astonishing growth from the first tiny cell was accomplished by what was a most uniquely peaceful process.

Here in Europe's heart and centre the same law has held good for one thousand years. The Germanic, Magyar, Romance and Slav peoples have met here together, crowded in by pressure from without, allying themselves that they might not be entirely crushed. Thus the newcomers settled about the inner core of the old East Mark.

The territory married into by mere diplomatic arrangement, such as Spain and the Netherlands for example, was soon lost to the Habsburgs. But what came together through historical, geographical and economic necessity, and remained a field of economic unity, watered by the Danube and its tributaries, framed in by the mountain ranges of the Alps and the Carpathians — this territory was retained in spite of differences of nationality.

Where inheritance and succession knitted the lands together, division of inheritance has separated them again and again. When Charles VI (1711–1740), the last of the Habsburgs, died with no male heirs, dissolution of the monarchy seemed imminent. But this ruin was prevented by the Pragmatic Sanction (1713–1723), at first granted arbitrarily by the Emperor himself, and then agreed to by the Estates of the individual countries. This was a law of succession which confirmed the indivisibility of the monarchy and the right to succession of the female line in default of male heirs. It meant also

the turning-point between the mediæval-patriarchal and the modern conception of the state. Female succession secures the continuous stability of the line, because in case of necessity new collateral lines of the family can always be drawn upon.

But the monarchy, thus closely knit together, had to endure a division in 1867 when Hungary, with its crown lands, Croatia and Transylvania, was formally acknowledged an independent state; and a dual state, Austria-Hungary, came into being.

II. Territorial Conditions

The close of the century [illegible] the Dual Monarchy as a European Great Power with a population of [illegible] living on an area of 203,977 square miles. Austria with 28,000,000 had the largest share of the population, whereas Hungary, with 124,633 square miles, had the larger area. Ten years later the population had risen to 49,211,427 of which 28,324,940 were in Austria, 20,886,487 in Hungary.

The geographical formation of this territory is difficult to describe in a geometrical figure; one might call it formless. But if we set aside Dalmatia, which runs down along the Adriatic like the blade of a dagger, we have a sort of rough ellipse with its two focal points at Vienna and Budapest.

From the point of view of economics this territory was largely self-supporting. For its agricultural products, its timber lands, its mineral treasures, its oil wells and its industries complemented one another so completely that each part of the state was at once a producer and a market for every other part.

Agriculture was the leading occupation in the fertile Danube-Theiss regions of Hungary, in the Banat to the southward; also in the Bohemian and Moravian valleys, in Marchfeld, in the Tullner basin to the north and west of Vienna, and in Upper Austria; also in Styria, Carinthia and Carniola.

The true Alpine countries — Tyrol, Vorarlberg, Salzburg and Styria — have rich timber lands, and carry on stock raising and export dairy products. Poland has its oil-wells, Styria rich ore mines, Bohemia coal-mines, forming the basis for the development of flourishing industries.

INDUSTRY AND TRANSPORTATION — ANNEXATIONS FROM TURKEY TO OBTAIN SEAPORTS

Vienna and Lower Austria to the southward of the city are the industrial centres, as are also Bohemia, Moravia and North Styria. Vienna, the trade centre, is also the bridge between east and west Europe. In Vienna are gathered the threads of trade and credit, going out again to Budapest, Trieste and Prague.

Although the eastern Alps, crossing through the Austrian half of the empire from west to east, with many great mountain peaks, present great engineering difficulties, many fine railroad lines have been laid. The West line cuts through the Arlberg joining the western section with Vienna and Budapest and continuing to the eastward as the Orient line. The South line has conquered the Semmering and leads down to the Adriatic; the Brenner line goes into Italy. In 1909 a second line of communication to the southward was completed, [illegible] Tauern line by way of Gastein.

The great waterway of the Danube, long neglected from the point of view of commercial shipping, now grew to greater importance. In contrast,

to the western half of the empire, which, with its harbour city of Trieste, its naval harbour of Pola, its own coast land and the long-drawn-out Dalmatia, had a rich share of the Adriatic, Hungary was almost entirely inland territory, having access to the sea only through a narrow corridor with its one harbour city of Fiume.

But Dalmatia had no hinterland to the east. This was won when the Berlin Congress of 1878 gave Austria-Hungary the right to occupy the former Turkish territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But no permanent union was effected with these countries until 1908, when Austria arbitrarily put an end to this temporary arrangement by annexation. This increased the entire territory of the monarchy to the extent of a further 19,702 square miles, with almost two million inhabitants.

This last increase of territory called forth a protest from Turkey, which refused to be satisfied until a district lying farther to the south, the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar, which had been occupied by Austrian troops since 1879, was evacuated and a money indemnity paid. The Serbian state also felt itself permanently injured by this annexation. It had looked with longing eyes toward the sea coast, and the rivets which Austria-Hungary now laid about the little country seemed clamped down forever.

III. Territorial Differences

In the first paragraphs of this chapter we dealt mainly with the facts that influenced the building up of the empire. But in the period since 1901 the disintegrating elements have had the upper hand. We can divide these elements into two groups: the historic dissimilarity of the countries making up the state, and the racial diversity of the inhabitants of these territories.

For it was not isolated unorganised individuals, nor isolated strips of territory which came in under the Habsburg rule, but well-organised countries, states and statelike territories. They did not come in unconditionally, but preserved all their privileges and reservations intact.

Austria won its unity by an absolutism which, although it proved the means of fortifying the monarchy, was at the same time its curse. This system of absolutism, with the police as main factor of administration, retained its power in Austria longer than in any other European state. When the concerted demand for freedom rang through the European continent in 1848, Austrian absolutism shook on its throne. But it was not until twenty years later that this system made way for a constitutional *régime,* and even then it departed with great reluctance from its old base.

After numerous contradictory experiments the final result in 1867 was the acknowledgment of Hungary's independence as a separate state. The rest of the territory beyond the river Leitha formed the unified state of Cisleithania, but here also each crown land received a constitution of its own (1861). These countries became again what they had always been, "historical-political individualities" with far-reaching self-administration, and self-legislating powers equal to those of the State. They might be said to constitute sovereign states within the state.

And so the monarchy, inwardly rent asunder, enters upon the years of its dissolution. The constitutional framework of both halves of the monarchy was further complicated by the fact that the crown land Galicia, in Cisleithania, had managed to win for itself an antagonistically independent position. Croatia in Hungary had been equally successful since 1868.

Each half of the monarchy was of itself inwardly divided. And we must

add to this the sharply diverging constitutional tendencies in both halves. The Magyars aimed at an intensive centralisation, whereas western Austria showed a contrasting, far-reaching decentralisation, in favour of the crown lands.

IV. Nationalist Differences

Even more important than the historic diversity of the individual hereditary dominions was the national difference of their inhabitants. The latest census shows: 12,000,000 Germans; 10,000,000 Magyars; 8,500,000 Czechs; 5,000,000 Poles; 4,000,000 Ruthenians; 3,300,000 Rumanians; 5,700,000 Serbs and Croatians; 1,300,000 Slovenes; 800,000 Ladincs and Italians; in all, in round numbers 50,000,000.

These races live partly in concentrated settlements, partly in scattered enclaves, sometimes in enclaves within the enclaves. It would be easier to separate the chaff and the wheat than the colour spots of this variegated racial map.

Not until they came under the guidance of Austria did many of these peoples exchange their half-Asiatic existence for European culture. For the second great mission of this state was to serve not only as a protecting wall against danger from without, but also to offer refuge and shelter within. Elsewhere armed nationalities were fighting one another; in Austria these nationalities were obliged, more or less, to keep the peace. Under the guidance of a common dynasty the conflicting interests and mutual hatreds might find a vent in noisy, wordy bickering, but could not discharge through the mouths of cannons.

In Hungary there is still, even in 1924, the sharp differentiation of a politically powerful gentry opposed to the masses who lack influence of any kind. The middle social stratum developed very slowly. Made up at first of cast-off and disinherited descendants of the gentry, it has become a class which is politically disputatious and aggressive but of little economic value. The Poles possess a politically active nobility, which however has no interest in work. The peasants are very poor and of a very low cultural standard. There is practically no middle-class in Poland. The Ruthenians, Rumanians, Slovaks and Slovenes entirely lack a leading nobility. The Czechs had seen their Protestant nobility ruthlessly exterminated by the reactionary Ferdinand II, after the battle of the White Hill (1620).

CULTURAL REASONS FOR GERMAN PRIMACY

In fact until the nineteenth century the Germans were the only racial body in Austria who could be considered as a nationality having upper, middle and lower strata fully developed, each with its own proper characteristics. They had a nobility, historically founded on land-possession, a middle-class versed in wholesale and retail trade, in industry, arts and crafts, and all the learned professions; also an agricultural group of peasants of differing classes and possessions and a self-organising working class. They possessed, therefore, a reservoir of efficient strata of population out of which they could satisfy the needs even of the other nationalities, supplying the demand for spiritual and mental leaders, teachers and artists, administrators, lawyers, physicians and technicians. They founded and populated the cities, organised the local authorities, officered the armies, taught in the various grades of schools, carried on mining and colonised desert lands. They naturally became richer and more influential than those

peoples who were developing their faculties more slowly, and equally naturally, they aroused envy and a dislike which was not unmixed with admiration. Frequently the nationalistic divergence coincides with the difference in classes within the population.

We see, therefore, along with the connecting rivets holding the state together, a sufficient quantity of explosives ready to blow it apart. The functions of the state — the mutual defence against the outside world, the great cultural mission as a shield for the rest of Europe, the evident economic advantages of unity — were all opposed by internal nationalistic differences. The single roof which covered them all in shelter, seemed at times to be a common prison for all. It should have been the great national problem of the monarchy to make a single family out of these inhabitants of the great household. There were no lack of attempts made. They have been condemned as planless blunders. But it is possible to recognize a certain, although often interrupted, system which really did move step by step nearer the goal. It is necessary to point this out because only thus can we explain the resistance offered by this state throughout four years of war. And the knowledge of these experiments in nationality is at once an important lesson and the spiritual legacy left to posterity by Austria.

SUCCESSIVE THEORIES OF STATE CONTROL

We can recognize first, coincident with the counter-Reformation, a period of attempts at *forcible conversion*, quite along the line of religious proselytism. The second period might be called the era of *assimilation*. This was the epoch of Maria Theresa and Joseph II. It was thought then that nationalistic peculiarities should be simply ignored and that a united Austrian State could be formed out of all these races. A few inconsiderable racial groups were actually assimilated, out of which came a nationally indifferent corps of army officers and officials. But what had been planned, the melting together of all these elements into one people, devoted to the doctrine of the Austrian State, was not attained. On the contrary, the different nationalities seemed to become still further awake to the situation, and instead of entering upon the desired mixed marriage they separated more sharply than before. The attempt to introduce a common national language was rejected again and again by the peoples speaking other tongues. The Slavs in particular resented this as an attempt at Germanisation. This second experiment at assimilation was equally unsuccessful.

The third period is that of the Leading-State Nation. The rulers began to accept a new point of view. Racial loyalty, as opposed to loyalty to the State, appeared unshakable. Therefore it was decided that a particularly powerful, numerous, economically and culturally advanced nationality should stand as representative of the Idea of the State, should be the true State-Nation. As things then stood this nationality was naturally the German. But here again, though in a more attenuated form, was the old idea of power, the theory of domination. And it was soon realised that even the German part of Austria was not strong enough to discharge this function. The suggestion was therefore modified: The rôle that was too difficult for one actor should be diveded between two. German here, Magyar there. This was in 1867. After that the nationalist experiments in Cis- and Trans-Leithania went their different ways.

The Magyars, although numerically not more than half of the Hungarian state, put forward the fiction of a united Hungarian nation, thus reverting to an antiquated and outlived practice. They were successful in keeping

down the national opposition in Parliament on account of the lack of delegates from the other nationalities, but their nationalist conquests within their own population were very few and unimportant, in spite of allurement and force. They drew down upon themselves and upon the monarchy the hatred not only of their own Croatians, Serbs, and Rumanians but also the hatred of the neighbour states with which the great mass of these different peoples were nationally united. They failed in their plan of Magyarisation.

ATTITUDE OF DOMINANT RACE IN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY COMPARED

There were different methods in force in Cisleithania (Austria proper) after 1867. The search for new possibilities for solution of this national problem went on untiringly. The circle of nationalities ready for statehood was enlarged that one might be played off against the other; but as none of these attempts brought the solution any nearer, the reconciliation theory gradually came into play. All force was stopped, and all artificial mixings and minglings, all playing off of one race against another was to come to an end. Thus slowly was the ground prepared for the compromises and agreements which would give play to the true Austrian ideal "live and let live" in its finest shading. Slowly there came into being the idea of a symbiosis or common life of the nations within the state. This ruling idea left the brutalities of the old police state far behind. It developed every nationalistic individuality, leaving it free play with only so much restriction as would permit of the development of others by its side. In this way we can see the Austrian state problem as a concentrated miniature copy of the European Peace Problem.

But the power of the nationalist idea was stronger than the symbiosis theory. And therefore, in spite of the very evident cultural and economic advantages which Austria offered its different nations, the monarchy went to pieces.

V. FOREIGN POLICY

It would be quite impossible to understand the events immediately preceding and during the World War, as well as the collapse afterward, without a knowledge of this almost thousand-year-old genesis of the State, without an insight into the historic contacts and divergencies of its various countries and the dissimilarity of its nationalities. In any case what we have written may make it clear that Austria-Hungary was not capable of enforcing a powerful foreign policy. It could not depend upon even a tolerably unified purpose among its various peoples for any sort of a foreign policy. In the breast of any Austrian, even the most patriotic, two hearts dwelt, one of which beat for his blood-brethren, for the nation from which he sprang, whose language he spoke, whose culture was his. He was ready to make sacrifices for the unity of the State only in as far as his nationalistic feelings permitted. For most of the Austrian peoples the nationalistic shirt was nearer the heart than the Emperor's coat which they put on as his soldiers.

Closest in feeling to the State their ancestors had founded, was the German element. But although the State had given them a favoured position, they began, about the beginning of the century, to realise that they were in a minority of ten to fifty and that they were continually losing influence, although they were still carrying the larger share of the burden of the State. The Magyars, although dependent upon the State for their very existence, looked upon the union which this State laid upon them as an unbearable bondage. The various [illegible] awoke to renewed pan-Slavistic

aspirations which sought fulfilment beyond the boundary of the State; the Italians longed for a union with a united Italy. It is rather a matter for surprise that in spite of all this there *was* a feeling of State unity. The habit of half a thousand years, and loyalty to the hereditary dynasty, above all an economic inter-dependence, formed a certain counter-weight against the disintegrating tendencies of the nationalities.

DIFFICULTIES OF STRONG FOREIGN POLICY IN VIEW OF GREAT DIVERGENCE OF RACES

But naturally, so heterogeneous a State could not possibly put up a bold front towards the outside world. From its own point of view Austria-Hungary could have lived at peace with all its neighbours. But the neighbours thought otherwise. For this century has been a period of permanent warfare, though only at times exploding into actual war. And with its very evident and visible nationalistic consciousness, Austria-Hungary seemed only too easy an object of prey for others. For every one of its neighbours had still some "unredeemed brothers" within the territory of the monarchy.

The German Empire kept faith loyally. It naturally had a strong interest in keeping the German-Austrians within the bounds of the monarchy, that they might influence the latter's policy as Germany's ally. Italy's behaviour was less satisfactory. Its Government made little effort to suppress the Irredentist agitation in Trieste and in the Trentino, in spite of the diplomatically sealed alliance. Thanks to King Charles, relations with Rumania were undisturbed in spite of the severe strain caused by the exclusion of Rumanian cattle from the country. The nationalistic suppression of the Rumanians by the Magyars produced constant frictions, although the Rumanians in the Austrian Bukovina had no cause for complaint.

A really dangerous antagonism of interest existed between the monarchy and Russia. For the latter's ardently desired open road to Constantinople was flanked and opposed by Austria. This Russia answered with a splendidly staged anti-Austrian propaganda planned to win over the Austrian Ruthenians in Galicia, to "plant the Russian banner on the Carpathian heights." A number of overt acts of high treason on the part of Galician Orthodox Greek popes during the war showed that this propaganda was not altogether unsuccessful.

RELATIONS WITH SERBIA BECOME THE IMMEDIATE CAUSES OF THE WORLD WAR

Relations with Serbia were even more tensely strained. This country, hedged in by the monarchy and completely shut off from the sea, afforded an excellent market for the west Austrian industries, but was hampered by the Hungarian agrarian policy in its chief article of export, hogs. The Serbian tariff war caused the exports from the monarchy, which formerly amounted to ninety per cent of Serbian importations, to sink to one quarter that amount, greatly to Cisleithania's loss. And it also caused suffering in Vienna in 1904 from lack of meat. Austria's desire for an agreement was wrecked by Hungarian stubbornness, which influenced the commercial policy of the monarchy in continually increasing measure. This naturally intensified Serbia's nationalistic hatred toward the monarchy.

The annexation of Bosnia in 1908 was almost a *casus belli*. Germany's determined emphasis of its fidelity to the alliance with Austria caused Serbia and her friends to resort to peaceful explanations. But their inner anger was

not appeased. In this way the Serbian propaganda can be understood, the agitation which repeatedly called forth sharp warnings from Austria and which finally pressed the weapon into the hand of the assassin of the Austrian Heir-Apparent, Francis Ferdinand (June, 1914), . . . the signal for the World War.

VI. Internal Policy

Internal conditions in Austria-Hungary during the twentieth century, up to the time of the collapse, were marked by an odd contrast. Internal politics were completely dominated by the nationalistic differences, while economic and cultural conditions showed an evident improvement. The attempt at Magyarisation reached its climax in Hungary and the racial rivalries in the Austrian half of the empire grew in intensity. And yet in both halves of the monarchy the population increased rapidly, as did its wealth, its cultural needs and products. Nevertheless, the Magyars attempted to cut loose from the federation altogether, while the Czechs in Austria were looking forward to a separate Bohemia as the goal to be desired. The Poles and South Slavs were working toward greater independence, and the Irridentist Movement made rapid progress among the Italians.

The "Ausgleich," the compact between Austria and Hungary made in 1867, gave the latter State administrative independence with its own Parliament and Cabinet. The common Government of Austria-Hungary concerned itself mainly with the dynasty, with foreign matters and with the army. In these was included after 1879 the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina. But this compact failed to satisfy the party of the 1848 Independence, so called because in 1848 Hungary under the leadership of Kossuth had revolted against the Habsburgs. Their eventual goal was to change the existing union, which pre-supposed contractual regulation of mutual affairs — the so-called "Ausgleich" — into a mere personal union having nothing in common except the imperial dynasty. Later, this tie also could be broken.

Each ten years, when the Compact came up for renewal, the Hungarians made demands which endangered the unity of the army, which involved a division of the common banking interest, and aimed at complete sovereignty in trade and tariff relations — demands which, in a word, completely undermined the foundation walls of the mutual dwelling and changed the appearance of its façade. Although there was a separate Austrian militia and a Hungarian *Honved,* the Magyars still demanded a division of the army, the use of Magyar words of command and special flags and devices. In September, 1903, the Monarch issued the Army Order of Chloppy, sharply rejecting these demands. Ant yet in October of the same year, he permitted a regulating of the question of the flags along the lines demanded by the Magyars as well as permission to use the Magyar language in military criminal cases.

DIFFICULTY IN SATISFYING HUNGARIAN ASPIRATIONS

These half-way measures did not satisfy the Independent party. But they showed the people that by intensified action they could win their demands from the yielding King. In the next election, in 1905, this party, which had been a small minority in the previous century, won 168 seats as against 151 for the governmental party which stood by the compact, the party of the Liberals, to which belonged also the Saxons in Transylvania. When the Independent majority demanded a separate tariff wall against

Austria and the use of Magyar words of command in their army, the King opposed this by the appointment of a military Minister-President, General of Ordnance Fejervary. Then the opposition organised a passive resistance against tax paying and recruiting.

The House of Representatives was dissolved February, 1906. When the Independents still tried to assemble, the King ordered a *Honved* colonel to disperse them. The calmness with which the people took this act of force was a proof that a modern method of election would have created a parliament of quite a different colour. It was only the old Hungarian election methods, ruled entirely by the Estates, and still more their brutal manœuvring at each election, which made it possible that the Magyars, scarcely one-half of the population of the state, should win nearly all the seats in Parliament. The non-Magyar opposition nations never gained more than eight elective representatives. But the conservative constitutional Monarch could not bring himself to grant a truly democratic method of election. He negotiated with the Independents, and he created the Weckerle Cabinet, in which the son of the old rebel Kossuth was appointed Minister of Commerce.

This Cabinet delayed all electoral reforms and continued to support the power of the Magyar gentry over the other nationalities. New elections under this Cabinet won 240 seats for the Kossuth party. They utilised this overwhelming majority to hand over the schools entirely into the power of the Magyars by means of a law regulating the status and salaries of the grade school-teachers. This Cabinet also made an attack on the official language used on the Croatian railway lines. In a compact made in 1868 the Croatians had provided for the use of their own language on these lines. The new measure naturally called out an angry opposition on the part of the Croatians. Their Diet was dissolved and they came under absolutist rule. The result was a great increase within Croatia of the growth of that party which favoured complete separation from Hungary and the federation of Croatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Cisleithanian Dalmatia into a South Slav state; in other words, Dualism should give way to Trialism.

LOOSENING OF THE BONDS BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

When the next "Ausgleich" with Austria was arranged in 1907 the tariff and trade alliance which had barred all interstate tariffs gave way to a mere trade agreement at the expiration of which the erection of tariff barriers between Austria and Hungary was made possible. The split in the hitherto mutual Austrian-Hungarian bank was thus prepared for, and here, too, the advantage of an economic unity was sacrificed to the national point of view. On the other hand, the Hungarians consented to raise their quota of the mutual expenses of government by two per cent, so that they paid somewhat over a third (36.4 per cent).

The Hungarians had prevented the fulfilment of an old wish of Austria's for a railway connection with Dalmatia. They were able to interfere for the reason that this road would have to pass through Hungarian territory for a short stretch. This opposition was finally overcome, and in return the Hungarians were given a more easy direct railway connection with Germany through Austrian territory. (Kaschau-Oderberg.) More and more Hungary insisted on emphasising its independent position as far as foreign countries were concerned, making its particularism evident in all state documents and consular business. The announcement by the Magyars at the end of the war of their complete separation from Austria was only a logical result of all these years of preparation.

RACIAL DISPUTES IN AUSTRIA — CZECH AND RUTHENIAN ASPIRATIONS UNSATISFIED

Even in Cisleithania internal politics consisted mainly of nationalistic quarrels. The desires of the Germans were now mainly fixed on a support of the "National Possessions." The period of Germanisation was long passed. In Bohemia they were faced by a Czech majority (66 per cent Czechs, 33 per cent Germans) and they desired therefore to gather together the purely German districts into German counties with their own local administrations, that they might be saved from complete Czechisation. And in this way the purely Czech districts could be gathered into Czech local administrative circles, which would leave a relatively smaller number of counties with mixed population for a bilingual administration. Apart from this the Germans fought to confirm German as the legal language; this had been used hitherto, from force of habit, in all Government offices as official state language. Both these attempts were unsuccessful. Minister Körber's proposal (1903) to divide Bohemia into five Czech districts, two bilingual and three German counties, was met by the Czechs with a sharp parliamentary opposition. But on their part the Czechs demanded a measure of independence for the Crown lands — Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia — harking back to the historic constitution of these countries in 1627. They rejected all attempts at an agreement which did not take this old Bohemian constitution as basis.

Then when the Czech majority made an energetic use of their power and filled more than ninety per cent of all local governmental positions with their own nationals, the Germans started in on a policy of obstruction in the Bohemian Diet and held up all action (1908). This of course, stopped the local self-government. Finally, some time afterwards (1913), the Central Government put in a non-partisan commission as a sort of curator for the country. After that, there was a certain order in the administration in Bohemia, and on the very eve of downfall (September, 1918) Cabinet Minister Hussarek divided this commission into a German and a Czech department on the basis of national parity. The Czechs protested in vain in the administrative courts against all official action on the part of this commission, and took their revenge in obstructionist tactics in the Reichsrat.

In contrast to the Czechs, whose attitude was that every attempt at a division of Bohemia into nationalistic districts was a "tearing to pieces" of their country, the south Slavic Slovenes in Styria and the Italians in the south Tyrolean Trentino demanded just this same kind of nationalistic district division; the Germans opposed this as "ruination of the country." The Diets in Graz and Innsbruck were also a battlefield of nationalistic quarrels.

In Galicia the Ruthenians, who were in a decided minority as compared with the Poles, demanded an administrative division of the eastern parts of the country separating them from the purely Polish West Galicia. This demand was the signal for violent demonstrations. The Viennese Government tried several times to help the Ruthenians, but was itself too dependent upon the Poles. On November 4, 1916, the Emperor promised Galicia's independence "in the fullest measure that does not conflict with its allegiance to the State as a whole." But it was not until the end of the war that the Hussarek Government partially granted the Ruthenian desire for the independence of East Galicia by the appointment of a Ruthenian Minister of Public Health.

In the coast lands, the South Slavs and the Italians were continually quarrelling, and their mutual obstructionist tactics made their Diet impotent.

most of the time. Neither in the Viennese central Parliament nor in the Diets of the individual Crown lands, was it possible to keep up any lasting condition of parliamentary order and efficiency.

RAPID REPLACEMENT OF MINISTERS

The Government naturally had a very difficult position in face of these nationalistic quarrels. The Ministries during the period from 1900 to the collapse (Körber, 1900–1904; Gautsch, 1904–1906; Hohenlohe, 1906; Beck, 1906–1908; Bienerth, 1908–1911; Gautsch, 1911; Stürgkh, 1911–1916; Körber, 1916; Clam-Martinitz, 1916–17; Seidler, 1917–18; Hussarek, 1918; Lammasch, 1918) were almost entirely Cabinets composed of Government officials. Not one of their chiefs had graduated from the House of Representatives. Only a Minister who stood outside the House, independent of all the parties, responsible mainly to the Monarch, could carry on the governmental business. Negotiations had to be carried on with as many parties as possible to get a majority for the Budget and for the annual allowance of recruits, negotiations which often resembled a sacrifice or at least a pawning of the state's interest. Representatives from the different nationalities who were willing to aid in the work were taken up in the Cabinet, which in that way retained a certain parliamentary colouring. There was always, for instance, a Polish Minister of Agriculture who represented Polish interests in the central Government and who in return could swing the votes of the Polish Deputies for the "necessities of State" (Budget and Recruit Allowance). Occasionally there were also German and Czech Ministers. Impartial administration of the law and development of the cultural interests of all the nationalities were main points in the programme of each of these Governments. They all stood on a sort of middle line of fidelity to the State. Yet, individually, Beck was considered to be somewhat partial to the Slavs, while Bienerth leaned towards freedom for the Germans. Gautsch was loyally dynastic, Stürgkh was conservatively socialistic, Clam-Martinitz traditionally aristocratic, Hussarek and Lammasch were clericals. All the others were traditional officials.

BUDGET PROBLEMS

It was only occasionally possible to put through a parliamentary budget (1902–1907–1910). When this was impossible the Government dissolved the House or prorogued it and took over the power on the basis of an emergency measure for which Paragraph 14 of the Constitution gave a somewhat doubtful excuse. The Social Democrats (Renner) recommended a new theory which however was rather difficult of execution. This was to divide the nationalities constitutionally according to the racial principle. But it did not meet the approval of any one of the nationalities. And so, in 1907, another attempt was made, with the introduction of general Equal Suffrage. Hitherto the Reichsrat had been supplied by the Three-Class-Electoral system with delegates of great wealth, who were supplemented in 1916 by delegates of a general (fourth) electoral class (who voted in spite of the fact that they paid no income tax). It had been hoped that in this way a Parliament could be brought together in which social and economic interests could push the merely nationalistic ones into the background. The Social Democrats particularly had always emphasised the assertion that the working-class was international by necessity; and that therefore, if the workers were given sufficient influence in Parliament, the result would be a Peoples' House worthy of

an international state. Now, the House numbered 516 members, of whom 221 were national Slavs, 177 national Germans, and 87 Social Democrats, so the latter could swing the balance of power in every nationalistic quarrel. But in spite of this their calculations proved false. For in Europe every true Democracy is also nationalistic and therefore the nationalist problem infects even the working-class whenever they win parliamentary power. The "Internationale" breaks up into national groups exactly as the middle-class did before it. The nationalist element proved stronger than the social. This was the death-warrant for Austria.

ECONOMIC INFLUENCE OF NATIONALIST DIFFERENCES

Nationalist quarrels affected not only the political, social and cultural life; they were also not without influence in the economic field. Each nationality within the monarchy tried to further its own industry by every possible means. The theory of national autocracy, the favouring of the home industries, which ordinarily is a province of the state Government, was here practiced by the local government. This principle was upheld most successfully in Hungary, which enjoyed a far-reaching independence as against the other half of the monarchy, and which in spite of a common tariff waged a systematic war against the importation of products of Austrian industry.

The Poles in Galicia and the Czechs in Bohemia and Moravia possessed no political power by which they could secure such concessions, they appealed to a nationalist conference and by means of widespread propaganda they developed the principle that a home product should be given preference even when it was higher in price or inferior in quality to foreign wares. And so, within the body of the state there arose an economic competition between the nationalities, the importance and consequences of which are difficult to estimate.

SUCCESS AND PROSPERITY OF THE EMPIRE IN SPITE OF ITS INTERNAL DIFFICULTIES

It is wonderful that in spite of these difficulties of internal politics an ordered administration managed to preserve what the constitutional and nationalist quarrels threatened to destroy. Cultural conditions improved visibly, as is shown by the increase of grade schools in Austria and the greater number of their pupils. The number of schools rose from 19,016 in 1900 to 19,250 in 1910, and to 24,712 in 1913. The number of pupils rose during this period from 3,490,000 to 4,370,000 and to 4,630,000. The percentage of illiterates which in 1890 was 28.5 per cent, sank in 1900 to 22.7 per cent and in 1910 to 16.5 per cent of the entire population. The high percentage of illiterates among the easterly peoples (the Poles 27.4 per cent, the Rumanians 60.4 per cent, the Ruthenians 61 per cent and the Serbo-Croates 63.7 per cent) explains the average high percentage in the entire state. Austrian school policies were most generous towards nationalistic needs. If there were forty children within an hour's distance, they were given a school in their own language. The grade schools in Hungary were the concern of the state and were a means of Magyarisation, whereas in Austria the State left the leadership of the schools entirely to the individual nationalities. In the one case the schools were a means of denationalisation; in the other they were an aid to nationalistic culture. The provision for state-subsidised secondary schools according to the desires of the ruling middle-class was most

generous, almost exaggerated. The empire's universities, formerly almost entirely German, were, in Hungary, increasingly Magyarised, and, in Austria itself, supplanted by Slavic institutions. The founding of a Ruthenian University for Galicia was proposed several times but never carried out.

The statistics of foreign trade show how the economic life of the country was slowly but surely developing. From 1907 to 1912 the imports rose in value from 2.55 thousand million crowns to 3.55 thousand million; exports rose from 2.5 thousand million to 2.7 thousand million. The balance of trade for the monarchy was still an adverse one, however, even after 1914. For with the growth of industry, agrarian production was no longer able to supply the food needs of the population, while at the same time the demand for raw material and semi-finished products grew apace. Austria's natural resources, coal, iron, petroleum, water-power in the Alpine countries, produced most favourable conditions for the development of industry. And the country itself offered at the same time a big market for industrial products. But there were hindering circumstances. First of all, the strongly differentiated consumption needs and habits of the heterogeneous population was unfavourable for standardised mass production; and there was also a lack of fluid capital, and possibly, a lack of enterprising spirit. But in spite of all this, Austrian industry competed in foreign markets with considerable success in certain important lines — machinery, glass, textiles. The outbreak of the World War put a sudden stop to this development.

VII. The World War

The history of the World War is no part of the subject of this chapter but there are two points so closely connected with it that we must mention them. The first is the fact, difficult for an outsider to understand, that the citizens of the state were absolutely surprised by the declaration of war and that they themselves had no part in its making. The second is their own behaviour during the war. Each of these points is easily understandable after what has already been said. The complicated structure of this heterogeneous state could not develop any national group capable of carrying on a powerful foreign policy. The great currents of feeling for and against neighbouring peoples were entirely offset by counter-currents of quite another sort. As a result, foreign policy was left to a factor which stood outside of nationality, *i.e.*, the Crown. And even the Crown did not dare take an aggressive step unless all participants in the state felt themselves threatened by an attack from outside. This happened, or appeared to happen, when the Heir-Apparent was murdered. Almost all of the citizens, even the Slavic peoples, saw in the declaration of war an act of self-defence against a threatening catastrophe.

For this reason almost all of the nations within the Dual Monarchy acknowledged openly an unexpectedly keen allegiance to the State. The mobilisation took place everywhere without friction, much quicker than the military authorities, who were not at all prepared for such a mass enlistment, had imagined. It was of course to be expected that the Germans, whose very existence was at stake, would show themselves patriotic. But it did come as a surprise when, after the declaration of war in Prague, Germans and Czechs marched through the streets together, singing *Die Wacht am Rhein.*

On October 24, the Czech Union solemnly declared "We may have opposed this or that Government but we have never opposed the State." On November 15, the Czech-Social, and the Czech-Clerical parties in Moravia

arranged a patriotic demonstration. The Poles acted in the same manner. All the Polish parties met together in a Common Central Committee which sent out an announcement on August 15, 1914, calling for the fulfilment of their duty toward the state of Austria. On August 27, the Ruthenian Metropolitans issued a protest against Tsarism and on November 1 the Ukraine protested publicly against the Russian oppression of religious beliefs. On November 23, 30,000 Rumanian peasants in Bukovina staged a magnificent demonstration for the Emperor and the State, which was followed on December 1 by a patriotic protest by the Rumanian Club. These demonstrations on the part of all the Slavic peoples of Austria prove that the feeling of allegiance to the empire was stronger than Austria's enemies believed it to be. These proofs of patriotism continued throughout a great part of the war. And even after Italy's declaration of war, the majority of the Italian Diet members in South Tyrol made open profession of their loyalty—"in the name of the oppressed majority of the population" (June 14, 1915).

But this feeling was undermined by the years of previous propaganda for the Pan-Slavistic idea, the Russophile and Serbian agitation, and the Italian Irredentist Movement. Individual overt acts of high treason in connection with the co-nationals in the enemy camp were known to have occurred from the very beginning.

ELEMENTS OF INTERNAL DISINTEGRATION

The question has frequently been asked why the Minister-President did not utilise this patriotic movement for a declaration by Parliament. But it came as a surprise to him as indeed it did to many, and he shrank from the great responsibility that an unfavourable result of the experiment would have brought about. The populace had had little or nothing to say in regard to the declaration of war, and had little or nothing to say later. But with this renunciation of all participation of Parliament, the Minister-President resigned his power in favour of the military authorities. And as there was no longer any Parliament and no immunity, the military authorities established an unrestricted police state. Minister-President Stürgkh attempted too late, to make possible a gathering of the Reichsrat and was negotiating along these lines with the leaders of the Upper House, when he was struck down by the bullet of the Independent Socialist, Dr. Friedrich Adler (October 21, 1916). The loyalty shown at first by the Slavs and Italian citizens, succumbed to the long-drawn strain of the war. There was a rapidly increasing number of deserters to the enemy's camp, and of secret negotiations with the enemy. And yet it is worthy of remark that the answer sent by the *Entente* January 12, 1917, to President Wilson's note, concerning the freeing of the oppressed peoples of Austria, called forth a number of sharp anti-Ally demonstrations among the peoples to be "freed." But these were only isolated demonstrations as against the generally growing desire for peace in Austria.

The State was in too close a military dependence on its ally, to be able to tear itself loose from Germany. Even the Germans in Austria did not restrain their nationalist desires at this time. They demanded a change in the Constitution in favour of a charter which divided nationalist districts in Bohemia and assured the use of German as a business language, with intensified business legislation. The South Slavs and the Czechs also issued constitutional declarations and demands. The former asked for a co-nationalistic union of the South Slavs, the latter requested a territorial union of the southern countries; at the same time the Germans protested against any change toward a federal state.

When on October 16, 1918, an Imperial manifesto held out the hope of the transformation of Austria (but not Hungary) into a confederated state of free nationalities, it was too late. The only result was that the nationalities felt themselves freed from every restraint and set up their own Governments without any connection with the old State. On October 19, the Ukrainian National Council was set up and established in Lemberg and the Slovene-Croatia Council in Agram. On October 20 the Czechs set up their own Government in Prague. On the 21st of the same month, the German Representatives followed suit in Vienna as did the Magyars in Budapest on the 25th.

VIII. The Austrian Republic and the Hungarian Monarchy

The joint struggle at Germany's side had shattered Austria, whose strength might have just sufficed to enable Austria to serve as an intermediary between the Germanic and Slavic races. But in a racial war between these two great peoples the coherence of the inwardly weakened monarchy had infallibly to fall to pieces. The realm of the union of Germans, North and South Slavs, Magyar and Romance peoples might at best have served as a valuable rear-guard for Germanism. But it broke to pieces when it was drawn too tightly in one direction. The moment such a one-sided policy was shown, it must necessarily have lost the confidence of the other nine nationalities; and all other advantages of the mutual State life vanished by contrast with this one fact. The Austrian State theory, which was built up on reciprocal consideration of diverging interests, received its death-blow.

No matter how much one may try to explain the fall of the former Austrian Empire by the merely outer events of the war, it was the internal discord, the false note which broke up the concert of its nationalities, when Austria made itself the one-sided co-fighter of *one* of its many nationalities. The result was Austria's dissolution and its division into seven states. Rumania, Serbia (now called Yugoslavia) and Italy increased their territory at its expense: Poland and Czechoslovakia constituted themselves new states. A greatly reduced Hungary remained by the side of the Austrian Republic as sole heir of the defeated empire. The other succession states tried to keep up the legal fiction that they were not its legal heirs at all.

This disruption cannot be looked upon as an economic advantage for any of the succession states. In former days men and wares could move about free of tariff restrictions from Lake Constance to Orsowa, from Bodenbach to Cattaro; now they have at least a half-dozen dividing state boundaries to pass.

Before the war Europe was fortunate enough to consist of a number of states all of which bordered on the sea with the exception of Switzerland and the dwarf states, Liechtenstein and Luxemburg. Serbia too was cut off from this benefit. Austria, which opened the sea coast to twelve nationalities, cut it off from this country, which became its Nemesis. But now, untaught by this lesson of history, three separate states in central Europe are so constituted that they are, as it were, in a land prison. Czechoslovakia, Austria and Hungary have no sea coast. Poland also can reach the coast only by an artificial corridor.

This land imprisonment to which the Peace has condemned 25,000,000 people, all of whom formerly belonged to a state blessed with several coast lines, is a hotbed for the growth of trouble germs.

Austria and Hungary were at first the most badly wounded of the succession states. Hungary lost its harbour of Fiume, its Crown lands, Croatia and Transylvania, as well as the fertile Banat and the northern reaches of

the Danube from Pressburg to Komorn. In the mutilated torso of Austria (32,491 square miles with 7,000,000 inhabitants) the great arteries of communication leading from Vienna to the north, to the Adriatic and to the Orient reached a foreign frontier after respectively 84, 296, and 46 kilometres of journey. Thus a great heritage of misfortune was shared in common by the former rivals, Austria and Hungary.

NEW SOURCES OF CONTENTION BETWEEN AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY

Austria lost its ocean front, much industrial territory, its oil-wells and its coal-mines; in exchange it was offered Burgenland, which although entirely German in population had formerly belonged to Hungary. The Austrian Government under Chancellor Renner refused to accept this gift without ascertaining the will of the inhabitants by a plebiscite. The immediate result of this was the formation of gangs of Magyar bandits, red or white, in that part of the country; the invasion of these gangs into Austria and consequent armed intervention on the part of the *Entente*. The last and final result was a splitting up of the little country, the capital city of which, Ödenburg, remained a Hungarian possession. A new bone of contention was thus thrown among the nationalities.

Politically these two neighbours went widely differing ways. Hungary had had its revolution, and had cut loose from the Union under threat of armed force. It fell into temporary anarchy. A "red terror" of the dispossessed spread through the country, financially supported by the Russian Soviet Republic and inspired by their emissaries. After this, as counter-revolution came an equally brutal "white terror" of the Conservatives. This reciprocal violence was succeeded by a provisional government in a republican form, but still loyal in principle to the monarchy without, however, making any decision in favour of the dynasty or the person of the monarch. Hungary is politically still in an undefined condition which attracts pretenders to the crown, which opens a wide field for the activity of personal ambition and which fills all its political parties with secret distrust. But at least it has freed itself from its nationalist problem by the loss of all non-Magyar nationals.

BREAKUP OF THE DUAL MONARCHY

The development of Austrian conditions has been a very peculiar one. The German-Austrian Rump Parliament, forsaken by all non-German representatives, constituted itself sole representative of the state and appointed a Provisional Government by Peoples' Deputies. For some little while this Government officiated quite peaceably in connection with the Lammasch Cabinet which had been appointed by the Emperor; in fact the two Governments shared the same official apartments, from the end of October to November 12, 1918. Finally on November 12, the republican form of Government was officially declared, after the Emperor Charles had made his declaration, "I renounce any participation in the business of government and I acknowledge the decision made by German-Austria as to its own form of Government."

In addition to the monarchy, the Upper House, the Cabinet and the viceroys were abolished. No attention was paid to the local Diets, and for some little while the Rump Parliament assumed all legislative and administrative tasks. It was as if some great apparatus had crawled back into the embryonic state of a single primal cell, a crab-like proceeding of an unusual type. But in the year 1918 the separate states, which had been too utterly

surprised to realise the situation at first, recalled their former independence and, like a herd which has lost its shepherd, threatened to scatter in all directions.

It looked as if little Austria would split up into dwarf states. And this danger grew as the unanimous decision of the Viennese central Parliament to unite with the German Empire was rejected by the *Entente* as violating the independence of Austria. There was some wavering indecision as to whether the future state should take the form of a mere confederation or should become a Federal State. The final decision was in favour of a structure which was to bear the name of "Federation," within which the different countries were to be known as "Independent States," but which in its actual being should become a unified state (Constitution of October 1, 1920). Out of this embryo of a Parliament with its Peoples' Deputies, the legislative and administrative organs rapidly developed with their old traditional differentiation. Ministries, Local Governments, a central Parliament with Two Houses ("National Council" as a People's House, and a Federal Council representing the States), as well as all the local Diets came into being again; the entire apparatus was most excessive for so small a state.

SPECIFIC PROBLEMS OF GERMAN AUSTRIA

Internal disorders, and the infections of Bolshevism from Hungary and Munich, were prevented by a peaceful coalition of the more important parties, the middle-class, peasants and workers. Their representatives presided in the House in rotation, fulfilling the function of a state executive. In 1919, there was a formally acknowledged head of the Government in the person of a Federal President. But he is merely a lay figure without any right to appoint the Cabinet, to dissolve the House or to command the army. Austria is really a democratic republic based on the principle of the sovereignty of the people with universal, secret, direct and woman suffrage.

Economically also, the destinies of these two remaining states of the old Austria were widely divergent. Hungary had suffered terribly under the terror and the counter-terror, but as a purely agricultural land it had no lasting financial problems to solve. Its principal anxiety was to find credits to resurrect its sadly neglected agriculture.

Austria was in a far worse state. The starving country, with its capital city, far too big in relation to the entire population (1,800,000 to 7,000,000), was spared a wave of Bolshevism by the State's far-reaching food regulations and provisioning. But this undermined the already weakened crown, which at the end of the war had sunk to a fifth of its former value, particularly since, to obtain the money necessary for purchases of grain in foreign countries, the Government had taken refuge in the printing of paper money. To these troubles may be added the fact that the help of the Social Democrats in establishing internal peace and quiet could only be had by an acceptance of their far-reaching plans for "Socialisation." It is true that the practical side of this socialisation was limited to the factories for weapons and munitions and other army articles which were left over after the war, and this industry in spite of existing buildings and stocks soon went to pieces.

ISSUE OF IMMENSE QUANTITIES OF PAPER MONEY

But since the Government, under pressure of public expenses far too great for the small country, had taken the fatal step of trying to pay its way by continual new issues of paper money, the deficit in the State housekeeping

grew ever larger. Its income was paid in bank-notes that lost value day by day. The growing deficit had the usual portentous result on the economic life of the country, burdened as it already was by the difficult task of adaptation to quite changed conditions. A general discouragement made itself felt, and the rate of exchange became more and more unfavourable. The crown sank lower and lower until by September, 1922, it was down to one-fifteen-thousandth of its nominal value. The value of this unit has been almost constant for a year or more (0.0014 U. S. cent).

But there have been underlying symptoms since 1922 of a gradual and general improvement. Agriculture (in spite of reduced herds and neglected ground consequent on the war) has been able easily to pay off its former oppressive mortgage debts because of the depreciation of the currency. The yield of its produce has grown rapidly, although the figures have not yet reached the pre-war statistics. At present, however, there is hope of a production of 225 kilogrammes of grain *per capita* of the population. The land is divided into 10.3% of arid land, 89.7% of arable land, which in its turn is divided into 26.8% cultivated fields, 29.5% meadows and pasturage, 41.9% timber land. The large city population, as compared with peasants, make high agricultural production an imperative necessity.

AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTS IN GERMAN AUSTRIA

The following figures taken from the harvest of 1922 will show the relation of yield to cultivated fields. (The harvest of the principal cereals in 1922 was smaller than in the previous year, on account of unfavourable weather. The only exception was maize, or Indian corn, a cereal once not very popular in Central Europe, but now beginning to be extensively cultivated.)

The yield is noted in metric hundredweights; cultivated fields in hectares.

Crop	Metric Hundredweights	Hectares
Wheat	2,019,880	185,968
Rye	3,451,709	337,380
Barley	1,219,095	126,725
Oats	2,658,062	281,771
Maize	883,101	60,018
Potatoes	13,082,867	163,220

Mining, which has been carried on for generations in Austria, but was for a time neglected as unprofitable, was taken up again. The production of coal in 1922 increased 27% over 1921; 105,540 tons of pit coal and 3,109,827 tons of brown coal were mined. The growing production will prove a means of reducing one of the main liability items in the balance of trade. The country's two greatest treasures, its fine forests and its water-power, now came to the front in economic importance. The forests give a yearly yield of 10,000,000 cubic metres of timber, providing excellent raw material for the wood and paper industry. The sum of available water-power is estimated at 2,500,000 horse-power. The electrification of great stretches of the railways has already been started, in order to reduce the deficit which is very largely caused by the necessary purchases of foreign coal. Great water-power works to produce electric power are being built in Upper and Lower Austria, in Styria, in Carinthia, the Tyrol and Vorarlberg. The attempt to divert the main traffic artery towards the Orient from Vienna to Prague proved to be a useless struggle against geography. The great trade routes still lie through Vienna, in spite of the fact that immense lengths of railroad track [illegible]

INDUSTRY IN GERMAN AUSTRIA

Industry, which had been transformed to adapt it to war needs, now came back gradually to its original purposes, particularly when it was discovered that the socialisation was no more than a paper threat. Before the war Austria's industry had supplied 52,000,000 people in the old state and in the Balkans with their most important manufactures. Now, in the smaller Austria, there are about 60,300 industrial establishments. The leading branches of industry are those connected with iron and other metals and also with electricity, the production of which far surpasses Austria's ability to absorb, and constitutes 45% of the above-mentioned industrial operations. The textile industry furnishes 30%, the wood and paper industry 15%. Other smaller branches complete the list. Austria possesses 150 iron and steel foundries and about 250 factories making machines and tools. The latter utilise about one and a half million metric hundredweights of raw material. Thirty-five great modern electric establishments produce high-standard products, more than half of which are exported. The textile industry forms the foundation of a highly developed garment industry producing quality wares in gowns and lingerie. The products of the Austrian wood industry go out into all the world; and the leather, rubber, machine and apparatus industry has won a world reputation for its wares. The high productive ability of the Austrian industry is determined largely by its adaptable working-class, who thus far have been satisfied with comparatively low wages. Its technical apparatus needs a rejuvenation along the lines of efficiency and concentration, but for this an influx of foreign capital would be necessary, and has already been utilised in numerous industries. Austrian political economy still shows an adverse trade balance. But an improvement is evident from year to year.

FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE FROM ABROAD

Supported by these prospects, and alarmed by the dangers threatening the very existence of the state — and incidentally the peace of all Central Europe — through the rapid sinking of the crown in the latter half of 1922, Chancellor Seipel appealed to the *Entente* which raised the saving loan of 650,000,000 gold crowns. This of course necessitated putting the Austrian Treasury under international control. But although an isolated happening like this may seem to be a disgrace, for the sovereign state upon which it has fallen, still such a financial control in a Democracy has the beneficial effect of not allowing the particular party in power to utilise public moneys for its own party advantage. This arrangement, possibly, may lead to similar developments in other cases. In Austria the results were the stoppage of the printing of unfunded paper money, the establishment of a new national bank, notable economies in the State housekeeping and particularly the dismissal of superfluous officials, so that it seems possible eventually to attain a stability in the State household.

All these economic improvements and prospects were a pleasant contrast to the despair of the first two years following the collapse. They have had a political effect also, in that the guidance of the State, which had fallen at first to the Social Democracy as the strongest group in Parliament (Renner, the first Chancellor, was a Social Democrat), was now in the hands of the Christian-Social party, composed of middle-class and peasant elements. The Prelate Seipel now became Chancellor.

Within this Christian-Social party was the relatively small and quite unimportant group of Monarchists, while the Social Democratic party included the Left Wing Radicals who in other countries form an independent party by themselves. There is noted a strong decrease in the number of Greater-Germans whose programme is union with Germany combined with a dash of anti-Semitism.

Epilogue

Looking backward, we can see that the rise and fall of Old Austria was unique in the history of the world. This state fulfilled great tasks in defence of culture for which Europe, indeed the whole world, owes it thanks. But its most splendid task remained unaccomplished. The sphinx-riddle of its existence, the problem of uniting amicably a dozen nationalities, remained unsolved. If Austria had succeeded in solving its own State problem, step by step — and it was well on the way to do so — the solution of Europe's problem would have been brought nearer. For Old Austria was a miniature edition of Europe; its problem was a concentrated European peace problem.

But the Union of the Austrian nationalities was only the superficial living together of the inhabitants of a common household — it did not become a *family* of peoples. National Chauvinism internally, and the agitation of conquest-greedy neighbours externally, prevented this result. And so Europe is poorer for the future by one hope of peace. A fine economic structure was torn to pieces; and yet in spite of it the nationalist problem is renewing itself in the succession states, which are nationalistically as varied as was Old Austria. At present they are still trying to meet this problem by the remedy of denationalisation of minorities which Austria long since rejected as unworkable. The big amputations have resulted in a national unity only for two of the successors of Old Austria: the Austrian Republic and the Kingdom of Hungary. They have suffered the loss of many comrade peoples; but they are like trees from which an all-too-radical gardener has pitilessly hacked the twigs and branches. New life may still bloom from the healthy trunk.

CHAPTER XL

TURKEY: A STORY OF COLLAPSE AND RECOVERY

By Philip M. Brown, M.A.

Secretary American Embassy, Constantinople, 1907–1908. Chargé d'Affaires October, 1907, to February, 1908. Professor of International Law, Princeton University. Associate Editor of the *American Journal of International Law.* Author of *Foreigners in Turkey; International Realties; International Society.*

TURKEY SINCE 1900

Back of the village of Candilli on the Asiatic side of the Bosporus is a hilltop crowned with pines where one can have a wide view from the Sea of Marmora to the entrance of the Black Sea. This scene of magic beauty evokes many historic associations and arouses strange reflections. One recalls the four hundred and seventy years of Ottoman rule in Stamboul; the onward sweep of Turkish armies into Europe; their definite check before the walls of Vienna; their long retreat involving the loss of Hungary, Rumania, Serbia, Montenegro, Bulgaria, Albania, Macedonia and Western Thrace. One thinks of the arrival of European armies and fleets, and of the various combinations of the Powers fighting now on the side of the Turks and now against them; of their sordid rivalries and intrigues at the Sublime Porte; of commercial enterprises, such as the Bagdad railway, subserving political ends; of the extension of special privileges to foreigners that made them independent and contemptuous of Turkish sovereignty. One sees the Near East invaded by European customs and manners abhorrent to Moslem ideas of propriety and decency. One sees Europe and Asia in violent contrast; Christianity and Islam in irreconcilable conflict; and asks himself the question which a pious old Moslem entirely detached from the world of political affairs might well ask: what good has come from this contact of Western and Near Eastern civilisations? One finds it difficult to asseverate that much good has come to either, or that much that is deplorable has not come to both.

THE REIGN OF ABDUL HAMID II

If we turn our attention to the immediate past and contemplate the bewildering succession of extraordinary events since 1900 we become conscious of certain influences at work that have profoundly affected the destinies of the various peoples of the Near East. First of all, it was apparent at the opening of this century that the reign of Sultan Abdul Hamid II was fast conducting the empire to disaster and ruin. In foreign affairs, unable to prevent the intrusion of the European Powers, he permitted foreigners to gain a strangle-hold on the financial and economic life of the nation through the borrowing of money and the granting of concessions which were often

obtained by the grossest forms of corruption. In internal matters, he maintained his ascendency by terrorism, assassination and massacre. Mortally afraid of being assassinated, Abdul Hamid organised a vast army of depraved spies who held in their hands the lives of all incurring their displeasure. Thousands of liberal-minded Young Turks were either executed mysteriously or sent into exile in unhealthy climates and filthy dungeons where death was almost certain. It is impossible to forget a sinister vessel which occasionally sailed from the Golden Horn for an unknown destination with hundreds of political prisoners crowding even the upper deck roofed over to provide extra space for this foul purpose. Two men, though brothers, dared not be seen in conversation in public for fear of being denounced as conspirators by the Sultan's spies. Men rose to high office by low means. The progressive corruption and demoralisation of the whole nation could lead only to annihilation or revolution. The latter was generally believed to be impossible, but it was brought about to the amazement of all, including the revolutionists themselves, in a bloodless manner in 1908 with the Macedonian Question as the immediate cause.

MACEDONIA

The district of Macedonia, though hard to define in a political sense, may be said to have comprised the region lying between the Rhodope Mountains on the east and Albania on the west, that is to say, the area drained by the Vardar River, for the most part, and including the city of Salonika. Relatively small in extent, this district contained elements of a highly explosive character. Inhabited by a confused *mélange* of races: Serb, Greek, Bulgarian, Turk, Vlach, Albanian and Jew, it became the cockpit of Balkan politics. Lying athwart the line of march of the Austrian policy of *Drang nach Osten,* it was the football of European diplomacy. Taken away from Turkey by Russia in the Treaty of San Stefano in 1878, it was deliberately restored by the Congress of Berlin for the purpose of readjusting the balance of power in the Near East. Article XXIII of the Treaty of Berlin provided that Macedonia should be given a special autonomous *régime*. The Bulgarians who were to have received this province under the Treaty of San Stefano could never reconcile themselves to its return to Turkey. Its acquisition became a sacred cause to which rich and poor alike were expected to give unstintingly of their money and their lives. Numerous armed bands were organised to harass the Turkish authorities and peasants, as well as the other non-Slavic peoples hostile to Bulgarian claims. The failure of the European Powers to compel the Sultan to carry out the reforms promised by the Treaty of Berlin, and their apparent indifference to the intolerable conditions in Macedonia served to justify in large measure the unremitting efforts of the Bulgarians.

By the year 1900 the agitation for the introduction of reforms in Macedonia had become so violent as to force the Powers to take up with the Porte the question of the fulfilment of the terms of Article XXIII of the Treaty of Berlin. Nothing practical having resulted, however, the situation again became acute. The Sultan, in order to forestall action by the Powers, promulgated his own scheme of reforms in December, 1902. This diplomatic move deceived nobody. The activities of the Bulgarian *comitadjis* in Macedonia were redoubled. The usual massacres and reign of terror recommenced, and early in 1903 Bulgaria made a powerful appeal to the Powers to intervene. By this time it was evident that the Powers would be unable to come to a collective agreement regarding the reforms to be granted and they

accordingly with considerable relief left the whole matter to Russia and Austria. These two countries had already come to an understanding respecting their interests in the Balkans. They signed an agreement in 1897, which was renewed in 1902, whereby Bulgaria and that portion of European Turkey east of Salonika should be considered within the sphere of influence of Russia, while Serbia and the remaining part of European Turkey west of Salonika (and including that port) as far as Albania should be considered within the sphere of Austria. Each of the contracting parties agreed to take appropriate action in their respective spheres in case of disturbances affecting the peace of the Balkans. After *pourparlers* covering several months, an agreement was reached concerning the reforms to be introduced in Macedonia and formally ratified at a meeting of Emperor Francis Joseph and Tsar Nicholas at Mürzsteg in September, 1903. The main points of this programme were: (1) the appointment of a Governor-General with the consent of the Powers; (2) the designation of two "Assessors" by Austria and Russia who were to supervise the application of the reforms; (3) the formation of a special gendarmerie for Macedonia under an Italian general aided by sixty foreign officers.

The defect of this plan was that it failed to remove the Governor-General and all the other officials from the paralysing intrigues of the Sultan, who still had the power to thwart the execution of the reforms. No better evidence of the negative results of the Mürzsteg programme need be found than in the fact that the Sultan on his own initiative requested that the arrangement be prolonged from 1904 to 1906. In the latter year an International Finance Commission to watch over the collection of taxes and over expenditures was created, much against the wishes of the Sultan. The Commission, being only a quasi-deliberate council with no executive power, did not prove of much value.

The attitude of Austria and Russia towards Macedonia seemed to indicate that they were never honestly in favour of a real reformation in the internal affairs of Turkey. Neither Austria with its avowed policy of *Drang nach Osten*, nor Russia with its hungry desire for Constantinople, could look with complacency on a stronger Turkey. The old *régime* of Abdul Hamid, with all its horrors and the general demoralisation that was fast conducing to the disintegration and partition of the empire, best suited the ends they long had in view. It was quite comprehensible, therefore, that Austria and Russia, guided by motives of self-interest, should have carried out the mandate of the other Powers in a perfunctory manner. Austria, moreover, began to chafe under the restraints of her agreement with Russia and to desire a free hand. In January, 1908, it was announced that Turkey had permitted the survey of a railway of great significance to Austria, through the Sanjak of Novi-Bazar; that narrow strip of territory separating Montenegro and Serbia. It was apparent that this important concession had been granted by Turkey on condition that Austria should abandon the Mürzsteg programme of Macedonian reforms.

Russia realised that after her war with Japan she was in no position to oppose single-handed an aggressive independent policy on the part of Austria in the Balkans, and that her supremacy as the historic protector of the Slavs was gravely menaced. When England came forward, therefore, with a practical scheme of reform involving the creation of an autonomous province under a Christian Governor-General, after the model of Samos and the Lebanon, Russia was prepared to support the project.

Had this Anglo-Russian project been actually put into operation, it would have resulted, in all probability, as in the case of Eastern Rumelia, in the eventual separation of Macedonia from the Ottoman Empire. It was at

this juncture that the Young Turks, who had been watching with apprehension the impending intervention of the Powers in Macedonia, realised that the hour to revolt had come if that province was to be saved to the empire. They had been long getting ready and their propaganda had been especially successful among the Sultan's soldiers in Macedonia where, abused, neglected and unpaid, they had become seriously disaffected when they saw that their brothers in arms in the foreign gendarmerie were well clothed, well fed and regularly paid.

THE YOUNG TURK REVOLUTION

The Young Turk revolution, though precipitated earlier than planned, was carried through in July, 1908, with surprising skill and ease. The Constitution, which Abdul Hamid had issued originally in 1876 as a diplomatic device to influence the European Powers, was brought to life again. Liberty, fraternity, equality and justice were promised for all. The Young Turks pledged with patriotic fervour the introduction of reforms impartially throughout the empire. Turk, Macedonian, Greek, Jew, Armenian, Albanian, Kurd and Arab, agreed to bury their prejudices and to consecrate themselves to the work of regenerating their common fatherland. Even the leaders of the various bands which had so long terrorised Macedonia, volunteered to support the new *régime*.

Few revolts in history have shown greater heroism or more genuine fervour of exalted patriotism than the revolution accomplished by the Young Turks under the inspiring leadership of Niazi Bey and Enver Bey, who on July 11, 1908, took their lives in their hands when they chose to flee as outlaws to the mountains in Macedonia with a handful of devoted soldiers rather than submit further to the diabolical tyranny of Abdul Hamid. Their audacity quite unnerved that timid monarch and the camarilla at Yildiz. The Constitution was re-promulgated on July 24, 1908, and the Young Turks flocked to Yildiz to pledge anew their loyalty to the Ottoman Empire, if not to the unworthy person of their lawful Sultan.

The truth was not recognised immediately by these Young Turks that in an empire conquered and maintained by the sword of Osman and his successors, genuine equality of races never would be possible: the Turks must continue to be the dominant race. Furthermore, with Islam as the religion of the State and the basis of their system of jurisprudence, a religion which gives not only a strong sense of solidarity but also a sense of superiority, genuine fraternisation with Christians was rendered excessively difficult if not entirely impossible.

The reaction of the non-Moslem elements in the Turkish Empire to the promise of liberty, equality and fraternity, was to assert anew their rights as privileged *national* communities under the heads of their respective churches residing as ambassadors in Constantinople. To such an extent did this go that the Greek patriarch served as the representative of the Greeks who demanded in the Turkish parliament about to be chosen a representation proportional to the number of Greeks recognised as Ottoman subjects. The Young Turk leaders were induced to concede this dangerous principle in the first election, and repented later on the stimulus this policy gave to nationalism in the empire. They had formally recognised the existence of veritable *imperia in imperio*

The Young Turks, however, soon made up their minds to embark on a disastrous policy of the Turcification of all the subjects of the empire. Their thesis was a simple one, namely, that they could not risk or tolerate the extension of the principle of local autonomy as advocated with considerable

power of argument by Prince Sabaheddin, a nephew of Sultan Abdul Hamid. They knew too well by past experience that in the logic of things local autonomy inevitably would lead to separation. They apparently believed whole-heartedly in this policy of Turcification — the welding together of all the diverse elements under a *Moslem* and *Turkish* Sultan. There is no doubt, however, concerning the ineptitude and stupidity of the Young Turks in their clumsy attempt to carry out this fatal policy. The Christian elements were immediately alarmed and became violently disaffected towards the new *régime*, particularly with respect to the obligation requiring them to perform military service, while the Moslems in remote districts, notably in the Yemen, Hauran, and in Albania, were driven actually to revolt. The Young Turks were compelled to send considerable bodies of troops and to maintain them at great expense in these disaffected districts. The most glaring instance of this ineptitude was in Albania, right in the powder magazine of the Balkan and European complications.

ALBANIA

Under Abdul Hamid, the Albanians, together with the Kurds, had become the spoiled children of the empire. Enjoying almost complete autonomy, the Albanians had become loyal, personal adherents of Abdul Hamid — they actually furnished his main body-guard at Yildiz — and the most valiant defenders of the empire. To affront the Albanian, a simple, fierce, independent mountaineer, by a threat of Turcification, was an act of the utmost folly. When, therefore, the Young Turks attempted to collect taxes and to impose Turkish schools throughout Albania in defiance of the Albanian demands for their own schools, the result was inevitably an explosion. Troops were sent into Albania in 1908, 1909, 1910; and in 1911 Shevket Torgout Pasha resorted to the most savage of Turkish methods in his futile attempt to repress the Mirdites and the Malissores. The Sultan was forced to accord a general amnesty to the Albanians and to accept their main demands. Poor old Mahommed Fifth went in June, 1911, to the famous battlefield of Kossovo in a pathetic attempt to win over the assembled Albanians. By no such theatrical measures could the Young Turks regain the confidence of these sturdy lovers of freedom. Worse still, the excesses in Albania had stirred up afresh the spirit of unrest and revolt throughout Macedonia.

THE INDEPENDENCE OF BULGARIA

The proclamation of the Turkish Constitution was followed on October 5, 1908, by the declaration of Bulgarian independence; on October 6 by the annexation of Bosnia-Herzegovina by Austria; on October 7 by the action of Montenegro in asserting its freedom from the restraints of the Treaty of Berlin; and the Cretan Assembly on October 8 proclaimed the union of Crete with Greece. The first two events particularly incensed the Young Turks, who resented not so much the *faits accomplis* as the inconsiderate manner in which Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary acted at a most critical time for the new *régime* in Turkey. The Moslem reactionaries, who (as appeared later at the time of the counter-revolution of April, 1909) were in no way a negligible factor, seized upon these events to taunt the Young Turks with the further loss of territories of the empire. As a matter of fact the action of Austria-Hungary awoke such bitter resentment in Turkey that there was a popular boycott of all products coming from that country with the humiliating result that the proud empire of the Habsburgs was driven

to conciliate the Young Turks by the payment of some twelve million dollars as *soi-disant* compensation for public property of Turkey in the province of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The precipitate and inconsiderate manner in which Bulgaria, with the evident approval and collusion of Austria, proclaimed her independence, very nearly provoked war with Turkey. Feeling ran high in both countries: and armies were mobilised on the frontier. Bulgaria was better prepared than Turkey, but was induced by the friendly mediation of Russia to come to a direct understanding with the Sublime Porte. A treaty was signed April 19, 1909, whereby Turkey recognised the independence of Bulgaria in consideration for the payment by the latter of certain claims. Russia in this transaction undertook to make good the difference between the amount offered by Bulgaria and the amount demanded by Turkey for the surrender of Turkey's sovereign rights, by cancelling a portion of the debt due from Turkey to Russia for the war indemnity of 1878.

TURKISH POLITICS

The internal political situation of Turkey after 1908 is of intense interest in itself, but it is impossible here to do more than indicate the principal tendencies. The Young Turks, first of all, were faced with the unpleasant fact that owing to their inexperience in administration they were necessarily compelled to fall back on the services of men who had received their training under Abdul Hamid. Some of these officials were men of genuine liberal tendencies, notably Nazim Pasha, but their methods savoured of the old *régime*.

The Young Turks through the Committee of Union and Progress, having its headquarters in Salonika, where the Revolution really originated, endeavoured to supervise the administration of the empire through these Elder Statesmen with results that were far from satisfactory. The Revolution was bound, naturally, to antagonise the reactionary element, notably among the Moslem clergy. Nor were the Young Turks any too discreet in their behaviour. Some, after years of residence abroad, seemed to enjoy flaunting their liberalism respecting religion and morals in a manner calculated needlessly to irritate the pious Moslems. Then there was the problem of Abdul Hamid himself. Nobody should have expected that blood-stained monarch either could accept liberal ideas or would play the game fairly. The counter-revolution which for a few days in April, 1909, placed the Capital in the hands of the reactionaries may not have been deliberately fomented by Abdul Hamid, but it is certain he did nothing to prevent it. When the Young Turks under Mahmoud Shevket Pasha regained control and deposed Abdul Hamid, they did not seem to know how to profit by their previous mistakes. They made peace with the militant Moslem element to be sure, but they gradually abandoned their original principles of religious tolerance and liberalism. They placed the Constitution under the protection of the *Sheri*, the sacred law of the Moslems, and later on altered it fundamentally to increase the autocratic power of the Sultan at the expense of Parliament. They became Nationalists of a narrow-minded Turanian type and more ardent Pan-Islamists than Abdul Hamid himself. The result was that the army again revolted in July, 1912, in protest against this illiberal tendency; but such opposition, whether it bore the name of the earlier opposition of the Liberal party, or the Liberal *Entente* or, as this military faction called itself, "Saviours of the Nation," had little to give it direction or force excepting a vague feeling of rancour and a spirit of vengeance. There were no great leaders with administrative experience to carry on the Government,



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Mustapha Kemal Pasha, under whose leadership the Turks defeated the Greeks, broke the Treaty of Sèvres and set up a new Government at Angora.



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Enver Pasha, the son of a bridge-keeper and leader of the Young Turks, made himself master of the Ottoman Empire in 1913. When Turkey collapsed in 1918, Enver fled to Germany and then to Russia.



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Ismet Pasha, Minister for Foreign Affairs in



Philip M. Brown, for several years in U. S.

and consequently in January, 1913, during the Balkan War, the Young Turks came fully back into power, this time without the aid of the Elder Statesmen, and under the leadership of such men as Enver Pasha, Talaat Pasha and Djemal Pasha, who did not hesitate openly to employ all that was odious in the methods of the old *régime,* including terrorism, assassination and massacre. They had already suffered severely in prestige at the time of the dreadful massacre of Armenians in Cilicia in April, 1909, which originated on the return to power of the reactionaries, but which most clearly was not effectively prevented by the Young Turks.

ATTITUDE OF THE GREAT POWERS

The outbreak of the Revolution in 1908 evidently took the Great Powers by surprise, and it was not easy for them to adjust themselves to so complete an alteration of the *status quo* in the Near East. Austria-Hungary, as has been already indicated, proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia–Herzegovina either from fear that the Young Turks might admit into Parliament deputies from that province or from the desire to embarrass them in their plans to reform and reinvigorate the Ottoman Empire. Incidentally, it should be remembered that Serbia and Montenegro nearly went to war with Austria-Hungary over this definite inclusion of the Yugoslavs of Bosnia-Herzegovina within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and that the action of Austria-Hungary also precipitated a most threatening European crisis that presaged in a sinister way the fearful crisis of August, 1914.

GREAT BRITAIN

Great Britain in the person of its newly arrived ambassador, Sir Gerald Lowther, seemed so coldly critical of the Young Turks in the first few weeks of the Revolution as to be virtually hostile. This impression was unfortunately strengthened by the apparent sympathy of Great Britain with Abdul Hamid at the time of the counter-revolution in April, 1909. Furthermore, when the Young Turks in their grave financial need sought a loan, they received a rebuff in both London and Paris. This, of course, might well have been due to the desperate financial straits of the empire before the Young Turks came into power, but the result certainly was to drive them back into the arms of Germany, which was all too willing to extend financial aid.

GERMANY

The partnership between Emperor William and Sultan Abdul Hamid had been so intimate that the Young Turks had only disgust and hatred for the Germans. Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, the German Ambassador, was forced patiently to bear behind the closed blinds of the embassy the jeers of the crowd celebrating the Revolution, knowing that they had come from serenading most enthusiastically the British and French Ambassadors. It was not long, however, before he had the satisfaction of welcoming the Young Turk leaders back into the old partnership of Wilhelmstrasse and the Sublime Porte. Young Enver Bey was pleased to go to Potsdam to complete his military education and to imbibe the political counsels of his Prussian mentors.

FRANCE

Though favoured with the enthusiastic admiration of many Young Turks, who had lived in exile in Paris, France did not seem any too friendly to the new *régime*. It, too, like Great Britain, was more critical than sympathetic; as evinced especially in the matter of loans, though later on in 1914 this policy was changed considerably when Turkey was prepared to grant sweeping concessions for the construction of harbours and railways. The attitude of France in the first months of the Revolution could hardly be said to have been friendly: it was rather one of "watchful waiting."

RUSSIA

Weakened by her war with Japan and suffering an immense loss of prestige in the Balkans and the Near East, Russia at first assumed an apparently friendly attitude towards the Young Turks, partly, it may be fairly assumed, because of her satisfaction in seeing Germany ousted from its favoured position in Turkey. But by 1913 and 1914 there was no doubt that Russia could follow no other policy than hostility to the Power that controlled Constantinople and the Straits. Furthermore, Russia again took up the cause of the Armenians most vigorously, and in 1914 had forced the Turks to agree to introduce definite reforms under foreign supervision in that part of Asia Minor adjoining the Caucasus which had long been recognised as the special sphere of influence of Russia.

ITALY

Italy reacted to the Revolution of 1908 by revealing marked solicitude concerning Albania, and Tripoli in Africa, and in the realisation that a reinvigorated, reformed Turkey would delay, if not effectually prevent, the partition of the empire. Italian projects for the "pacific penetration" of Tripoli were pressed with increased vigour. The attempts of the Young Turks to strengthen their administrative hold over this distant surviving remnant of the African possessions of Turkey were viewed with concern. Diplomatic controversies arose concerning Italian enterprises and interests in Tripoli, with the inevitable result that war ensued September 27, 1911. Nothing that the Young Turks could do, even under the leadership of the Grand Vizier Hakki Pasha, who had been ambassador in Rome and was friendly to Italy, could avert this blow. The war, if so it can be dignified was characterised chiefly by Arab uprisings under the able leadership of the fanatical Senussi, the most powerful sect of the Moslem Church, and of Enver Bey, who again achieved fresh laurels by his patriotic services in a lost cause. In order to bring more immediate pressure on Turkey, Italy seized the island of Rhodes and the other Turkish islands of the Aegean known as the Dodecanese, and also resorted to the unpleasant measure of blockading the Dardanelles. This blockade, it should be observed, which held up all shipping for weeks at an immense financial loss, served to demonstrate most vividly to Russia the imperious necessity of controlling the Straits. There was nothing for the Turks to do except sign a Treaty of Peace with Italy on October 18, 1912, at Ouchy, acknowledging the loss of Tripoli and embodying a promise on the part of Italy to hand back the Turkish islands when Turkey had completely complied with all the conditions of this treaty. Needless to say, the islands are still Italian.

THE FIRST BALKAN WAR

The stupid acts of repression in Albania and Macedonia by the Young Turks, and the utter helplessness of Turkey at the hands of Italy, seemed to justify the Balkan States in joining together in a formidable attempt once and for all to settle the Macedonia question. In spite of frantic attempts at the eleventh hour by the Great Powers to ward off the conflict, war was declared on October 8, 1912, when the tiniest of the Balkan States, Montenegro, took the lead, to be followed in quick succession by Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia, in a manner constituting a deliberate affront to the prestige of the Powers. How this extraordinary league of antagonistic elements was brought about, need not be recounted here. The military combination was overwhelming, and swift victories having far-reaching and most unexpected effects were achieved. The Bulgarian army defeated the Turks first at Kirk Kilisseh, and then delivered a crushing blow at Lüle Burgas, which compelled the Turks to withdraw in utter rout behind the Tchataldja lines defending Constantinople, though holding on desperately to Adrianople. Serbia smashed the Turks at Kumanovo, and Greece walked into Salonika without resistance a few days ahead of the Bulgarian troops. The Montenegrins laid siege to the great fortress of Scutari, while the Greeks shut up another Turkish force in the city of Yanina. The Serbs marched to Durazzo for the express purpose of obtaining an outlet on the Adriatic, but were peremptorily warned by Austria and by Italy that they would not be permitted to remain there. The Great Powers attempted to meet the new conditions and keep peace in the Adriatic by setting up Albania as an independent state.

THE SECOND BALKAN WAR

With the causes of the Second Balkan War, when Serbia and Greece, with the support of Rumania, fell out with Bulgaria, we need have no concern except to note in passing that the division of such vast and unexpected spoils could not but lead to serious disagreements and even to hostilities, particularly in view of the fact that Serbia had been foiled in her ambition to reach the sea. What concerns us most is how this unfortunate conflict affected the fortunes of the Turks.

THE LONDON CONFERENCE

When the Great Powers in the face of the amazing military collapse of the Turks were unable to "localise the conflict," as they originally insisted, they sought the first favourable opportunity to offer mediation. The Turks were glad enough to accept, and the conference of all the interested parties following an armistice on December 3, 1912, was held in London, to find if possible some solution of the problem. The Turks were naturally reluctant to make great concessions so long as Adrianople, Scutari and Yanina were able to hold out. The Concert of the Powers recommended the surrender of Adrianople to the Balkan Allies and the handing over of the Turkish islands of the Aegean to the Concert which should decide concerning their ultimate disposition. The acceptance of this recommendation by the Ministry of Kiamil Pasha with the approval of a "Grand Council" on January 22, 1913, precipitated a *coup d'état* the following day by Enver, Talaat and Djemal Beys, the leaders of the Committee of Union and Progress. Nazim Pasha,

the Minister of War, was assassinated, and Mahmoud Shevket Pasha, the greatest asset of the Young Turks, who himself was later to be assassinated, became Grand Vizier. Then followed the foolish and futile attempt of the Turks under Enver to drive the Bulgarians back from the Tchataldja lines; the fall of the three fortresses of Adrianople, Scutari and Yanina; and the reluctant agreement of the Young Turks to accept the terms of the Treaty of London signed on May 30, 1913. This treaty assigned to Turkey the Enos-Midia frontier, leaving to the Turks Constantinople and the control of the Straits.

In the meantime, the Balkan League had been disrupted over the question of the division of the territory captured from Turkey. On June 29, Bulgaria assumed the odium of being the aggressor, but was immediately placed in a hopeless position by the powerful combination of Serbia, Greece and Rumania. Adrianople was abandoned, and after the Treaty of Bucharest with the other Balkan States, Bulgaria was constrained to sign a separate treaty with Turkey in September, 1913. The prestige of the Committee of Union and Progress, and of Enver Pasha in particular, was considerably enhanced by this turn of events, though the loss of 54,000 square miles of territory in Europe and of more than four million subjects, and of the islands of Mytilene, Samos, Chios and other islands of the Aegean — not to mention the definite cession of Crete to Greece — was a heavy blow for the Young Turks.

THE WORLD WAR

At the time of the outbreak of the World War the Turks had become firmly convinced of certain fundamental facts: first, that Russia because of her predominant interest in the control of Constantinople would always be a potential enemy as evidenced concretely by her aggressive attitude in 1913–1914 concerning reforms in Armenia which was generally claimed as a Russian sphere of influence; second, that Great Britain by reason of her understanding with Russia, could never be regarded as a true friend of Turkey; third, that France because of her alliance with Russia, was bound to be against Turkey in any dispute or war with that country; and fourth, that it was obviously to the interest of Germany to support Turkey against the Triple *Entente*. The treaty of alliance between Turkey and Germany, signed secretly on August 2, 1914, was [illegible] conclusion. But the active participation of Turkey in the great conflict was not quite so inevitable. In fact, decided opposition developed in the Turkish Cabinet headed by the Grand Vizier himself, Saïd Halim Pasha, against declaring war on the Triple *Entente*. It was believed that Djemal Pasha, one of the triumvirate ruling Turkey, was also of this way of thinking. Enver Pasha and Talaat Pasha were unable to convince their colleagues of the wisdom of this warlike policy. The country was patently in no condition after the Italian and Balkan wars to undertake a fresh war. In fact, the whole empire was in a state of disorganisation with many disaffected elements. It was also believed by most of the Young Turks that the wisest policy would be the ancient policy of the East, namely, to barter with both sides: with the *Entente* for the neutrality of Turkey, and with Germany for the most advantageous conditions attainable in case the Turks should declare war on the *Entente*. This latter game went on for several months with no mean success, the *Entente* making various promises to respect the independence and integrity of Turkey and to agree in principle to the eventual suppression of the Capitulations, while Germany was compelled to agree to finance and provision the Turks, as well as to the suppre[illegible]ion of the Capit[illegible]

THE "GOEBEN" AND THE "BRESLAU"

The hand of Turkey was not forced by diplomacy but by the action of the German warships "Goeben" and "Breslau," which had found asylum within the Dardanelles from the pursuing British fleet on August 11, 1914. The presence of this powerful argument in the Bosporus nullified all attempts of the ambassadors of the *Entente* and of the Turkish Cabinet to keep Turkey out of the war. The fiction that these vessels had entered the service of the Turkish navy as compensation for and to offset the loss of the Turkish warships building in Great Britain, which had been requisitioned by that Power; and that the German personnel adorned with Turkish fezzes would be replaced by Ottoman crews, deceived nobody. But even then, war came only when Enver Pasha and the German Ambassador, Baron Wangenheim, on their own responsibility, gave the order for the "Goeben" and the "Breslau" to make the fatal raid of October 29, on Odessa, for the purpose of creating an actual state of war. Though the Turkish Cabinet seemed still unwilling to admit the brutal logic of the preposterous situation, Great Britain and France were compelled to declare war on November 6, and Russia on November 11.

MILITARY EVENTS—THE CAUCASUS CAMPAIGN

The principal campaigns of the war were in the Caucasus, the Dardanelles, Mesopotamia, and Palestine. The Caucasus campaign was undertaken largely on the insistence of Enver Pasha, who hoped in his naïve vanity to find there a chance to play a Napoleonic rôle. Deaf to wise counsels, even in his German advisers, Enver, in December, 1914, threw into Asia Minor large forces badly needed on other fronts, and engaged in a terrific campaign that was doomed to failure from the start. The Russian armies poured into Turkey as far as Van and Bitlis, inducing an uprising of the Armenian population that was to prove the tragic ruin of their race. The Turks lost the famous fortress of Erzerum in February, 1916, and the seaport of Trebizond in April, 1916. Anatolia lay open to the armies of the Tsar. Thousands of Turkish soldiers were mercilessly sacrificed through hunger, cold and disease, as well as in actual fighting, in order to satisfy the folly of Enver Pasha. This situation was only relieved by the Bolshevist Revolution of 1917 and the Peace of Brest-Litovsk in March, 1918, which surrendered to Turkey the Russian provinces of Kars and Ardahan which had been lost in 1878. This naturally served to encourage the Turks and improve the damaged prestige of Enver Pasha, but nothing could ever make good the terrible loss of men and resources expended in the disastrous Caucasus campaign.

THE DARDANELLES

In February and March, 1915, the British and French naval forces made the attempt to force the Dardanelles. The Turks were reduced to four rounds of ammunition and were prepared to give up the fight. The forcing of the Dardanelles would undoubtedly have had a decisive influence on the fortunes of the war. The Bulgarians in all probability would never have entered on the side of the Central Powers and Turkey. The Allied Powers had made great sacrifices without countervailing results either in a political or military sense. The repulse by the Turks of the subsequent heroic efforts [illegible]

ing troops on Gallipoli Peninsula again stiffened the courage and confidence of the Turks and had wide repercussions throughout the whole world of Islam.

MESOPOTAMIA

In the weeks of futile negotiations with the Turks after the arrival of the "Goeben" and the "Breslau," the Indian Government had prepared an expeditionary force for use in Mesopotamia which began operations the day after Great Britain declared war. For political reasons connected mainly with the failure of the Gallipoli campaign, General Townshend was encouraged to make an attempt to capture Bagdad in December, 1915, with the disastrous results of the withdrawal to Kut, and surrender on April 29, 1916. This again served to strengthen the *morale* of the Turks and to impress the Moslems in India and elsewhere. The subsequent campaign of General Maude, however, who captured Bagdad and most of Mesopotamia, did much to restore British prestige in that part of the world.

PALESTINE

The Turkish attack on Egypt was bravely attempted and inadequately executed on the urgent insistence of Germany, for the double purpose of closing the Suez Canal, so essential to British communications, and of compelling Great Britain to maintain there a considerable force that might be needed elsewhere. It was naturally hoped and believed that the Arabs of Egypt would embarrass the British and facilitate the task of the "liberating" Turkish army. The attack on the Suez Canal by a relatively small force in April and in August, 1916, was easily warded off; but the British were compelled to keep a formidable army in Egypt. The campaign of General Murray across the burning sands of the desert to the gates of Gaza was stubbornly fought under most adverse conditions but without decisive results. The arrival of General Allenby as General in Command in June, 1917, completely changed the situation. The British assumed a vigorous and skilful offensive which broke through the Turkish lines at Gaza and Beersheba in November, 1917, and by swift, hard blows compelled the Turks to withdraw to a line back of Jaffa and Jerusalem. The Holy City was formally entered by General Allenby on December 11. Then followed months of desultory fighting during the great German offensive in France that greatly depleted the army in Palestine of a large proportion of the British troops and compelled Allenby to rely largely on the Moslem troops from India. After elaborate preparations, however, Allenby was able to renew the offensive in September, 1918, and to give the exhausted, disease-ridden, disaffected soldiers of the Turkish army the knock-out blow that virtually ended the war so far as Turkey was concerned. The British army swept on without serious resistance, aided by the Arab forces of King Hussein, and his son, Feisal, through Damascus, Beirut and Aleppo, into Cilicia.

POLITICAL EVENTS — HOLY WAR

The principal political events in Turkey during the war were the proclamation of the Holy War, the revolt of the Arabs, and the practical extermination of the Armenians. The proclamation of the Holy War on November 23, 1914, was evidently inspired by Berlin for the purpose of arousing the Moslems in Russia, India, Persia, Afghanistan, Egypt, Tripoli and other

countries to fight against Great Britain, France and Italy. The German and Austro-Hungarian consuls in Jerusalem actually marched in uniform at the head of a Moslem procession behind the green banner of the Prophet in celebration of the declaration of the Holy War! The effect was almost nil. Nobody was deceived by the clumsy manoeuvre, certainly not the Moslems of India, who loyally aided Great Britain in the conquest of Jerusalem. By most Moslems it was regarded as an unworthy trick.

THE REVOLT OF THE ARABS

Reference has already been made to the revolts of the Arabs in the Hauran and the Yemen in protest against the policy of the Young Turks in seeking to Ottomanise all of the various racial elements of the empire, and in their disregard for legitimate claims to local self-government. Nothing was seriously attempted to placate the Arabs whose assistance was greatly needed, particularly in the campaigns in Mesopotamia and Palestine. Djemal Pasha was sent early in the war to Syria, but his brutal methods only increased the resentment of the Arabs. Great Britain had known how to fan the flame of disaffection with the result that Hussein, Sherif of Mecca, proclaimed his independence of Turkey on June 5, 1916, and took the title of King of the Hedjaz in December of the same year. Generously subsidised by British gold, and equipped with British arms he became the ally of the *Entente* Powers. His son, Feisal, a man of distinction, played an important rôle in spreading this revolution throughout the Arab tribes east of the Jordan.

THE ARMENIANS

No people have had greater reason to ask to be saved from their friends than the Armenians. Nothing could have been more disastrous than the officious support of their cause by the European Powers at the Congress of Berlin. Abdul Hamid decided that the Armenians should be made to realise that the promises contained in the Treaty of Berlin were of slight value and that they could not count on effective support for their nationalistic aspirations. The massacres of 1895 and 1896 which took place throughout the empire, even in Constantinople itself, amply proved this lamentable fact. In like manner the intervention of Russia in 1913–1914 in behalf of the introduction of reforms in Armenia, under the supervision of Norwegian and Dutch inspectors, resulted only in increasing the fury of the Young Turks, who, with the free hand they enjoyed during the World War, determined to reduce the Armenian race to a negligible quantity. The immediate pretext was military necessity, as alleged in the case of the Greeks, who had been deported from the littoral of the Aegean and the Marmora during the Balkan War, and at the beginning of the World War. In 1915, after the Russian invasion of Armenia, the Young Turks proceeded deliberately and ruthlessly to remove the Armenian population *en masse*, under the plea that they were traitors to the empire. Talaat Pasha, the Minister of the Interior, and member of the famous, or rather infamous, triumvirate, together with Enver Pasha and Djemal Pasha, undertook this odious responsibility. Over a million Armenians were driven into the desert, or gathered into concentration camps, to die by massacre, exhaustion, famine, disease and criminal neglect. The story is too horrible to permit of exaggeration. Though Turkish officials by a plea of confession and avoidance have endeavoured to extenuate this crime, the essential facts have been conclusively established.

The German Government was accused of having actively instigated the policy of Turcification by the process of the wholesale elimination of Christian minorities. This cannot be proved; but it is certain that in the face of this appalling tragedy, the German Government did nothing. Its attitude would clearly appear to have been one of callous indifference, as German eyewitnesses of these terrible events have not hesitated to affirm. Nor were the troubles of the Armenians still remaining in the province of Cilicia after the Armistice ended upon the arrival of the French army with Armenian volunteers. The withdrawal of the French troops in accordance with the special accord with the Nationalists of October 20, 1921, abandoned many Armenians to the Turks. Nor did the *Entente* Allies at Paris accomplish anything in behalf of these afflicted people, who of all oppressed nationalities, were entitled to special consideration. Informal suggestions were made, it is true, during the progress of the Peace Conference, that the United States should undertake a mandate over the Armenians, but when this proposition was formally made by the Conference of San Remo in April, 1920, it involved an ill-defined district in Asia Minor, surrounded by Bolshevists, Kurds and Turks. This derisive mandate was one which the United States with all its intense and practical sympathy for the Armenians could hardly be expected to entertain. The unpleasant fact must be faced that the protestations of the European Powers in behalf of the Armenians have resulted only in rendering the lot of this sorely afflicted race intolerable.

THE ARMISTICE OF MUDROS

The overwhelming rout of the bulk of the Turkish fighting forces in Palestine and Syria, in September, 1918, coupled with the collapse and surrender of the Bulgarian army, shutting off all possibility of German support, compelled Turkey to sue for peace. General Townshend, who had been detained as a distinguished prisoner of war after his surrender at Kut, was deputed by the Sultan to negotiate the armistice signed on the island of Mudros on October 30, 1918. This was a complete and ignominious surrender. The naval forces of the *Entente* Allies, including Greece, proceeded immediately to Constantinople, while military forces were placed in control of the Dardanelles and the Bosporus as well as at other strategic points, including Batum on the Black Sea. So complete was the exhaustion and the prostration of Turkey at that moment that it would have been possible to have imposed almost any kind of a treaty of peace. The rivalries and dissensions that immediately re-appeared between the European Powers, however, made this progressively difficult. Such a situation, as had happened many times before with the Eastern Question, was bound to inure to the benefit of the Turks, as was shown in their great triumph at Lausanne.

PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

No sooner were the *Entente* Allies entrenched on the Bosporus, than it became evident that loyal coöperation in behalf of peace in the Near East and the welfare of the afflicted peoples of Turkey would be practically impossible. The French suspected the British of the ulterior purpose of establishing a new Gibraltar in the Straits, while the Italians fretted over their inferior status in the councils of the Allies. The secret agreement of 1915, disclosed by the Bolshevists, concerning the division of Turkish territory, indicated only too clearly the irreconcilable ambitions of the European Powers. Both Great Britain and France were glad of the opportunity

afforded by the temporary withdrawal from the Peace Conference of the Italian delegates in protest against President Wilson's stand concerning Fiume, to rush Greek troops into Smyrna to forestall similar action by the Italians who had been promised that port with its valuable *hinterland*.

THE GREEKS AND THE NATIONALISTS

This encouragement of the imperialistic ambitions of Greece over a large portion of Asia Minor proved to be a tragic mistake. Nothing could have outraged the Turks more, or acted as a greater stimulus to their low *morale*, than the presence of Greek troops in Anatolia. Though resigned to the loss of immense territory in Mesopotamia, Syria, Palestine and Arabia, and prepared to submit to great humiliations at the hands of the victorious *Entente* Allies, they could not submit to this humiliation at the hands of the Greeks. The landing of the Greek troops in Smyrna in May, 1919, was accompanied by acts of outrage, involving many innocent people, both Greeks and Turks, the responsibility for which was clearly not all on the side of the Turkish authorities.

From this moment, the Turks were resolved to make a stand. Mustapha Kemal, the Turkish officer who had distinguished himself during the Young Turk Revolution of 1908, in the Italian War of 1911, and later on in the defence of Gallipoli, had succeeded in July, 1919, in escaping from the surveillance of the Allies in Constantinople. He proceeded to arouse the whole of Anatolia in a patriotic resistance, known as the Nationalist Movement, that was to prove so portentous for Turkey and for Europe. He gathered together many of the Turkish leaders at Erzerum towards the end of July, and at Sivas on September 13, when the famous National Pact was drawn up defining the basic principles of Turkish independence and sovereignty. This Pact was ratified on January 28, 1920, under the very guns of the warships of the Allied Powers by the Chamber of Deputies in Constantinople. On April 24, the Turkish Great National Assembly met at Angora, and set up a Government which eventually was to supplant the Government of the Sultan in Constantinople.

In the meantime, the Allied Powers, preoccupied with other problems, and unable to reconcile conflicting interests in the Near East, had been compelled to delay the making of peace with the Sultan's Government maintained in Constantinople by the sufferance of the Nationalists. The task of the *Entente* Allies was also rendered increasingly difficult by the intense agitation going on throughout the Moslem world, notably in India, in behalf of the maintenance of the Caliphate in Constantinople, and in protest against any peace terms which might be considered as unduly harsh. It was not until June 10, 1920, that the Allies presented to the Turkish delegates the terms of peace contained in the Treaty of Sèvres. These terms reduced the Ottoman Empire from an area of 613,500 square miles and a population of about 20,000,000 in 1914, to an area of 175,000 square miles, and a population of about 8,000,000. Turkish possessions in Europe were reduced practically to Constantinople itself, with a small *hinterland* for defensive purposes. A strip of territory along the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora and the Bosporus was to be administered by an international commission in order to insure freedom of navigation, in peace and war. The Greeks were permitted to exercise control over the European side of the Dardanelles in the name of the commission, while the Turks were allowed the control of the Asiatic side. Smyrna with a considerable *hinterland* was to be handed over to the administration of Greece subject to a provision that at the end of five years Turkish sovereignty might cease over this territory

if its definite incorporation in Greece should be approved by the Council of the League of Nations which had the right to call for a plebiscite on the subject. Armenia was to be constituted a separate state, its exact boundaries to be determined through the good offices of the President of the United States. Turkey was not to be permitted to maintain a navy or aerial fleet, while its army was reduced practically to the basis of a constabulary force. The *régime* of the Capitulations exempting foreigners from Turkish jurisdiction which had been abolished by the Turks in their notification of September 8, 1914, to the Powers, was revived. Turkey was saddled with the obligation of paying a heavy reparation and with other financial and economic burdens which would have kept the country indefinitely in bondage. At the same time Great Britain, France and Italy signed a separate agreement providing for the protection of their special interests in Turkey and in particular for the recognition of Italian and French "spheres of influence."

The Treaty of Sèvres was approved by a "Grand Council" of Turkish notables, assented to by the Sultan, and formally signed on August 10, 1920. A slight concession was granted at the last moment in allowing Turkey to have a representative on the International Commission of the Straits.

It had become quite evident by this time that no treaty could be executed without the approval of the Nationalists in Angora. After a vain attempt by the Sultan's Government to establish an accord with the Nationalists, Mustapha Kemal had already proclaimed on January 30, 1920, that the Angora Government was the only responsible government representing the people of Turkey, an assertion which proved to be an incontrovertible fact. The Nationalists, therefore, in their loyalty to the principles of the National Pact, announced that they would never consent to the imposition of the Treaty of Sèvres.

THE WAR IN ASIA MINOR

Owing to the military collapse of the Turks in 1918, the Nationalists were unable to organise effectively to resist the Greek forces when they landed in Smyrna in May, 1919. Intoxicated with dreams of empire, including even the possession of Constantinople, and encouraged by the fact that the Nationalists were incapable of serious resistance, the Greeks moved on triumphantly into Anatolia. By the end of July, 1920, they were in control of a line reaching approximately from Brusa to Ushak on the Menderes River, with the Italians in occupancy of that portion of Asia Minor on their right flank. Adrianople was occupied on July 25. British naval forces had also landed with the Greek forces at Rodosto in Thrace, and at Panderma and Ghemlik, in Asia Minor. The cause of the Nationalists was gloomy indeed, though they were preparing a formidable resistance on their native heath, the high plateau of Anatolia. In their desperate need they turned to the Bolshevists, and in order to establish a common frontier with Russia undertook military operations under Kiazim Kara Bekir Pasha against the Armenian Republic of Erivan. The old Turkish fortress of Kars, which had been lost to the Russians in 1878, was captured on November 2, 1920, and a treaty was signed with the Armenians following an ultimatum on December 4 from Moscow forbidding further invasion of the republic.

In January, 1921, the Greeks suffered a serious check in an advance in the direction of In Önü, near the important railway junction of Eski-Shehir. The *Entente* Allies thereupon offered their mediation and brought about a conference in London on February 21, 1921, when representatives of the governments of Athens, Constantinople and Angora were present. Signifi-

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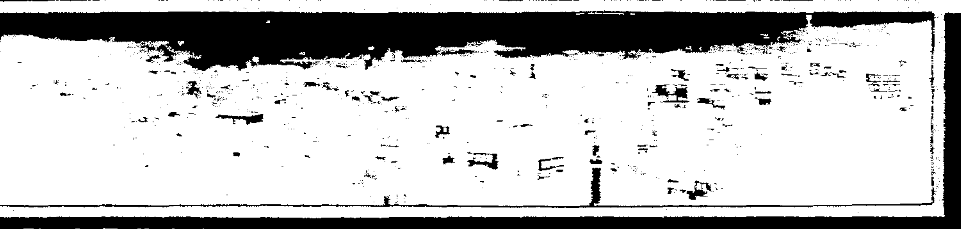


Photo by H. Charles Woods

Above: some of the five thousand destitute children who marched several hundred miles from the Near East Orphanage in Harpoot on their way out of nationalist Turkey to safety in Syria. Below: panoramic view of Angora, where Mustapha Kemal established the headquarters of the new Turkish Government.

cantly enough the Turkish case was left in the hands of Bekir Samy Bey, the chief representative of the Nationalists. The Allied statesmen proposed that an international commission should ascertain the facts concerning the populations in the areas of Smyrna and of Eastern Thrace, which had been assigned to Greece by the Treaty of Sèvres, and determine the question of their allocation. The Turks were willing to accept this proposition, but the Greeks were unyielding. The Allies therefore made another proposition on March 12, involving various concessions to the Turks but providing for that discredited diplomatic fiction of an "autonomous" district of Smyrna under Turkish sovereignty but under a Christian governor appointed by the League of Nations. This was unacceptable to the Turks. Both countries had become convinced, apparently, of the serious divergence of aims and views between the Allies, and each counted on effective support, the Greeks on the English, and the Turks on the French and Italian, not to mention the Bolshevists. Fighting, therefore, was resumed on March 23, 1921, accompanied by organised atrocities on both sides. Four months later, on June 21, 1921, the Allied statesmen again intervened, placing upon Greece "the responsibility for the consequences of a renewed struggle."

Still confident of victory, the Greeks refused mediation, renewed a vigorous offensive against the Nationalists, and captured Afiun Karahissar, Kutahia, and Eski-Shehir during the month of July. With Angora as their objective, the Greeks pressed on across the Sakkaria River and the Gök Su, but were compelled by the counter-attacks of the Turks to withdraw, on September 16, to the old line covering Eski-Shehir where they were held in stalemate for another year until the final disaster compelled them to abandon Asia Minor. In the meantime the Nationalists had been greatly encouraged and strengthened by various separate agreements with France, Italy, Russia and other countries. The French position in Cilicia had become so precarious, requiring the presence of troops needed in Syria and elsewhere, that they were glad on March 9, 1921, during the Conference in London, to enter into an agreement with the Nationalists in London which was definitely embodied in the Angora Treaty of October 20, 1921, signed by M. Henry Franklin-Bouillon. France surrendered Cilicia and the territory through which ran the route of the Bagdad railroad, excepting the loop down into Aleppo, and received various economic concessions. Italy, likewise, was glad to come to a separate understanding with the Nationalists on March 12, 1921, whereby she agreed to withdraw her forces from Anatolia, and received the promise of the coal-mines of Heraclea. Italy also agreed to support effectively certain of the demands of the Nationalists, notably for absolute sovereignty and for the return of the province of Thrace in Europe and of the city of Smyrna in Asia Minor.

The effect of these agreements was, first of all, to relieve the Nationalists in a military sense, by freeing the troops that had been fighting the French in Cilicia, and by the withdrawal of the Italian troops in the districts of Aïdin, Konia, and Afiun Karahissar, to leave the right wing of the Greek army "up in the air." Furthermore, the Nationalists in some mysterious way seemed to find fresh supplies of arms and ammunition. These were undoubtedly supplied in part by the Bolshevists who signed a treaty with the Nationalists on March 16, 1921, at Moscow, affirming the right of self-determination. The Nationalists also signed a treaty of alliance with Afghanistan on March 1, 1921, and another on October 13, 1921, with the Soviet Republics of Armenia, Azerbaïjan and Georgia, called the Treaty of Kars. The former was designed to create difficulties for Great Britain, and the latter to settle outstanding difficulties, notably, the delimitation of frontiers in the Caucasus. A similar treaty to that of Kars was signed with

Ukrainia on January 2, 1922. All of these agreements unquestionably increased the prestige of the Nationalists.

In view of the prolonged military stalemate in Asia Minor, the Allied statesmen in a conference at Paris made another attempt on March 26, 1922, to bring about an armistice on the basis of the evacuation of Asia Minor by the Greeks. This was a hard proposition which the Greeks felt unable to accept, while the Turks insisted that evacuation should precede any armistice.

The unsatisfactory internal condition of Greece under King Constantine, who had returned to power in 1920, rendered a prolongation of the war highly undesirable. Greece thought to precipitate the active intervention of the Powers, particularly Great Britain, by a threat against Constantinople with troops sent over to Thrace. This was not tolerated by the Powers, and the only result was to weaken the Greek army in Asia Minor. The Nationalists were not slow to take advantage of the situation, realising that the *morale* of the Greek army had been seriously undermined. About the end of August, 1922, Mustapha Kemal struck a terrific blow against the strategic railway junction of Afiun Karahissar, and sent the Greek army reeling in utter defeat to the coast. Smyrna fell on September 8 to become the scene of fresh horrors of fire and of the deportation of many Christian refugees who could not be embarked for Greece and other places of safety.

THE MUDANIA ARMISTICE

The swift onward sweep of the Nationalists left the Dardanelles and Constantinople exposed to immediate attack and occupancy unless the Allies could agree on a common plan of action. Great Britain took the lead in rushing troops and ships and in calling for help to maintain the freedom of the Straits. France and Italy, apprehensive of an open state of war with the Kemalists, responded by the withdrawal of their forces. The small body of British troops landed at Chanak Kalessi were in imminent danger of conflict with the Nationalist soldiers who were with difficulty held in leash by Mustapha Kemal. The brunt of the critical situation fell on the shoulders of one man, General Sir Charles Harington, the British High Commissioner in Constantinople. His coolness, fine tact and sound judgment saved the day.

On September 23, 1922, the Angora Government was invited by the Allies to negotiate a Treaty of Peace on the following basis: (1) that Eastern Thrace should be restored to the Turks; (2) that the Allied Powers withdraw from Constantinople upon the ratification of the treaty; (3) that the freedom of the Straits be assured; (4) that religious and racial minorities should be protected; (5) that Turkey should be admitted to the League of Nations; (6) that neutral zones should be established during the negotiations; and (7) that the Nationalists would not send troops into Thrace until after the complete withdrawal of the Greek forces effected under the supervision of the Allies. The Nationalists agreed to meet military representatives of Great Britain, France, Italy and Greece at the little town of Mudania on October 1, where after exceedingly difficult and perilous negotiations carried on with consummate skill by Gener[illegible] [illegible]efinite agreement was signed on October 12, along the lines [illegible] Allies in their note of September 23. The Greeks, naturally, [illegible] ffix their signature to this convention. Their military si[illegible], [illegible], was so desperate that nothing was left for them to do except to follow the advice of that veteran statesman Venizelos, who was no longer in power, that they should accept the inevitable.

The Turks, four years after the ignominious armistice of Mudros of October 30, 1918, emerged triumphant in the armistice of Mudania.

On November 1, 1922, the Angora Assembly adopted a resolution proclaiming the definite termination of the government of the Sultan as from March 16, 1920, the date when the Allied Powers had virtually assumed the administration of Constantinople, and announcing the right of the Assembly to elect a Caliph as religious head of the house of Islam. A new "National Turkish State" was called into being, and the exercise of sovereignty entrusted to the "Grand National Assembly of Turkey." On November 5, Rafet Pasha, who had been designated by the Angora Government as Governor of Thrace, informed the Allied High Commissioners in Constantinople that the government of the Sultan had ceased to exist and that he had assumed control in the name of the Nationalists. He demanded the immediate evacuation of the city by the Allied forces, as well as other drastic concessions which the Allies, pending the negotiations for the definite treaty of peace, were unable to grant. On November 16 the National Assembly in Angora accused the ex-Sultan, Mahommed VI, of treason and ordered that he and his Cabinet Ministers be placed on trial. On November 17, the former Sultan fled on board the British dreadnought "Malaya" and escaped to Malta. On November 18, Abdul Medjid Effendi, cousin of Mahommed VI, was elected Supreme Caliph of the Moslems by the Grand National Assembly and was invested with the sacred mantle of the Prophet on November 24. Thus ended the political rôle of the house of Osman which had reigned for very nearly six centuries and a half. Thus began a new era for the dynasty as spiritual ruler over the Islamic world.

THE FIRST LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

When the Conference to negotiate the Treaty of Peace between Great Britain, France, Italy, Greece on the one side, and Turkey on the other, formally assembled at Lausanne on November 20, 1922, it was evident that the Turks were in a position of great strategic advantage. They were the only ones prepared to fight if necessary in the defence of fundamental principles. For the first time in many decades, the European Powers were unable to dictate conditions of peace to Turkey. The Nationalists, flushed with a great military victory, were inspired by an amazing revival of national spirit, based on a consciousness of fundamental rights in the National Pact—the Turkish Magna Charta. This Pact had asserted in no uncertain terms the right of self-determination recognised in the twelfth of President Wilson's Fourteen Points, and pledged Turkey to complete independence and sovereignty on an equality with all other nations. A lethargic people believing in a theocratic state, who for centuries had maintained an indifferent, if not an indulgent, attitude towards their non-Moslem subjects, had shaken off their apathy and were now insisting literally on the claim of "Turkey for the Turks." They had stripped their Caliph of all political functions. They had divorced the Moslem Church from the State, and had established a genuinely democratic government. Democratic by instinct, though respectful of leadership and authority, the Turks had dedicated themselves to the colossal task of the regeneration of their nation. A melancholy aspect of this manifestation of nationalism was the fervid conviction of the Turks that the presence of non-Moslem elements within the nation constituted a perpetual pretext for intervention by the European Powers, and that their elimination had become a necessity.

The Turkish delegates at Lausanne stood firmly and confidently on the

platform of the National Pact under the brilliant leadership of General Ismet Pasha, who had conducted the Armistice negotiations at Mudania. The *Entente* Allies, through their spokesman, Lord Curzon, endeavoured in vain to constrain the Turks to restore the discredited *régime* of the Capitulations, and to revive the economic and financial privileges of foreigners that had made them virtually independent of Turkish jurisdiction. All the old methods of an out-worn diplomacy — threats, bluster, cajolery and earnest pleadings — were unavailing against a nation imbued with the consciousness of national right and national dignity.

Substantial progress, however, was made in the various commissions and sub-commissions organised to deal with specific and technical problems, such as the freedom of the Straits, judicial, economic, financial and other problems. Protocols were drawn up on all the more important matters, which served ultimately as the basis for the final agreements reached at the second Lausanne Conference, notably the agreement concerning the freedom of the Straits. The main difficulties that arose concerned, first, the question of the submission of foreigners to the jurisdiction of Turkish courts; second, the validation of valuable concessions, granted before the outbreak of war but which had not been legally consummated (the French concession for the Samsoun-Sivas railroad, in particular); third, the ownership of the oil-field of Mosul which had been occupied by Great Britain as a part of Mesopotamia; and fourth, the protection of racial minorities in Turkey.

The last question became most acute when it was officially announced by Ismet Pasha on December 1, 1922, that the Angora Government had decreed that all Greeks in Turkey were to be expelled by December 15. The flight of frightened refugees, from the interior of Asia Minor, particularly in the Black Sea region, under most trying conditions of winter weather had already become a matter of grave concern. The prospect of evacuating a million more was nothing short of appalling. After stormy conferences and humanitarian appeals, the Nationalists agreed to mitigate these measures of expulsion, and to regulate the matter by a special convention which was finally signed with Greece on January 30, 1923. This convention provided for the wholesale exchange of populations, beginning on May 1, 1923, namely, that of the Greeks in Turkey and the Moslems in Greece, under the supervision of the League of Nations. Dr. Nansen, the explorer, was later on designated for this delicate and arduous task. The Turks agreed to except from this arrangement the Greeks residing in Constantinople, and allowed their Patriarch, who had been permitted to exercise practically sovereign powers as head of the Greek "Nation" since the conquest of Constantinople in 1453, to remain on his historic throne, though bereft of civil and administrative functions. They also agreed that all the able-bodied Greeks held in labour gangs should be allowed to leave, and that the racial minorities remaining in Turkey should receive guarantees under the supervision of the League of Nations similar to those already imposed on other nations, notably Poland and Rumania. The Greeks on their side agreed that the Moslems, some three hundred thousand in number, should be permitted to remain in Western Thrace east of the boundary originally fixed between Bulgaria and Greece by the Treaty of Bucharest in August, 1913.

An agreement on the other questions at issue, namely the judicial *régime*, the economic and financial problems, and the possession of Mosul, seemed to be impossible. The Conference therefore broke up on February 4. The United States, though never at war with Turkey, was represented at this Conference by three delegates who participated actively, but did not vote. The Turks objected at first to their presence, but later recognised that they had exerted a valuable conciliatory influence in the various negotiations.

THE SECOND LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

In refusing to sign any treaty involving the slightest sacrifice of sovereignty, the Nationalists knew that the Allied Powers on their part could not afford to permit the *modus vivendi* of the Mudania Armistice to drag on indefinitely. The prolonged occupation of Constantinople by the Allied forces only embittered relations with the Nationalists, while it also accentuated the distrust and ill-feeling among the Allies themselves. It was a foregone conclusion, therefore, that when the Lausanne Conference was resumed on April 23, 1923, the *Entente* Allies would be compelled to accept the logic of the situation, and make terms with the best grace possible on the basis of the Turkish contentions. The diplomatic situation among the Powers during this interim had become somewhat complicated, however, by the action of the Nationalists on April 11, 1923, in awarding to the Ottoman-American Development Company a stupendous concession for building railways, developing natural resources, and carrying out extensive engineering projects in Anatolia. A convention to this effect was signed on April 30 at Angora by the Turkish Minister of Public Works and K. E. Clayton-Kennedy and Arthur T. Chester, representing the American syndicate.

After three months of trying negotiations a Treaty of Peace was drawn up that yielded the demands of the Nationalists in all essential respects. No indemnity was imposed on Turkey, though an agreement was reached concerning the payment of its foreign obligations acknowledged prior to October 30, 1914, through the agency of the Ottoman Public Debt Administration, including a proportional distribution of these obligations among the countries that had received portions of the Ottoman Empire by the peace settlements of the Balkan War of 1912 and the World War. It was agreed that Great Britain and Turkey should endeavour by separate negotiations to determine the ownership of Mosul and its oil-fields, or in the event of a disagreement, to have recourse to the Council of the League of Nations.

A special convention was drawn up to provide guarantees for the freedom of the Straits under a commission composed of four members appointed by the Governments of France, Great Britain, Italy and Turkey. All vessels of every kind were to be permitted to traverse the Straits either in peace or war, with certain limitations, including the provision that the maximum naval force any Power might introduce into the Black Sea should not exceed the maximum force of any of the Powers bordering on that sea, and that in any event the Powers reserved the right to send a force not exceeding three ships, of which no one should have a carrying capacity of more than 10,000 tons. The zone of the Straits including the Dardanelles, the Sea of Marmora, and the Bosporus, was to be completely demilitarised with the exception of a force of 12,000 soldiers which Turkey might maintain for the defence of Constantinople, as well as an arsenal and naval base. In the event of Turkey becoming engaged in war it was agreed that the Straits might be closed to vessels other than those of neutrals. The islands of Imbros and Tenedos commanding the entrance to the Dardanelles were restored to Turkey under the condition that they should be demilitarised and their inhabitants granted special privileges.

The racial minorities in Turkey were granted similar guarantees under the auspices of the League of Nations as had been granted in Poland, Rumania and other European countries.

No provision was made for either an independent or an autonomous Armenia. Turkey agreed, however, that the non-Moslems should be permitted

to regulate questions of personal status and family relations according to their own usages and customs.

The Treaty formally declared that the *régime* of the Capitulations was definitely abolished and that foreigners were subject to the jurisdiction of Turkish courts with the exceptions that they might regulate questions of personal status through their own national courts outside of Turkey, and that private settlements in civil cases would be recognised by Turkish authorities. Turkey agreed also to employ foreign legal advisers in the Ministry of Justice.

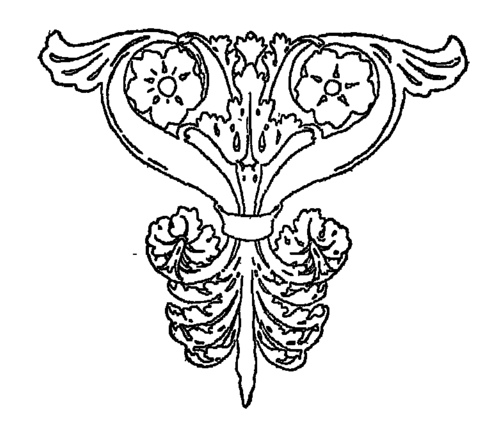
Other provisions included arrangements for the withdrawal of foreign troops on the ratification of the Treaty and various details of a technical nature too complicated to be summarised. The Treaty with many accompanying Conventions on special subjects, and unilateral "Declarations" and "Letters" on the part of the Nationalists, was formally signed on July 24, 1923. The Soviet Government in Moscow, whose official "observer" M. Vorovsky had been assassinated on May 10, informed the Conference that it would adhere to the Convention concerning the Straits.

Immediately following the Conference the United States and Turkey signed a separate treaty of amity and commerce on August 6, along the lines of the general treaty. A treaty of extradition was also signed on the same day.

The military occupation of Constantinople by the *Entente* Allies was brought to an end on October 2, 1923, upon the formal ratification of the Treaty of Lausanne. The evacuation of the troops and the withdrawal of the warships was speedily effected and the Nationalists once more regained full control over their ancient capital. The Greek authorities had already handed over on September 16 the town of Karaghatch, the southwestern suburb of Adrianople on the main railway line connecting Constantinople with Europe. On October 29 a republic was formally proclaimed with Angora as the capital and Mustapha Kemal as its first President. The Nationalists had already drawn up a temporary constitution in the "Law of Fundamental Organisation" adopted by the Grand National Assembly on April 23, 1920. The political system of Turkey under this Law has been of the simplest kind of representative democracy, all executive and legislative power being centred in the Grand National Assembly, as also the judiciary which cannot in fact exist independently of the Legislature and the Executive. The selection of Angora as the capital of the Turkish Republic was made imperative by the fact that Constantinople, under the *régime* of the freedom of the Straits making the Bosporus a great international highway for all vessels both of war and of commerce, had become entirely unsuitable as a national capital. It was essential that the young republic should carry on its solemn labours for national regeneration in the heart of Turkish Anatolia far removed from the unwholesome political atmosphere of Constantinople. In fact, a thoughtful Turkish patriot may well question whether the possession of that superbly beautiful city has not been a curse. Angora may greatly lack in physical charms but may excel in its vision of national ideals and of the moral regeneration of the fragment that remains of the great Ottoman Empire.

If we return to the hilltop back of Candilli and join with our old-fashioned pious Turkish friend in the contemplation of the amazing events the Bosporus has witnessed since 1900, we find much that challenges to earnest reflection. However we may attempt to explain the causes of these events, our conclusions can hardly fail to be of a melancholy nature. It would seem all too clearly demonstrated that European civilisation in its contact with Near-Eastern civilisation has been put severely to the test and been found

wanting. The Powers of Europe, in their pursuit of imperialistic ends, had been blind to the needs and the rights of the peoples of the Near East. They had even stooped to use these peoples as pawns in the larger game of Balance of Power. Furthermore, they had infected this welter of races with the virus of nationalism without setting a high standard of ideals or of international political methods. Nationalism thus became a terrifying disintegrating force in the Near East, and when it aroused the Turks out of their lethargy took the form of a narrow, bigoted chauvinism that led to the Turcification of their country by the deportation and extermination of the non-Turkish elements of the population. Western and Near Eastern civilisations after a long process of mutual adjustments and accommodation have now arrived at a state of open and bitter antagonism. A dramatic struggle is going on, while distrust and hatred rule in the Near East. "Somehow, good may be the final goal" of all this ill, but the pious old Moslem beside the Bosporus may well shake his head and throw himself on the mercy of Allah.



CHAPTER XLI

THE TRUE GREATNESS OF THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

By GEORG BRANDES, LL.D.

"Leading Critic of the North of Europe" (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Author of *Main Streams in the Literature of the Nineteenth Century*; etc.

THE Scandinavian countries are of very nominal political significance, partly because they do not form a unity, and partly because their population is small. These countries are really far more interesting because of their achievements in science and art, in agriculture and industry, than for their so-called history, the external politics, the inner struggles between Norway and Sweden, between Denmark and Iceland, and the changing Ministries which are only indications of the relative strength for the moment of the political parties. Such affairs are of no interest to the rest of Europe and certainly of no interest whatever to Americans.

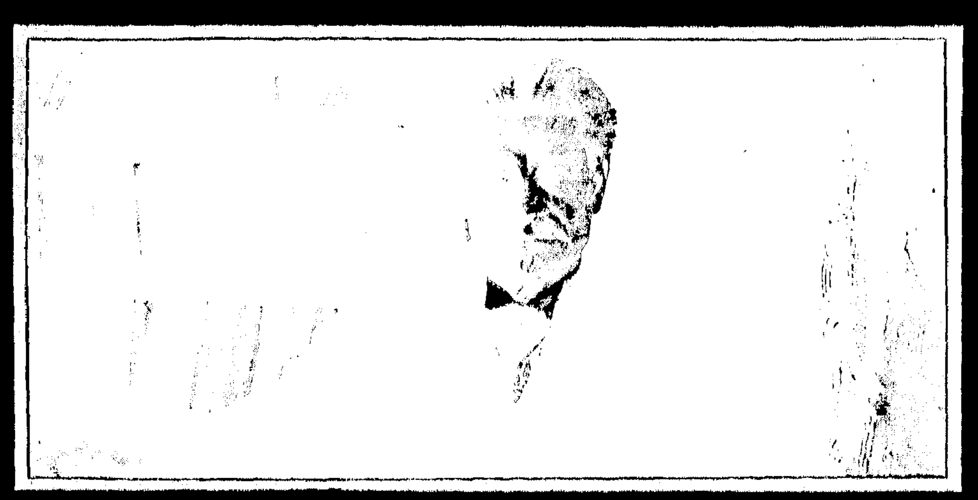
The dramatic works of Henrik Ibsen and August Strindberg, the atomic theory advanced by Niels Bohr, the language studies made by Vilhelm Thomsen and Otto Jespersen — these are the things which really prove that the people of these small Scandinavian nations have not lived in vain, but form a necessary part of the great world-community.

The changes in social and political life, which constitute what is generally called history, seem in comparison, of minor importance. A wonderful symphony produced in one of these countries, signifies more than a Ministry. A piece of sculpture which is truly great, means more than an extension of the privilege of suffrage, when one is considering the people of another country or another hemisphere.

I. INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT

Sweden is, among the three northern kingdoms, essentially the industrial country, and it exports mostly manufactured articles. Sweden is a country of woods and mountains, and even in old times its mining industry was highly developed. The Swedish mountains are rich in iron; the Swedish woods not only furnish raw material for all kinds of things made of wood, but also for the manufacture of cellulose and paper. The labourers occupied in these various industries have an old and strong class consciousness.

Denmark is decidedly an agricultural country. It exports mainly agricultural and farm products. Its dairies are among the best in the world. The material life of the country is based on the exports of live cattle, pork, beef, eggs and butter, primarily to England. In the last century grain was the main agricultural product. But towards the end of 1870 the price of grain began to fall, and this continued for the rest of the century. It was therefore necessary for Danish agriculture to expand into new fields, and



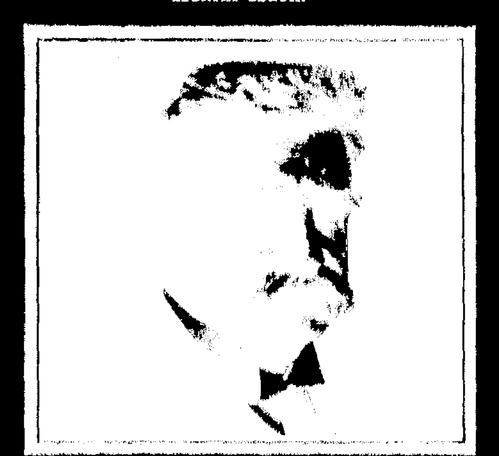
Georg Brandes.



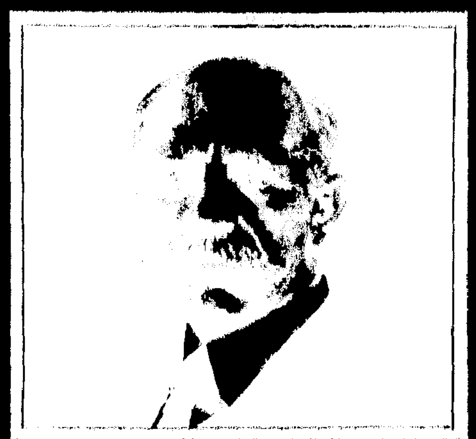
Henrik Ibsen.



August Strindberg.



Hjalmar Branting.



Fridtjof Nansen.

Scandinavian countries have produced an unusually large number of distinguished men in proportion to their population.

this was done resolutely and efficiently. Even in 1883 Denmark imported more grain than it exported, and numerous coöperative dairies were started. Grain was used for the raising of cattle and hogs and in that way transformed into butter and pork. In other words, agriculture had become industrialised.

The Danish West Indies were only an expense to the mother-country, because the growing of sugar-cane did not longer pay in competition with beet sugar. Consequently the growing of sugar beets was started in the Danish islands and proved very profitable. The islands were sold to the United States in 1917 for $25,000,000.

Another industry which has become more and more important is the brewing of beer. To the great commercial and shipping enterprises of the last century, the United Steamship Company and the Northern Telegraph Company, there has been added in the twentieth century the splendidly organised East Asiatic Company.

Norway has the largest merchant marine of the three kingdoms. The country is necessarily dependent on the sea, the fisheries and the canning industry connected with them, being among its main resources. Norway has, like Sweden, considerable exports of minerals and lumber. But the most important factor in the industrial development of Norway in the twentieth century is the increasing utilisation of its numerous waterfalls. Electrification has progressed so rapidly during the last 18 years, that in this short time an entirely new class of industrial labourers has been created, employed by the large monied corporations. As a consequence, the old Norwegian peasant class has disappeared in many places. and has been replaced by labourers, who do not belong in any one place, but move from one plant to another. The labourers of the new industrial centres, which have grown up around the electric plants, are very radical in their demands and more revolutionary than the labourers of the other countries, where the industrial development has taken place more slowly.

II. SOCIALISM IN DENMARK AND NORWAY

In Denmark the agricultural coöperative societies have gained more influence than the labour unions, due to the fact that the Danish peasants during the last half of the nineteenth century succeeded in getting possession of the land. With the independent ownership of the farms came an increased efficiency in their management. It must also be remembered that the numerous folk-highschools, which were founded by Grundtvig and his assistant, Cold, are giving the Danish farmer a general and practical education, which is superior to that of most countries. These folk-highschools are very Nationalistic in their teaching, and as a consequence the Danish farmer is quite impervious to the international revolutionary ideas, which have gained so many followers among the labourers in Norway and to some extent also in Sweden.

It is easy to organise in a small country like Denmark, where the distances are short and nearly one-fourth of the population lives in the capital city. Under such conditions moderation in politics seems a necessity. The large socialistic Labour party has in the twentieth century worked in coöperation with the Liberal party. Danish socialism is middle-class socialism. This coalition was formed primarily in order to combat the Conservative party, and was finally accomplished in 1901 after a political struggle which lasted a quarter of a century. The Conservative party, strong in the support of the old King, Christian IX, had violated the constitution by

issuing provisional financial decrees giving them the funds necessary to run the affairs of the State.

In Norway, on the contrary, the Liberals came into power in 1884 and the budding Social Democratic party had no Conservative party to attack. The Socialists naturally turned against the reigning Liberals who seemed to them reactionary. The distances in Norway are tremendous, and the fact that the capital at the time was quite small and not as in Denmark, a centre for the political and social life of the country, put another obstacle in the way of coöperation between the Socialistic and Liberal parties.

III. UNION BETWEEN NORWAY AND SWEDEN IS DISSOLVED

The year 1905 brought an event of the greatest importance to the three northern countries. Up to that time King Oscar II was King of both Norway and Sweden, but in 1905 Norway dissolved the union. This ended a struggle which had lasted almost continuously since 1814, when the European Powers, without consulting the Norwegian people, presented the country to Bernadotte, Crown Prince of Sweden. He soon discovered, however, that it was necessary to let Norway retain its independence. In reality the two countries were only united under a common King and with a common Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The Norwegians became more and more dissatisfied with the union. They refused to accept a Swedish Viceroy for Norway, and demanded the establishment of a separate Consular service. Their next claim was for a separate Minister of Foreign Affairs, and they upheld Norway's right to conduct its own foreign policy.

These claims were refused by the King, and public opinion in both countries became so agitated that for a time it looked like war, and Norway started to build fortifications along the Swedish border-line. Fortunately common sense and diplomacy gained the upper hand on both sides. A treaty was drawn up at Karlstad, dissolving the union between the two countries. The fortifications along the border were dismantled, and it was decided to submit future disagreements to the Hague Court.

In order to strengthen the position of Norway, which from a military point of view was very weak, the Norwegians elected for king a Danish prince married to a daughter of King Edward VII of England. Denmark, having twice been forced into war with Germany, is, [illegible], quite dependent upon its neighbour to the south, and has [illegible] fixed in that direction. On the other hand, Norway has always looked towards England. It was therefore true to historical tradition, when the Norwegians in 1905 secured an English princess for Queen.

IV. THE THREE COUNTRIES AND THE WORLD WAR

As in most countries, the struggle between the classes has, in Scandinavia, to a great extent, been one for higher wages. This is especially so in [illegible] ght has been more violent than in the two others, because [illegible] arty had as its leader a man of international renown, [illegible]. But the main point at issue between the different classes [illegible] has in the Scandinavian countries been the question of militarism. The Conservative party is, in all three countries, the chief patriotic party and consequently the upholder of militarism. In Denmark this party, during 20 years, wasted some hundred million kroner on the

quite useless fortifications of Copenhagen, and violated the constitution in order to make it possible.

When the World War started, the situation facing the three countries was quite different. Denmark, adjoining Germany and with its islands within a few hours reach of the German navy stationed at Kiel, was forced to declare its neutrality, regardless of its sympathies. Norway, strongly in sympathy with England, could gain nothing by going into the war, and also without delay declared its neutrality. In Sweden conditions were different. Sweden's old enemy, Russia, was fighting on the side of the Allied Powers. King Gustaf V had succeeded to the throne in 1907. He was, as are all kings, strongly influenced by his military surroundings, and he hoped, like all kings, to save his country by strengthening the national armaments. Since 1911 his Ministry, with Mr. Karl Staaff as Prime Minister, had been decidedly Liberal, and had, supported by the Labour party, succeeded in decreasing the military appropriations. Shortly before the outbreak of the World War, in the beginning of 1914, King Gustaf made a speech, in which he declared himself strongly in favour of the military programme advanced by the Conservative party. This caused the immediate resignation of the Liberal Minister. Public opinion in Sweden was strongly divided. Sweden like the two other Scandinavian countries officially declared its neutrality, but even at the beginning of the war, a party, called the Activists, was founded, strongly supported by the Conservatives. They wanted Sweden to enter the war on the side of the Central Powers. The Queen, German by birth, did not hesitate while visiting Germany to declare herself a German princess, and the Swedish explorer Sven Hedin championed fervently the German cause. In the Conservative Ministry there seemed to be a discord, the Prime Minister being pro-German, while the Minister of Finance, Wallenberg, declared himself in sympathy with England. In opposition to the German sympathies of the middle-classes, stood the Social-Democratic party, which under its leader, Branting, sided throughout the entire war with the Allied Powers. The Socialists of the Left were in Sweden, as in all other countries, anti-militaristic, and when it became more and more evident that the victorious nations were quite as militaristic as the two central nations, from whose militarism they claimed to save Europe, the Socialistic youth saw no reason for expressing any sympathy for the victors. Branting became Prime Minister in 1920; he undertook to make the Government of Sweden more democratic. But he had not a majority in the Riksdag and was opposed by the Government officials, so he did not accomplish very much. Being a friend of the Allied Powers, he was welcomed as a representative to the League of Nations. It is typical of his opportunism, that he remained a member of the League and still could say that he believed in it, even after it declared Upper Silesia a part of Poland, although an overwhelming majority had voted in favour of Germany.

V. THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE ÅLAND QUESTION

There are those who consider the League of Nations the seed, which some time in the future may grow into a tree, which will overshadow the earth and give it peace. But so far the League has not given many indications of life. It has no means with which to exert its authority, and it has really so far only served the interests of the large European Powers. To Sweden it was very disappointing that the League settled the question concerning the sovereignty of the Åland Islands as it did. This group of islands, which politically belonged to Finland, forms a bridge between Sweden and Finland

where the Gulf of Bothnia is most narrow. Following a plebiscite, it expressed the wish to join Sweden, because the small population of fishermen on the islands speak Swedish and consider themselves Swedes. It is evident that the Swedish element in Finland, which forms the better educated part of the population of this country, but which is in a decided minority, would be still weaker if this wish were granted. According to the programme proclaimed by the victors after the Armistice, people of every nation and every race had the right to join others of the same nationality. But the small population of the Åland Islands could hardly be considered a nation.

One might have expected that the League of Nations, where the influence of the Allied Powers is dominating, would not have very much sympathy for Finland, where during the war Bolshevistic terrorism was suppressed only by the help of German troops, and where for a long time the election of a German prince as king was seriously contemplated, while in Sweden sympathy had been about equally divided between the two sides. That the Åland Islands were given to Finland, contrary to the explicit wish of the population, was not because of any interference of heavenly righteousness, but simply because Finland unofficially made Great Britain a better offer than Sweden in regard to the security of the British control of the Baltic. The decision was rendered in 1921.

VI. THE ECONOMIC CONSEQUENCES OF THE WORLD WAR

It is obvious that the Scandinavian countries would suffer commercially to a considerable extent from the war. In spite of the blockade, which they all considered contrary to international law, they were able during the first year of the war through special agreements to maintain their export and import trade. But when the unrestricted submarine warfare started in the beginning of 1917, all imports from the Allied Powers into Denmark were discontinued, and Denmark was notified that a special agreement had to be made with the United States before commercial relations could again be started. The Danish Government hesitated to give part of the Danish commercial fleet for the use of the Allied Powers for fear of what the Germans might do. Diplomatic discussions progressed slowly, and an agreement had not been reached when Germany collapsed at the end of 1918. But as a consequence, Denmark experienced during the years 1917–1919 a serious economic setback which paralysed most of the industrial enterprises.

Norway obtained an agreement with Washington long before Denmark. Sweden which, like Norway, did not have to pay any attention to those circumstances which made the position of the Danish Government so difficult, entered comparatively early into a commercial treaty with the Western Powers, which secured its imports.

From an economic point of view, Sweden emerged from this difficult period far better off than Norway or Denmark. The exchange rates of these two countries are still far below par, while that of Sweden is normal. Some time earlier a "money union" was agreed upon between the three countries; this is now dissolved, or to be correct, there still exists a "silver money union" which has resulted in a constant smuggling of silver coins from Norway and Denmark into Sweden, where the "krone" gains about one-half in its value.

In all three countries the necessities of life were scarce and expensive, and up to 1918 the rise in prices was quite out of proportion to that of wages. During the years 1918–1920 the labourers and salaried people succeeded in getting enough of an increase so that they were if anything a little

better off than before the war. But a violent reaction soon followed and the prosperity of the middle-classes gave way to a more and more depressing poverty. People ceased to buy, and wages had to be reduced still more. That for years Russia and Germany cannot be counted on as a market for Scandinavian goods, is a serious blow to industrial enterprises. The staggering, constantly increasing taxes form another. One loses the desire to do things when one gets the benefit of only a small part of one's labour.

Recently steps have been taken towards opening commercial relations with Russia. But no great results are to be expected at the present time. The political and social misery of Germany is acutely felt in the Scandinavian countries.

VII. FINLAND AND NORTH SLESVIG

Among the countries of the north, Denmark and Finland were, before the war, the two whose independence was most severely threatened. The Finnish Constitution of 1809 was repudiated when the Russian Government conquered the first Russian Revolution. But after the second Russian Revolution in 1917, Finland declared itself an independent republic in spite of protests from the Russians. Since 1919 the independence of the Republic of Finland seems quite secure.

As a consequence of the war, which little Denmark fought single-handed against Prussia and Austria in 1864, it was crippled to such an extent that the Danish-speaking part of Slesvig with the island of Als were separated from the mother-country and made a part of the German Empire. The wound was still open after the half-century which had expired between 1864 and 1914. To Danish hearts the loss of North Slesvig was no less hard to bear than the loss of Alsace-Lorraine to the French, and their political sympathies have been influenced by it to the same degree.

The Danes realised that they could never regain what they had lost by military force. But they did not lose hope, and in 1919 their hope became reality. Germany had in its note of October 5, 1918, accepted Wilson's 14 Points and his demands for the right of self-determination for the European nations as a basis for the Treaty of Peace. On November 14, 1918, the German Minister of Foreign Affairs wrote a letter to the Danish representative in the German Reichstag in which he definitely declared that the fate of North Slesvig should be decided on the basis of self-determination. In February, 1920, the plebiscite took place and a three to one majority voted in favour of a return to Denmark. Thus, among the countries of the north, Denmark alone added to its territory and slightly increased its population. The public debt of the country was of course also increased on account of the unfavourable position of the mark.

VIII. SCIENTIFIC AND ARTISTIC ACHIEVEMENTS

When picturing the condition of the Scandinavian countries at the present time, one might enumerate high prices and unemployment, housing problems and staggering taxes, and first and last increasing poverty. But when one turns from the material to the intellectual accomplishments of the nations, it is gratifying to see how much of value has been produced in science, art and literature. The most noticeable accomplishment to the rest of the world was the founding of the Nobel Institute by Alfred Nobel in 1900. Nobel was an engineer, the inventor of dynamite and smokeless powder. He died in 1896 leaving a will which directed that the interest from his enormous fortune should be used for a yearly distribution of prizes to those who had been of

most service to humanity, through research and inventions in the domain of physics, chemistry and medicine, through literary production and through the promotion of peace.

The distribution of the scientific prizes has never been open to any criticism. The most deserving scientists have been rewarded. The distribution of the literary prize has on the contrary often seemed rather unjust. Neither Leo Tolstoy nor Henrik Ibsen came into consideration, while Sully Prudhomme and men of even lesser worth have been given prizes. The way in which the peace prize has been distributed has also sometimes caused surprise. It was given to Roosevelt, who, as the Commander of the Rough Riders, certainly was not an apostle of peace.

It is surprising to what extent the Scandinavians in recent times have contributed to the exploration of the earth. Adolf Eric Nordenskiöld, a Finn who had moved to Sweden, conquered after enormous difficulties the old problem of the North-east Passage. The Swedish explorer Sven Hedin has travelled through the central parts of Asia. The Norwegian Roald Amundsen sailed through the North-west Passage, and was the first to reach the South Pole in December, 1911. Another Norwegian, Fritjof Nansen, was in his younger years the first to cross Greenland on skis, and later he conducted a famous North Pole expedition. Greenland has been fully explored by courageous Danes, among whom Mylius Erichsen is most beloved, because he and his two best friends lost their lives from frost and hunger in such an expedition.

It is difficult to enumerate all the Scandinavians who have gained prominence in the wide field of science. Among the Danes should be mentioned Valdemar Poulsen, who invented the telegraphone, and who vastly improved Marconi's wireless telegraph and telephone systems. The Swedish Svante Arrhenius has done remarkable research work in electro-chemistry and cosmic physics. The Norwegian Vilhelm Bjerknes has made new discoveries in the field of dynamic meteorology and hydrography. The Danish Nils Bohr has studied the structure of the atoms and advanced a new cosmic atomic theory. These represent only scattered examples of what has been accomplished in a field in which the author of these lines does not claim to be a master.

In the field of philology there are several men of the first rank. In Denmark we have the scholar Vilhelm Thomsen, who understands most languages of the earth, and who gave the best proof of his superior scholarship when he deciphered the inscriptions found on a mountain-side in Orkhov in Siberia, which no one else had been able to understand. Another Danish scholar is Johann Ludvig Heiberg, who counts among his works critical studies of Archimedes and Euclid, and who not only is a master in Greek literature but fully comprehends Greek mathematics as well. He is equally familiar with Italy as with Greeece, and besides being a scientist is also a prominent author.

The most prominent Scandinavian philosopher is Harald Höffding. His works, which deal with all phases of philosophy and its history, are translated into most European languages.

With the exception of Grieg, few Scandinavian composers have gained world renown. In later years the music of the Danish Carl Nielsen is better known than that of any other.

Scandinavian sculpture is not as well known as it deserves to be. Thorvaldsen was the last sculptor of world prominence. In the new century, the art of sculpture has outgrown its academic limitations. Willumsen in Denmark, Vigeland in Norway and Karl Miller in Sweden have all, independent of each other, developed a strong originality which has had to fight considerable opposition. The three artists mentioned are the only ones

who have been given opportunity to show their ability through monumental works.

It is impossible to relate here what has been produced in the three Scandinavian countries in the field of painting. There are many artists of many different schools, yet few names are known outside the countries themselves. In the first half of the nineteenth century a fine school of painting developed in Denmark under the influence of Eckersberg. In its nationalistic originality it reminds one of the old paintings of the Netherlands. The paintings belonging to this school are small but genuine works of art. In the second half of the century French influence dominated, but the national characteristics were still prominent. Kroyer in Denmark and Zorn in Sweden painted wonderful symphonies in colour; Werenskjöld in Norway was a somewhat heavy but genuine artist, and his countryman Krogh was bold and indiscreet, but full of originality. Ernest Josephson was the forerunner in Sweden of this new unacademic type of paintings, but unfortunately sickness ended his career while he was still a young man.

In the twentieth century Munch in Norway and Willumsen in Denmark are the foremost artists. Munch has decorated the large walls in the beautiful auditorium of the University of Christiania. Willumsen has had no such opportunity to show his genius, but he has given us an artistic masterpiece in the painting showing a family gathered around the table in the brilliant light from the lamp under the ceiling. The Swedish Carl Larsson has produced fine fresco paintings, but he is most beloved as the picturer of family life, while his compatriot Bruno Liljefors has succeeded in the painting of birds to a greater extent than any other Scandinavian artist.

IX. SCANDINAVIAN AUTHORS — KNOWN AND UNKNOWN

It is, however, in the field of literature that the three Scandinavian countries have exerted their influence both in America and in Europe. But the obstacle here is that, strictly speaking, it is impossible to translate poetry. The style of a writer of prose suffers when translated, but when an attempt is made to transcribe poetical works like Ibsen's *Brand* and *Peer Gynt* into another language, all their form-characteristics are lost.

It has therefore been impossible for the greatest Danish poet, Holger Drachmann, to gain recognition in the Anglo-Saxon world. The fine and colourful poet, J. P. Jacobsen, the author of *Niels Lyhne*, who belongs to the nineteenth century because he was torn away in his early manhood, has interested people of other nationalities only on account of his psychology, not on account of his masterly style.

It happens now and then, of course, that a Scandinavian author attracts deserved attention and stirs the minds of people outside the Scandinavian world. This happens primarily when an author has a stronger individuality than most of his contemporaries. Henrik Ibsen gained international admirers from the moment he started to write modern dramas in prose, which were easily translated. He lived long enough to enjoy his fame, but fortunately, not long enough to see it diminish. The prose dramas of August Strindberg conquered the German stage language, and are now gradually being introduced elsewhere. But he did not live to see the great popularity which he has now attained outside his native land.

Different countries are susceptive to foreign art to a varying degree, Russia and America accepting it more easily than England, while France is less receptive than any of the others. Works which combine imagination with simplicity are readily received everywhere. This was the case with

the works of Hans Christian Andersen, and in our own days with the works of certain women authors, as for instance Selma Lagerlöf.

It is quite evident, and perhaps to be expected, that the books most easily accepted and understood outside the countries of origin, are those dealing in great detail with the common, everyday problems of life. No higher learning is necessary for the enjoyment of the novels of Hamsun, Johan Bojer, Johannes V. Jensen or Laurids Bruun and Andersen Nexö. Their style suffers very little by being translated, and they entertain the great masses as does a successful moving picture. They remind one of the panoramas which were fashionable years ago, in that they stir the emotions by the mass of details which they place before one.

It has always been easier for an author to succeed, if he has allied himself with some strong organisation whose spokesman he is, and which in return assists in increasing his popularity. The Danish author Johannes Jörgensen is backed by the Roman Catholic Church as was Henryk Sienkiewicz in Poland. In the same way as Andersen Nexö has the support of the organised proletariat whose cause he champions. It also aids an author to success if he, as Johannes V. Jensen, advances new racial theories, which have not yet been proved, because that is being extremely modern, or if he, as Johan Bojer in Norway and Anred Larsen in Denmark, makes an attempt to satisfy the urge for a "new religion," a religion without dogmas, appealing to the emotions.

It is natural that readers of the English-speaking world are particularly interested in the most easily accessible works in Scandinavian literature. An author like Hamsun gains an audience partly because he reminds one of something one already knows, as does Dostoievsky, or has a type of humour related to the well-known American humour, and partly because he, like Zola in *Fertilité*, heralds the message of productiveness.

The finer and more subtle poets, like Sophus Michaelis or Sven Lange, only gain recognition outside Scandinavia when they write dramas, the problems of which are less refined than what is concealed in their best works. The only drama of Sophus Michaelis, which has been produced outside the Scandinavian countries, is *A Revolutionary Wedding;* and of Sven Lange, *Samson and Dalila.* That such supreme, technically flawless poems as those Michaelis has written, can only be read in the mother-tongue is self evident.

X. THE SUPREME THREE AMONG PRESENT-DAY SCANDINAVIAN AUTHORS

The best authors, those whom the connoisseurs value highest, and whose souls have depths not easily explored, are as a rule not known outside the Scandinavian countries at all. Of this class is Hans E. Kinck, who is the most widely cultured of the Norwegian writers. He is quite as prominent as an historian and ethnologist as he is as an author. No Scandinavian writer knows Italy, its language, its history and its characteristics as well as he. His literary interpretation is so original that he must be studied to be understood, but his descriptions and travel stories are quite simple. He is very speculative — a characteristic not common to Norwegian authors — even when he is only relating travel adventures as in *Fall Nights in Spain.* And he has written about Machiavelli as has no other Scandinavian.

Otto Rung in Denmark is another author of the same type. Many of his books are far too deep for ordinary people to understand; a few of his novels, as *The Bird of Paradise,* and some of his dramas, as *Florian,* have been a great success. But his books are most highly valued by the connoisseurs. The book *Sinners and Rogues,* for instance, bears witness of a superior culture and

a keen sense of humour, formed on a well-sustained knowledge of human beings. A book like *The White Yacht* has a delicate poetic flavour, as of early youth, while the book *The Procession of the Shadows* is a work of art both in its characterisations and its composition.

Only readers of Anatole France can fully appreciate the Swedish author Hjalmar Söderberg, and his subtle facetious way of depicting love. He possesses grace; and what is more distasteful to the masses than grace! Söderberg abhors publicity in intellectual life, the noble church element in theology, the academically correct in literature, but no less the rotten smell from the inner sewer, which so often is mixed with the perfumes of morality. He is in his writing never pathetic, and he expresses himself cautiously, accurately and with cunning. He makes one laugh and think.

The women characters in his books are splendidly drawn. In them he shows himself not only as the author of grace and *esprit,* but as the poet, the creator stirred with emotions and filled with the joy of life. His best drama is *Gertrud;* in this drama Hjalmar Söderberg has created a sublime work of art, and it is a pity that he has ever written anything but dramas. *Gertrud* is certainly one of the finest dramas ever written in the Scandinavian countries. Dumof's *Nju,* which is written around the same theme — a young woman who is hit through her lover's indiscretion — is of far lesser worth.

The social conditions, political history and scientific and artistic development of these three countries during the first decades of this century, have here been pictured with only a few strokes. No single man, and certainly not the author of these lines, has insight into all fields; but he has lived his life in the Scandinavian countries with open eyes, attentive to what was going on. He has had to omit many things worth mentioning. He has kept to the main issues.

CHAPTER XLII

THE LITTLE REPUBLIC OF THE ALPS

By Robert C. Brooks, Ph.D.

Joseph Wharton Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College.
Author of *Government and Politics of Switzerland.*

In 1901 Switzerland had enjoyed the blessings of a well-organised Federal Government for fifty-three years. During this period her territory had remained free from external aggression, the one grave menace to its integrity during the Franco-Prussian War having been happily averted. For eighty-six years the country had enjoyed independence, for with the downfall of Bonaparte in 1815 the Swiss shook off the yoke of the last of the great European Powers which at one time or another had controlled their affairs.

Once only since the Napoleonic *régime* has the country resounded to the tread of men armed for rebellion. This was in 1847 during the brief interlude of the Sonderbund — the last of the long series of Swiss civil wars — terminated in nineteen days by the military genius of General Dufour. As a consequence of this decisive overthrow of the Separatist spirit, it became possible during the following year to abandon the weak league or confederate form of government characteristic of Swiss constitutional practice for more than five hundred years, and to set up in its place a coherent federal structure, modelled to a considerable degree upon that of the United States. The Constitution of 1848, materially strengthened by the revision of 1874, remains the basic law of Switzerland to the present time.

A RECORD OF PEACE, STABILITY AND DEMOCRATIC PROGRESS

From 1901 on the general course of Swiss history, definitely set in 1848 toward peace, stability and democratic progress, was maintained without serious interruption down to the outbreak of the World War. The greatest single economic adventure since the establishment of the Federal system of government was undertaken in the years 1901–1903, during which the nation took over the four largest railway systems of the country, the St. Gothard line being added in 1909. For the five trunk lines a total of 1,065,127,000 francs was paid. This action had been decided upon at a referendum held February 20, 1898, marked by one of the largest votes ever cast on such an occasion, the "Acquisitionists" defeating the "anti-Acquisitionists" by more than two to one. Down to the outbreak of the World War federal railway operation was financially successful to a degree indicating that the loans incurred for the purchase of the lines would be repaid according to a fixed amortisation plan at the latest within sixty years. At the same time equipment and service were improved, freight and passenger rates reduced, and enlightened labour policies inaugurated. A noteworthy feature of the latter were the "high-prices-increments," by means of which salaries of employees were raised in accordance with the rise of general prices from 1899 on. In addition to these solid economic advantages of railway nation-

alisation, the Swiss derived great satisfaction from the fact that it wiped out the possibility of interference by foreign stockholders, who, prior to 1901, held a majority interest in three of the five trunk lines of the country.

An attempt to provide for a Swiss national bank with monopoly of note issue had been defeated in the popular referendum of February 28, 1897, chiefly owing to cantonal jealousy of the project. In 1906, however, a law was enacted permitting cantons and former banks of issue to take out stock in a proposed national bank to the extent of three-fifths of its total capital. The new national bank was opened on June 20, 1907, with headquarters in Bern and Zürich. From the start it has succeeded, not only financially but also in its larger purposes of providing a uniform, elastic currency and of stabilising the credit of the country. By wise and determined action it averted a threatened panic at the outbreak of the World War, and has subsequently proved invaluable both to the Government and the private financial interests of the country.

The Swiss Federal Government began its career in 1848 virtually on a free-trade basis. Revenue needs coupled with a growing protectionist sentiment have swung the republic to the opposite policy. On two occasions, in 1891 and 1903, customs acts increasing rates of duty were challenged by referendum petitions. The resultant popular votes sustained the protective principle decisively on both occasions.

IMPORTANT SOCIAL LEGISLATION

Prior to the period under consideration the Federation had enacted much progressive legislation in the industrial field, dealing thus with child labour, length of the working day, and the protection of labourers in unsanitary and dangerous trades. However, power was lacking under the Constitution to legislate upon trades-unions, industrial courts, protection of workingmen outside the factory, unemployment, strikes and lockouts. This defect was cured by the adoption, July 5, 1908, by a popular vote of more than two to one, of a sweeping amendment providing that "the Federation shall have power to establish uniform regulations in the industrial field." On this broad basis the Factory Act of June 18, 1914, which establishes markedly higher standards than the earlier law of 1877, was enacted. In 1900 an elaborate sickness and accident insurance bill was overthrown by a decisive popular vote, probably because it was too obligatory and comprehensive in its provisions, and also because it was thought to disregard the interests of the many existing sickness societies. Twelve years later another bill which avoided these errors was accepted by a referendum vote of 285,037 to 238,694. Under its provisions a highly decentralised scheme for insurance against illness was set up, the benefits of which are open not only to all Swiss citizens but also to resident foreigners. Accident insurance administration is centralised under the Swiss Accident Insurance Institution at Lucerne, being made compulsory in dangerous occupations.

Among other important instances of social legislation during the period under consideration should be mentioned the constitutional amendment adopted in 1902, permitting federal subventions to cantonal primary schools; the defeat of the "two-litre inn" amendment in 1903, which was a victory for the wets; the adoption of the anti-absinthe initiated amendment of 1908, which was a victory for the drys; and the infectious diseases amendment voted in 1913; all, of course, in the last analysis the result of the exercise of direct popular power.

The enactment of a uniform code of civil law, a legal achievement of the

a constitutional amendment of 1898, the work of drafting the proposed code was entrusted to Dr. Eugen Huber of the University of Bern, who succeeded in "molding into a practical yet scientific whole a multitude of ancient, local, contradictory, and seemingly irreconcilable customs and statutes, cantonal and federal." Passed by the Federal Assembly in 1907, the new Civil Code made so favourable a popular impression that the referendum was not invoked against it, and it went into effect January 1, 1912. A similar project is now in preparation for the codification of the criminal law of the country. In the field of administrative law an important reform was effected by the constitutional amendment of October 25, 1914, providing for the establishment of a federal administrative court.

AN EFFICIENT MILITARY SYSTEM

In 1895 a constitutional amendment designed to further centralise army control in the hands of the Federation had been voted down. Twelve years later the Swiss people were sufficiently alarmed at the European outlook to reverse their earlier decision by the acceptance of a comprehensive law reorganising the military system of the country. Under the Army Act of 1907 the period of training was somewhat lengthened and considerably higher standards were established for officers. Nevertheless, the average number of days' service required under the new system for infantrymen was only 153, divided between the recruit school of 65 days and eight repetition courses of eleven days each. Although based on the principle of universal service, the Swiss army system involved an incomparably light financial burden, amounting so far as federal expenditures were concerned to an annual *per capita* cost of $2.40 in the years immediately preceding the World War. The cost borne by the cantons amounted to about one-third additional. In 1913 it was estimated that at a moment's notice the Swiss could put 143,220 *Elite* or first-line troops into the field, among them an extremely high percentage of sharpshooters. The *Landwehr* or second line together with the armed *Landsturm* numbered about 140,000 men, and the unarmed Landsturm or territorials, all thoroughly trained, could have mustered 260,000 men additional. For purely defensive purposes no small country was more thoroughly prepared along military lines.

SWITZERLAND AND THE WORLD WAR

"With the army, mightily strengthened by the new military organisation, and with the national bank, the federal railways form the *trifolium* of institutions which since the outbreak of the war have attained dominating significance in Swiss political and economic life." (A. Welti, *Politisches Jahrbuch*, 1915, p. 655.) Immediately upon the declaration of war in 1914 a large part of the Swiss army, perhaps from 200,000 to 300,000 men, was mobilised and swiftly posted on the German, Austrian and French frontiers. With the entrance of Italy into the conflict the remaining frontier had to be guarded, and Switzerland itself became a little oasis of peace in the centre of a war-torn Europe. The military measures taken were completely successful in preventing violations of Swiss territory, the only offences of the sort occurring during the war, probably unpremeditated, being committed by aeroplanes flying over the north-western section of the country which juts out between German and French territory. While it became possible later to reduce somewhat the number of troops standing guard at the frontier, the

burden thus imposed upon both the man-power and the finances of the country was an exceedingly heavy one.

To meet the governmental exigencies imposed by the war a quick and sweeping transfer of authority from the legislative to the executive branch was affected by the passage in August, 1914, of the famous plenipotentiary resolution providing:

"the Federal Assembly confers unlimited power upon the Federal Council to take all measures necessary to the security, integrity, and neutrality of Switzerland, and to protect the credit and economic interests of the country, especially including the assurance of its food supply. For this purpose the Federal Council shall possess unlimited credit to meet expenses. It is especially authorised to conclude all necessary loans. The Federal Council shall account to the Federal Assembly at its next session with regard to its employment of the unlimited powers hereby conferred upon it."

By the Swiss Constitution itself a policy of neutrality is imposed upon the Government. To guard against any abuse by the executive of its plenipotentiary powers each of the two legislative houses created a Neutrality Commission. Between them these two commissions kept a most vigilant and untiring watch over the conduct of foreign relations during the war. The difficulty of maintaining neutrality was greatly enhanced by the fact that Switzerland was dependent upon the Central Powers for coal and iron, and upon the *Entente,* and in the last analysis, upon the United States, for its grain. Precarious to an extreme degree as was the situation, it was rendered somewhat less acute by the fact that if either of the warring combinations had decided to push its monopoly to the utmost it would have forced Switzerland to throw in its lot with the enemy.

Under these circumstances the most careful diplomacy was required to keep the country supplied with the minimum necessities of life and to avoid violations of neutrality. Only one major case of the latter sort occurred, the Grimm-Hoffmann scandal of June, 1917, which revealed the fact that Hoffmann, head of the foreign affairs of the Federal (executive) Council, had, acting wholly on his own responsibility, procured from the German Imperial Government secret terms for a possible peace with the Russian Revolutionary Government. Hoffmann resigned after issuing a statement making it clear that his executive colleagues were wholly ignorant of his activities, and Gustav Ador of Geneva, a noted leader of the French Swiss element, was chosen to fill the vacancy.

During the continuance of the World War Switzerland suffered increasingly not only because of the heavy burden imposed by mobilisation and the shortage of coal, iron and food, but also because of the interruption of its commerce and manufactures, the stoppage of the flood of foreign tourists who contribute so largely to its railway and hotel receipts, the increasing cost of maintaining the Government, the growth of unemployment and political discontent, and, finally but not least, the machinations on its soil of various agents of the belligerent Powers. The profits of a few industries due to war conditions were a small set-off to this flood of evils. At the outbreak of hostilities a considerable majority of the people sympathised with the Central Powers, as indeed might have been expected from their language, racial and economic relations. Owing to the conduct of Germany and her allies, however, Swiss sympathy swung strongly toward the *Entente* in the later stages of the war. Regardless of popular sympathies or antipathies, however, Switzerland won the approval of humanitarians the world over by her noble works of relief for non-combatants on both sides, by her boundless hospitality to disabled soldiers paroled under her care, and by the aid given in transit to repatriated citizens of France who had been torn from their homes in the occupied sections of that country.

HEAVY FINANCIAL BURDENS

The federal debt of Switzerland amounted in 1913 to 146 millions of francs. As a result of the war burdens enumerated above, it reached a total of 1,435 millions in 1918. The latter does not include the debt of the federal railways which owing to war conditions reached a total in 1918 of 1,637 millions. To meet this enormously swollen financial need resort was made partly to loans, partly to new federal taxes, the most important among the latter being the one-time war tax adopted as a Constitutional amendment by popular vote, July 6, 1915. In 1917 a stamp tax on securities was added by the same process. During the same year the Socialists brought forward by initiative an amendment giving the Federal Government the right to levy a permanent direct tax on the capital and earnings of individuals and corporations, but it was rejected at the polls, June 2, 1918. Meanwhile the Government matured a bill for a renewed federal war tax which was approved by referendum vote, May 4, 1919. These financial measures were not sufficient, however, to stem the tide of increasing deficits, with the result that the Socialist party believed the time ripe for drastic capital levy.

As the war drew to an end the perplexities of the Government were greatly enhanced by the outbreak in November, 1918, of a general strike of clearly revolutionary character. Originating in Zürich it soon spread over the entire country. Federal troops were called out to maintain order, being recruited chiefly from Romance Switzerland. This firm policy, coupled with a conciliatory attitude on the part of the Government particularly with reference to the strikers' demands for old-age pensions and invalidity insurance, gained the day, and on November 14, 1918, the general strike was unconditionally recalled. Thus the greatest internal menace since the Sonderbund was averted. Nevertheless, the issues of taxation and social legislation raised during the strike have continued to dominate the domestic politics of Switzerland to the present time. One measure of constitutional reform was accomplished peacefully during this troubled year. On October 13, 1918, the Swiss people adopted an initiated [illegible] providing for the election of the National Council (the more [illegible] of the Federal Legislature) by proportional representation. [illegible]e being 299,556 to 149,036, and the cantonal vote 19½ to 2[illegible] [illegible]ed amendments had been voted down twice before, once in [illegible] [illegible] 1910.

SWITZERLAND JOINS THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Turning for a moment to international relations Switzerland took one of the most important steps in the history of the country on May 16, 1920, when its people by referendum vote decided to enter the League of Nations. The event is peculiarly significant in that it was a democratic decision, whereas all the other nations joining the League have done so by parliamentary and executive action, that is, by purely representative means. A hard-fought campaign of education preceded the referendum vote. Party lines were more or less cut across, but the Radicals (Independent Democrats), the Liberals, the recently formed anti-bolshevist Peasants' party, the Christian Social party, and the *Grütlianer* on the whole favoured the League. The Catholic Conservatives were divided on the issue. The Socialists who had accepted bolshevist leadership and, curiously enough, a group of the higher officers of the Swiss army opposed the League. In Romance Switzerland the vote was overwhelmingly pro-League; in the German-speaking sections it stood 55 per cent against to 45 per cent for entry, the total popular vote of the

country being 415,819 in favour of joining the League to 323,225 against. Eleven and a half cantons voted favourably, ten and a half in opposition. It is estimated that a change of 94 popular votes in Appenzell-Exterior would have tied the cantonal vote and defeated the League. Nevertheless, the decision has been accepted loyally. The pride which the Swiss feel in the choice of Geneva as seat of the League has contributed to this result.

TREATIES BY POPULAR VOTE — NO SECRET DIPLOMACY

A second popular decision of great interest in the field of international relations was made January 30, 1921, when the initiated amendment on treaties was accepted by a popular vote of 388,365 to 158,668, every canton being carried except Uri and Thurgau. The proposal thus ratified goes back to the sensational disclosure made in 1909 regarding a secret transaction connected with the St. Gothard Treaty forty years earlier. Democratic diplomacy of an advanced type is provided for by the amendment, which reads:

> "Treaties with foreign powers which are concluded without limit of time or for a period of more than fifteen years shall also be submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection upon demand of 30,000 Swiss citizens qualified to vote, or of eight cantons."

In other words such treaties are henceforth subject to optional referendum upon the same terms as ordinary measures of federal legislation.

PROPOSED CAPITAL TAX LEVY OVERWHELMINGLY REJECTED

Recurring to the heated domestic issues raised in the general strike of 1918, the subsidence of the latter was followed by an energetic campaign undertaken by the Socialists in favor of a drastic capital levy. This came to a head September 13, 1921, with the filing of an initiative amendment to the constitution providing for the levy of a tax upon property holdings in excess of 80,000 francs, the rates on personal holdings rising from eight per cent upon the first 50,000 francs to 60 per cent upon amounts over 3,000,000 francs. The purpose of the tax, as stated by its proponents, was to enable the Government to meet the obligations imposed by its social policies. Opponents of the capital levy maintained that it was revolutionary in purpose, and that in practice it would ruin Swiss industry, increase unemployment, paralyse the impulse to save, drive capital out of the country and destroy its credit abroad. Under the proposed levy, out of every 1,000 Swiss citizens there would have been 994 tax-free individuals as contrasted with six opulent victims. It is difficult to conceive a more severe test of the power and intelligence of a people to legislate by means of the initiative and referendum. When after an intensive campaign the decision was rendered on December 3, 1922, it was found that the Swiss had overwhelmingly rejected the Socialist proposal by a vote of 736,652 to 109,702 and by all cantons against none.

In 1924, over five years after the Armistice, Switzerland is still suffering from the dislocations caused by the war. Many industries are at a low ebb; there is much unemployment; an extremely difficult financial problem; and large obligations of social justice. On the other hand, the little republic of the Alps may look back upon twenty-three years of fidelity to its ideals of peace and democracy, capped by a tremendous defeat administered by the people to the most demagogic tax appeal of modern times. Still flows with current strong

> "the flood
> Of Switzer freedom, which to the open sea
> Of the world's praise, from dark antiquity
> Hath flowed, with pomp of waters unwithstood."

CHAPTER XLIII

SPAIN GROPES FOR NEW OPPORTUNITIES

By Charles E. Chapman, Ph.D.

Associate Professor, University of California. Exchange Professor to Chile, 1920. Member of the Board of Editors, *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Corresponding Member Hispanic Society of America. Author of *The Founding of Spanish California; A History of Spain; A History of California; the Spanish Period.*

In 1898 Spain fought a war with the United States, as a result of which the last vestiges of her former great overseas empire were swept away. For more than a thousand years imperialism had been a keynote of Spanish history, first against the Moslem kingdoms of the peninsula, then around the shores of the western Mediterranean, and eventually across the Atlantic in America, until the empire reached its greatest extent in the sixteenth century. Three centuries of defeat and disintegration followed, until the opening of the twentieth century found nothing left beyond the peninsula, save a few comparatively unimportant posts in Africa.

THE SITUATION WHEN THE CENTURY OPENED

The earliest Spanish reactions to the new situation were mainly pessimistic, whether as to the country itself or anything Spaniards might attempt. The intellectuals, indeed, were disposed to enquire into the causes of Spain's downfall and to demand reforms. A survey of conditions at the opening of the twentieth century would have revealed a situation somewhat as follows.

Despite the habit of decrying the soil of the peninsula, Spain was potentially one of the richest countries in Europe. Careful estimates show that from 80 to 90 per cent of the land is productive, and there is adequate water-supply. Yet less than half of the land available was being utilised, and scientific methods were all too conspicuous by their absence. Agriculture was by far the most important industry, occupying the attention of nearly three-fourths of the working population. Wheat was easily the largest crop, with barley next. Spain was also a great fruit-producing country, and in the vine and the olive had commodities which were important items in her foreign trade. Nearly a third of the cultivable area was given over to stock-raising, headed by the sheep industry. There were about 20,000,000 sheep in Spanish flocks. Spain was rich in coal, iron and copper, and there was a moderate development of these resources. Manufacturing did not exist on a great scale. Foreigners controlled many of the more important corporate activities of Spanish economic life. In fine, Spain was a raw-product country, exporting her surplus to her industrial neighbours in Europe, and importing manufactured goods from them.

According to the census of 1900 Spain had a population of a little more than eighteen millions and a half. The vast agricultural element included many small proprietors, living on their own estates. Indeed, in recent years

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A Bolshevist demonstration in Barcelona in 1919. The crowd being charged by mounted police.



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Alphonso XIII of Spain, a king from the moment of his birth in 1886.



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General Miguel Primo Rivera, Marquis de Estella, who became Premier by a *coup d'état* in 1923.

there has been a noteworthy movement away from great estates and absentee landlordism, except in southern Spain. Despite the rural character of economic life, a large proportion of the people lived in urban communities. Madrid and Barcelona had populations of about a half-million each, and there were many cities of from twenty-five thousand to two hundred thousand inhabitants.

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS — NO MIDDLE CLASS

Society might have been divided into a number of widely separated categories, from the nobility at the top to the lowest element of the masses at the bottom. The nobility was numerically very great, by comparison, for example, with that of England. Members of the clergy, both secular and regular, were also numerous and on a social plane comparable to that of the nobles. Mere wealth, too, was enough to admit one to the *de facto* privileges and immunities of Spanish aristocracy. This aristocracy, though by no means an exclusive caste, was the really dominant factor and a rather self-indulgent lot, intent more on its immediate interests than on thorough-going measures of social reform.

Between the aristocracy and the masses there was a great chasm. The middle class was comparatively unimportant. The masses were in the main excellent human material, liberty-loving and democratic in spirit, but handicapped by lack of opportunity. On this account many of the more ambitious preferred to seek new homes in Argentina, Mexico, and other lands of Spanish America. Every year about 100,000, or more, of the most desirable element were emigrating from Spain. Those who remained behind existed in poverty on a wage scale excessively low. Little prospect of betterment was held out through the medium of education. As late as 1910 it was said by some authorities than 60 per cent of the Spanish people could neither read nor write (other authorities give somewhat lower figures than this), though education was by law (though not in fact) "compulsory." The attention which the masses might have given to social reform was diverted through the medium of institutions that served to corrupt them. The bull-fight was an evil. The government-owned lottery caused men to hope for sudden wealth, and made them unwilling to seek advancement through the medium of savings. Finally, the masses were not especially concerned with the improvement of their own class; what most of them wanted was rather to join the ranks of the well-to-do and prey upon the masses in their turn.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

The government of Spain was that of a limited monarchy, based on the Constitution of 1876. Alfonso XIII, born in 1886, was, and still is, the Spanish monarch. The Constitution gave over the executive power to the King and an equal share in legislation with the national Legislative Assembly, the Cortes. In practice, the parliamentary system has resembled the English pattern, with Ministries falling whenever they lost a majority, though in an emergency the King may exercise powers that the English Sovereign does not possess. The Government was largely democratic in form, as for example in the election of the Lower House of the Cortes, but there was little political democracy in fact. Elections were primarily a dispute between "bosses." Parties had a habit of alternating in power by private agreement. Each party was split up into a number of groups. Politicians acted, not in accord with definite principles, but rather as their particular leader directed. Local politics had

a very small place in Spanish affairs, as the monarchy was a centralised state. Underlying all government was an element which has periodically stepped forth as the decisive factor — the army! The army had no direct participation in politics, but exercised what has been called the "silent veto." It was unsafe to take action contrary to the wishes of the generals.

There were two principal political parties in Spain, the Conservatives and the Liberals. The latter had been founded in 1868 to accomplish certain reforms, and had had many elements in its membership, ranging from those who favoured a republic to moderate Conservatives. Having gained its immediate objectives, it had to some extent broken apart, or was held together only by a loose bond. In theory it had certain liberal tendencies with respect to ecclesiastical reform, but in fact its leadership was but little less conservative than that of the Conservatives themselves. Among the various active political groups were the Republicans, who found their principal strength in the north, notably in Galicia and Catalonia. This party was by no means revolutionary, and was permitted to elect its deputies to the Cortes.

If there was some warrant for pessimism in most phases of Spanish life there might have been cause for satisfaction over the national productivity in literature and art. In these branches of human effort Spain was already in the forefront, and later years of the twentieth century have served only to add to her reputation. Men like Palacio Valdés, Blasco Ibáñez, Benavente, Menéndez y Pelayo, Zuloaga, and Sorolla have a world-wide fame, but they are only a few out of the many.

Such was Spain at the opening of the century. So Spain still was in 1923, except for changes introduced that it is the purpose of this account to relate.

DEVELOPMENTS BEFORE THE OUTBREAK OF THE WORLD WAR

Alfonso XIII attained to his political majority and opened his first Cortes in 1902. From the very beginning he displayed liberal tendencies and personal qualities that endeared him to the people. In 1903, for example, he recommended a programme of ecclesiastical and educational reform. His marriage in 1906 with Victoria, a princess of the reigning family in England, was regarded as a victory for liberalism. On the day of the wedding, when a fruitless attempt was made to assassinate the royal pair, Alfonso showed uncommon courage. Several other times, too, he has faced similar perils and come off unscathed and with an enhanced reputation. He is even reputed to have said that if the Spanish people should wish to abolish monarchy he would be "the first to draw his sword in defence of the republic." But a Spanish king cannot keep clear of politics, and in more recent years Alfonso, still remarkably popular, has had to stand his share of abuse, especially from the more radical elements.

Down to the outbreak of the World War in 1914 there were but few diversions from the normal trend. Liberals and Conservatives alternated in power, but one rule was much like another. There were some gropings under Liberal Cabinets in the direction of ecclesiastical reform. Such, for example, was the Law of Associations, proposed in 1906. This aimed to check the influx of French clericals, following enactments of the French Government as against the Church in France. Other provisions of the Spanish law called for Government inspections of religious houses and payment of taxes by religious communities engaged in commerce and industry. But the law did not pass. This has been the outcome of every important measure of the twentieth century aimed at the power and prerogatives of the Church. By the Con-

cordat with the Pope there may be three religious orders in Spain, but in 1907 there were over a hundred, and more than three thousand religious communities.

Five factors have been among the most prominent influences of Spanish life since the war: a development of international relationships, especially an attempt to win the friendship of Spanish America; the local rights movement in different parts of Spain, but approaching separatism in Catalonia; the outbreak of radicalism, again most strikingly expressed in Catalonia; the troublesome wars in Morocco; and the intermittent tendency of the military "veto" to manifest itself in Spanish politics. In each of these, important incidents took place prior to 1914, but it is more convenient to deal with them in connection with later occurrences, first taking up Spain's relations to the World War.

DEVELOPMENTS DURING THE WORLD WAR

Throughout the war Spanish opinion was divided, but at all times leaned more strongly toward the Allies. But there were many elements in Spain which for years prior to 1914 had been, not so much pro-German, as anti-French. May 2, Spain's national holiday, stands for an uprising against the French under Napoleon. Prominent French writers have had a habit of writing patronisingly or in disparagement of Spain. There was a certain natural hostility growing out of the mere propinquity of a different people. Spain and France have been incessantly at variance over Moroccan affairs. The clergy was hostile to France because of the break in relations between the northern republic and the Church. Spain's attitude toward England could hardly be termed hostile, but Spaniards have never forgotten what they regard as the "temporary loan" of Gibraltar to England. With Germany there had been little occasion for friction. German commercial competition with England was welcomed as beneficial to Spain. The army had a professional admiration for the German military machine. And the aristocracy responded instinctively to conservative German political ideals and the clericalism of Austria.

But other factors weighed more heavily than national antipathies. The radical and liberal elements, including most of the Liberal party, respected the Liberal Government of England and, to a less extent, that of France, and disliked the more nearly autocratic type of German rule. The King gave prestige to pro-Ally views through his well-known espousal of their cause. Even pro-German elements agreed that it would be fatal for Spain to join actively as against the Allies. In like manner the pro-Ally groups were rarely inclined to proceed beyond a benevolent neutrality toward the Allies, or perhaps at most a severance of diplomatic relations with Germany.

Meanwhile, during the early years of the war Spain was enjoying a fictitious prosperity. Spanish products sold in the *Entente* countries in hitherto unheard of amounts and at phenomenally high prices. The Spanish wage-earner began to earn undreamed-of sums. Certain Spanish industries, notably the production of coal and iron and manufacturing in northern cities, developed at a rapid rate. But counter-balancing annoyances began also to make themselves felt. There was often too little fuel for industry and transportation, and the cost of living advanced by leaps and bounds. With the revival of German submarine warfare in 1917, foreign trade was hindered by the sinking of ships, including not a few under the Spanish flag. Incidentally, this caused resentment against Germany, even among those who had most ardently sustained their cause.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

In the years before the war Spain was very largely out of the current of international affairs. Spaniards themselves were pessimistic over their possibilities of success, or at any rate disinclined to engage in foreign ventures. Abroad, Spain was pursued by the "leyenda negra" (black legend), which charged Spain with all manner of iniquities in the past and thoroughgoing incompetence in the present. In recent years this has all been changed. There have been movements, especially on the part of the intellectual classes, looking to an approximation with Italy, France, Belgium, Holland, Portugal and Spanish America. Indeed, in the case of Spanish America a conscious political policy has for several years been developing with a view to cultivating the friendship of the former Spanish colonies. This is based to a great extent on a desire to expand Spanish trade, but is not altogether divorced from sentiment. Due to Spanish influence, too, many American countries now have an annual celebration of the "día de la raza" (day of the race). Tentative plans have been made several times for a visit of the King to South America; indeed, it is said that Alfonso may make such a trip in 1924. It would not be safe to say, however, that the Spanish people as a whole have very seriously concerned themselves with the international programme, and its reception in Spanish America has thus far been lukewarm.

THE AGITATION FOR HOME RULE

The local rights movement of recent years in Spain depends upon traditions that are older than the monarchy. Spain has been formed out of many once separate kingdoms, and the native individualism in Spanish character has tended to keep alive old local ideals. It is perhaps not too much to say that most Spaniards think more of their native province or town than they do of the country as a whole.

The local rights movement — as, indeed, most other Spanish problems of the twentieth century — owed much of its force, however, to a growing dissatisfaction with the existing national Government. Added to its long record of failure in the past was a present holding little promise for the future. The political situation became yet worse in the second decade of the century, when not only the old loosely bound Liberal party began to break up, but also the normally more strictly disciplined Conservative party became divided in leadership. Those who still made some pretence of adhering to the old ideals of liberalism followed the pro-Ally leader, Romanones. Many so-called "Liberals," however, especially those who attached themselves to the allegedly pro-German leader García Prieto, were really conservative. The moderate Conservatives, under Dato, could hardly be distinguished from the Liberals of García Prieto. Maura has been the principal figure of those Conservatives termed "reactionaries" by their opponents, but at least responding frankly to the traditional programme of their group. Each of the four men just named was among the many Prime Ministers of the twentieth century.

The agitation for home rule became so strong that various bills looking toward decentralisation have been introduced in the Spanish Cortes. At first these had little or no success, but more recently some victories for this principle have been won. The Catalans, in keeping with their historic traditions, have been most persistent, especially since 1916, at times going so far as to insist on independence. Early in 1919 the Catalans asked for a complete

home rule, a measure which would have satisfied Catalonian Conservatives. Catalonian Liberals came out, however, for a republic, influenced to a great extent by the ideals of "self-determination." For a time the case was serious, but eventually the whole movement broke down. The labouring classes just then were more interested in programmes of social and economic reform than in separatism. They even opposed it, on the ground that it had been favoured by the capitalists. And the Catalonian Conservatives themselves drew back before the idea of independence, which might bring upon them a Spanish boycott and thus break down the most profitable branch of their trade. And, finally, in the background was the "silent veto," for the army objected to home rule for Catalonia, let alone independence. So the Government stepped in, and by making some concessions to labour killed the movement. It did, however, give moderate self-government to Catalonia, as indeed to other parts of Spain. But regionalist feeling must still be considered a strong factor in Spanish life.

THE FERRER EPISODE

The celebrated Ferrer case of 1909 may be taken as a point of departure in the history of Spanish radicalism — and to some extent of Moroccan affairs — in the twentieth century. The Ferrer matter has been described elsewhere by the writer (*A History of Spain,* New York, 1918, pp. 515–517) as follows:

> In June, 1909, when a Conservative Government was in power, with Antonio Maura at its head, credits were voted for a campaign in Morocco against some tribesmen who had attacked a railway leading to mines in the control of Spanish capitalists. There was an immediate outbreak of hostile public opinion in Spain, which in Catalonia resulted in serious riots. The strange thing about the Catalonian manifestations, which were most pronounced in Barcelona, was that they developed into what seemed to be an organized assault, not on the Government or on capitalists, but on the Catholic Church. Churches, monasteries, convents and shrines were attacked — and nothing else. The Government soon had the situation in hand, and a number of arrests were made, followed in some cases by sentences of death or imprisonment. Public attention focused itself on the case of one Ferrer. Francisco Ferrer was born in 1859, the son of a poor Catalan farmer. As a youth he was an anarchist, pronouncing bitterly against the ideal of patriotism and against the Church. Having participated in a Catalonian rebellion of 1885, he fled to Paris, where he entered into relations with a Parisian spinster, who soon died and left him a fortune. Later, he returned to Barcelona and increased his possessions as the result of successful stock speculation. He founded a number of schools, which represented his ideas — still uncompromisingly against the Church. Ferrer was also a high official of the Freemasons and other secret societies. It is not to be wondered at, either, in view of his rebellious attitude toward society, that his regard for the marriage bond and for sexual morality was clearly not in accord with prevailing views. At the time of the Catalonian outbreak of 1909 he was charged with being one of the ringleaders. A military court-martial was held, at which he was confronted with scores of witnesses, and it would seem that the prosecution established its case. Ferrer was convicted, and on October 13, 1909, was shot. The case of Ferrer has been taken up internationally by various secret societies, but it has had a special significance in Spain. There, opinion has divided, not about Ferrer or the merits of his case, but with regard to the Conservative chieftain, Maura, whose Government was responsible for his death. Maura is taken as the personification of the existing régime. "Maura, sí!" and "Maura, no!" ("Maura, yes!" and "Maura, no!") have come to be popular watchwords, indicating whether one approves of things as they are, or whether one stands for a new and liberalized, truly democratic Spain.

The "Maura, no" in the latter half of the second decade of the century had passed from mere liberal, progressive tenets into pronounced radicalism, resembling in character the social unrest that appeared in other countries as an outgrowth of the war. In Spain, as elsewhere, there were such familiar conditions as a rise in the cost of living, advance in the wage scale, deterioration in the quality of labour, strikes, and an active and bitter campaign of the proletariat against capitalism. Matters had reached an acute stage in

1917, but did not attain to their peak until 1919 and 1920. By 1919 there were strikes and a condition bordering on anarchy in all parts of Spain, but the principal sphere of activity was in Barcelona, where syndicalism was for the time being very nearly supreme. Scores of employers in Barcelona were murdered, and nobody was punished. There was a veritable Reign of Terror. The old expedient of declaring martial law was attempted by the Government, but this time many strikers refused to answer the call to colours. The Government was obliged to make concessions to avoid civil war. Railway employees were granted an increase in wages, and a Ministry of Labour was established. As the year 1920 drew to a close the radical labour movement was losing ground. The International had failed in its attempt to control labour policies. The depression year 1921 found labour back on the old basis, somewhat subdued, but still ready for a fresh burst of radicalism if the moment should become propitious.

THE WAR IN MOROCCO

A thorough-going study of Spain's relations with Morocco would lead back several thousand years. It has often been said that "Africa begins at the Pyrenees," and the phrase is true in so far as it represents the historically close connections of Spain and northwest Africa. Tradition alone would account for Spain's interest in Morocco. Early in the twentieth century, however, there were projects afoot for economic exploitation there, and not a few Spanish politicians have dreamed of reëntry into imperial councils by way of the experiment in northwest Africa. There was war in Spanish Morocco as early as 1908 and 1909, as already mentioned. This was but a mild augury of what was to follow.

In 1912 the greater part of Morocco was placed under a French Protectorate, following the Algeciras Conference. Tangier was internationalised, though virtually under French control. A Franco-Spanish Treaty of the same year placed a small strip of territory in Morocco under Spanish protection. Though only about a twentieth the size of French Morocco, the Spanish section covered an area usually estimated at from eight to nine thousand square miles, along a two hundred mile coast, with a population of about six hundred thousand, including some of the hardest-fighting of the tribesmen of Morocco. Little more than a fraction of the district has ever been under Spanish control.

Moroccan affairs have involved Spain in diplomatic controversies with France during most of the present century. On the score of tradition France was an interloper anyway, but as one of the Great Powers her entry could not well be challenged by Spain. It is commonly stated that France took the best parts of Morocco, and acquiesced in the Spanish occupation of a relatively undesirable section in which the hardest fighting and the smallest profit were to be obtained. The anti-French element in Spain point out also that the Spanish troops had comparatively little trouble in Morocco during the years of the World War and very serious warfare since, intimating that the French may be responsible for recent uprisings. Furthermore, Spain has cast her eyes upon Tangier, and in 1919 suggested that it should be turned over to her. The French were unwilling to give up their *de facto* hold, claiming it was a necessary outlet to French Morocco. Considerable hostility to France has resulted, especially among the more conservative ranks of Spanish society.

In the main, the wars in Morocco have been tremendously unpopular in Spain. Every year there was an expenditure in lives and money without

counterbalancing advantages. Indeed, Spanish troops have so often been defeated, now and then disastrously, that the whole campaign has been looked upon as bringing disgrace. More than one Cabinet has fallen over questions concerning conduct of that war, especially in view of the deficit in the revenues which has become chronic of late. As many as from 40,000 to 120,000 troops are said to have been maintained in Morocco since 1919. These soldiers did not want to go there in the first place, and were usually eager to get away. In this feeling they have been supported by a large body of Spanish opinion. Indeed, Spanish Governments have almost lacked supporters in their Moroccan policies. Bitter criticism of the Government is almost chronic in Spain, even in the best of times. Lately, however, it has reached such a pass, not only over Moroccan affairs, but also over alleged inefficiency in dealing with separatist tendencies, radicalism, and other matters that the "silent veto" has dropped silence and spoken. The army has taken a hand.

THE RULE OF THE GENERALS

When the Spanish Constitution of 1812 struck a blow against eighteenth-century Bourbon absolutism, it pronounced for a national army which was in fact to result in a periodical rule of the generals ever since. Spanish armies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have won more victories in the field of politics than on the field of battle. Many familiar evils, such as graft, favouritism, and absence from duty, have gone to great lengths. At the close of the war with the United States there are said to have been 499 generals, 578 colonels, and more than 23,000 commissioned officers. Put in another way, where one officer would suffice for the French army of the same period, there were 36 officers in Spain. In 1906, with an effective army of 80,000 men, nearly one third were officers. At the beginning of the century 60 per cent of the national budget was being devoted to the army. Of this amount the officers received about three-fifths and the rest of the army approximately one-third, leaving less than a tenth for material and manœuvres. (Marvaud, Angel, *L'Espagne au XX^e siècle*, Paris, 1915, pp. 105–107.)

The power of the army has been exerted quite as often in behalf of liberalism as of conservatism. Indeed, no group could succeed very long without the consent of the army. Proposals for military reform have been made from time to time, but have lacked support when it came to an issue.

On occasion the generals step out into the clear, and intervene in politics. In 1905 certain Catalan newspapers contained attacks that were resented by army officials. Thereupon a group of officers in Barcelona invaded the newspaper plants, and destroyed what they could find. This would have been considered a grave breach of discipline in most countries, but not so, apparently, in Spain. The officers were not punished. Nay more, the generals carried the case still further, demanding that henceforth all attacks against the army or the country should be submitted to councils of war for decisions as to culpability, rather than to the civil courts. One Minister after another gave up office in the face of this demand. Finally, García Prieto, then Minister of Justice, suggested an increase in the penalties for such attacks, but leaving the trial with the ordinary tribunals. Thereupon, General Luque, Minister of War, threatened to resign, first requesting, however, that García Prieto should again "study the project" and bring in fresh proposals. "I shall then say whether the army is satisfied or not," General Luque added. The implication was obvious. García Prieto, unwilling to yield, could do nothing but resign.

Eventually a so-called compromise was effected by the Law of Jurisdictions. All attacks and insults against army officers were to be judged by military courts, while offences against the country or the flag were left to the civilian tribunals. The army had won its main point. Thereafter, various Governments held power, Liberal as well as Conservative, but the Law of Jurisdictions was not disturbed.

In 1917 the power of the army manifested itself in a new way. Committees of the lesser officers in the infantry issued demands for reforms. They were primarily concerned with the army, in particular opposing favouritism in military promotions. This amounted to revolution. One Cabinet fell as a result of these demands, and the new Premier, Dato, gave the officers the right to have their Juntas (Committees) of Defence. The military Juntas now broadened their programme, demanding the removal of certain generals and various political, economic and social, as well as military, reforms to overcome evils, deemed the cause of Spain's decline. Programmes calling for decentralisation, additional power of the Cortes at the expense of the King, and expansion of education were now put forward.

But the army, as usual, did not wish to take full responsibility for its programme, which would have meant an assumption of the reins of government. It preferred to keep in the background. The result was that all government was upset. Politicians could not agree on matters of reform. Cabinets faced loss of a majority in the Cortes, on the one hand, if they should attempt to initiate new policies, and the military veto on the other if they did not conform to the will of the Juntas. So instability of governments became more and more the general rule.

Except for such reforms as were introduced into the army, it cannot be said that the Juntas brought about the "profound renovation of Spanish public life" for which at one time they were supposed to stand. The Juntas themselves presently lost their position of prominence. After all, they represented to some extent a revolt against the army itself, for they not only did not depend on the generals but were even in a measure opposed to them. It remained for the generals to take the next step.

GENERAL RIVERA TAKES COMMAND

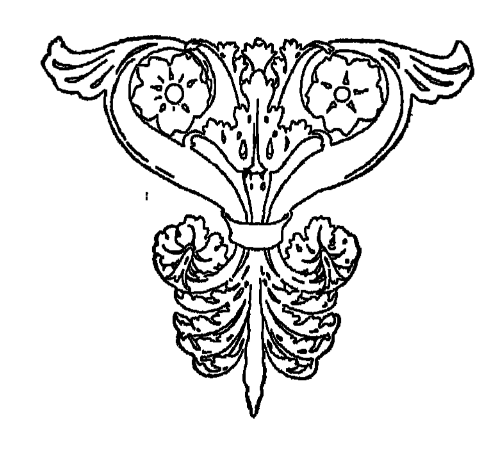
In the fall of 1923 press despatches told of a fresh revolution in Spain in the name of the army. Under the leadership of General Rivera, demands were made upon the Government which concerned themselves with the most vital national issues. It was charged that the Government had failed in dealing with such problems as radicalism, separatism, and the war in Morocco. An issue as between the Government and the army was squarely presented. The King was asked to take certain action in support of the Prime Minister. When he would not do so, the Ministry fell.

This time the army acted logically. Asked to form a Ministry, General Rivera accepted. While it would be unwise to make any predictions as to the future, the student of recent Spanish history cannot but feel that the Rivera revolution is in accord with the logic of events.

This revolution has been compared in some newspapers with the Fascisti movement in Italy under Mussolini. In so far as international aspirations are concerned, the parallel has not manifested itself. If it is true, as alleged, that Mussolini has imperialistic aims in the Balkans and the eastern Mediterranean, Rivera on the other hand is said to have pronounced for the gradual withdrawal of Spanish troops from Morocco! Thus far he seems to be concerned with a thorough house-cleaning within Spain itself. For example,

orders have been given that all Government employees, henceforth, shall go to their respective bureaus and work the number of hours the service calls for. It is said that there were many employees who had to be introduced to their chiefs. It proved, also, that many men were holding more than one full-time Government post; one instance is reported of a man who had fifteen jobs.

What fundamental changes have thus far been brought about in the twentieth century in Spanish life? It would be dangerous to assert that any very striking changes had been accomplished. Socially and politically the country is still groping. Economically, Spain's relative position is far ahead of what it was at the beginning of the century; manufacturing, in particular, has had a noteworthy development. The population has increased to about twenty-two millions. In art and literature Spain has maintained her place in the vanguard; in some other phases of intellectual life she has continued to lag behind. The most hopeful factor in the whole situation is that the Spanish people are sound and capable. They are ready for something better whenever, or if ever, the opportunity shall arise.



CHAPTER XLIV

CHAOS IN PORTUGAL

By Aubrey F. G. Bell

Author of *In Portugal; Portugal of the Portuguese.*

With a fertile soil, beautiful scenery, an ideal climate, a hard-working intelligent peasantry, an ancient alliance which provides complete security, Portugal should be one of the happiest and most prosperous countries in Europe. But fate, or the malice of men, has decreed otherwise. Perhaps it might be said that the chief event of the first years of the twentieth century in Portugal were those of 1890–1892, since their influence continued to be felt throughout the political life of the nation. The abortive Republican rising at Oporto on January 31, 1891, had echoes in the later years of Carlos I's reign. A military rising was planned for 1902 and in 1903 a mutiny was suppressed at Lisbon. The country was flooded with political claptrap, the fallacies of which nobody seemed to think it worth while to refute. The great services rendered to Portugal by the British Alliance, which had preserved her independence and her colonies, were forgotten. The talented and able but sceptical King ruled over a sceptical people and remarked that it was a monarchy without monarchists. The rhetorical invective of the poet Guerra Junqueiro (1850–1923) and the anti-British utterances of Professor Theophilo Braga (born in 1843) won over weak-minded intellectuals to the Republican cause. It must be remembered that politics had long since ceased to be national. The docile, illiterate peasants, four-fifths of the population, loyal to the Throne, had learned to vote as they were told to vote. When an intrigue at Lisbon brought into power one of the Rotativist parties (Progressista and Regenerador), the country gave the new Government a majority as a matter of course. The task before the revolutionaries was thus not to overthrow the monarchy with the support of the nation but to obtain control of the political machinery in the capital. For this the secret society of the Carbonarios was a powerful instrument, with international support from the Freemasons.

An able and sincere politician had, however, arisen in the person of Senhor João Franco, who after acting as Minister of the Interior in a Regenerador Ministry, formed an independent Regenerador-Liberal party in 1903. Much was hoped from this step as a means of breaking through the corrupt rotativism which had rendered politics artificial and divorced from the nation, and when in May, 1906, a political deadlock occurred, the King turned to the new party and offered the premiership to Franco, giving him a free hand to set the financial and political house in order. But it was too late. A generation had sprung up versed in secret conspiracy, represented in Parliament by clever and obstreperous, but narrow-minded deputies, whose aim seemed to be rather obstruction than reform. The evils which carelessness and indifference had brought upon the country were attributed exclusively and conveniently to the Braganzas, the Jesuits and the British Alliance. Much was made of the advances to the Crown from the national exchequer, al-

though no support was given Senhor Franco when he proposed to regularise the situation. Courageous and honest, he found himself enmeshed in calumny and intrigue. It proved impossible for him to govern with the Parliament after the Progressist deputies had withdrawn their support, and on May 10. 1907, Parliament was dissolved. Constitutionally the King had the power to dissolve Parliament (a power at first refused but subsequently granted to the President of the Republic) and from the point of view of the interests of the nation he was undoubtedly right to support Franco who, given a few years' peaceful tenure of office, might have brought Portugal back to a sense of reality and honest administration and saved her many years of suffering and chaos. But Franco was henceforth known as the Dictator and the people (outside Lisbon), accustomed to stand aloof from politics, could not give him any effective support. It was not his intention to govern indefinitely without Parliament, and elections were to be held early in the following year (1908).

MURDER OF THE KING

Some of the more turbulent Republican conspirators, including Senhor João Chagas and the deputies Dr. Antonio José de Almeida (born in 1866) and Dr. Afonso Costa (born in 1871), were arrested in January, and by a decree of January 31, 1908, the Government was empowered to deport political offenders. This appears to have sealed the King's fate, for it was taken for granted that the prisoners, who then enjoyed much popularity among certain classes at Lisbon, were to be sent to Africa. On the following day King Carlos with the Queen and Crown Prince returned to Lisbon from Villa Viçosa across the Tagus. The boat was met by Prince Manoel and the "Dictator" Franco. As the King and Queen with the young princes were leaving Black Horse Square in an open carriage, several men sprang forward and fired a volley into the carriage. The King and Crown Prince, Dom Philipe, were killed on the spot; Queen Amélie escaped by a miracle; Prince Manoel was wounded in the arm. Two of the assassins, Manoel Buiça and Alfredo Costa, were cut down by the police, but in subsequent years were honoured as heroes of the nation by the Republicans. The political result of this atrocious murder, for which the Republicans later accepted responsibility, was the fall of Franco, who was succeeded by a series of weak-kneed and incompetent Ministries; they seemed to take advantage of the inexperience of the eighteen-year-old sovereign, Manoel II, to adopt a policy of singular lenience and even complacency toward the Republicans, which weakened the Throne without disarming its opponents. The veteran leader of the Progressists, Senhor José Luciano de Castro, was still active behind the scenes. No less than six Cabinets were formed between February, 1908, and October, 1910.

REVOLUTION — THE REPUBLIC PROCLAIMED

The King attended King Edward VII's funeral in the spring, and was given a most loyal welcome when he visited the north of Portugal. On September 27, he was present at the centenary celebration of the battle of Bussaco. All this, showing the advantages of the monarchy externally and internally, and the advent of a slightly stronger Ministry under Senhor Teixeira de Sousa, could not fail to vex the Republicans and those who made a cult of incompetence. The murder of a Republican Deputy, Dr. Bombarda, by a lunatic on October 3, was taken as the signal for revolution at Lisbon, for which the Carbonarios had been making careful preparation, propaganda

having been active among the armed forces of the Crown, especially among the marines. Admiral Candido dos Reis, who first commanded the movement, shot himself on the night of the 3rd, and his place was taken by a leading Carbonario naval lieutenant, Machado Santos. Apathy and incompetence, rather than active disloyalty, suffered the group of revolutionaries to succeed after a bombardment by the revolted ships in the Tagus and some street fighting, the total casualties amounting to about 500, and on the morning of October 5, the republic was formally proclaimed at Lisbon. The provinces, as had been foreseen, accepted the event. King Manoel with a small escort left the Necessidades Palace on the 4th and embarked on the royal yacht at the village of Ericeira, where he was joined by Queens Maria Pia and Amélie who were at Cintra, and his uncle the Duke of Oporto. The Radical professor, Dr. Theophilo Braga, became Provisional President of the Republic and other members of the Provisional Government included two subsequent Presidents, Almeida and Machado, and the political leaders Costa and Brito Camacho. The Constitutional Assembly met in June, 1911, and on August 20 voted the Constitution of the Republic. The first constitutional President, elected for four years in August, was a man of over seventy, the moderate and kindly idealist, Dr. Manoel de Arriaga (1840–1917). The corruption of party politics during the last years of the monarchy led many to hope for better things, but Portugal had yet to learn the truth of the words spoken by the Earl of Balfour a few months before the revolution of October, to the effect that revolutions throughout history had always been due to the unscrupulous action of a few and the indifference of the many. To the consciousness of Portugal's new rulers, that they were but a small group without national support, may be attributed the asperity of their action during the next few years.

DIFFICULTIES OF THE NEW REPUBLIC

One of the chief difficulties was that of the relations between Church and State, for the republic was frankly anti-clerical, whereas the whole of the north of the country, including the most active and industrious part of the population, was devoted to its religion. In this matter the Democrat party headed by Dr. Costa refused to compromise, with the result that the north was completely alienated from the republic. Dr. Costa's law of separation between Church and State (April 20, 1911) was hailed with transports of delight by very few. The confiscation of the property of the Church and the practical prohibition of religious processions were bitterly resented, but promised revision of the law was always postponed. This increased the strength of the Royalist cause in the north, and afforded hope of success to invaders. The difficulty was to arm and equip a force on foreign territory, and the small army, barely 1,000 strong, which crossed the frontier under Captain Henrique Mitchell Paiva Couçeiro in October, 1911, and again in February, 1912, was ill-armed and was soon compelled to surrender or seek refuge in Galicia. Royalist risings in the north were suppressed without difficulty when hopes of support from the invading force faded away, and a large number of persons were arrested. The treatment of political prisoners left an indelible stain on the republic. It was not until February, 1914, that the Government passed an amnesty, which public opinion had insistently demanded, especially since the spring of the preceding year, when Adeline, Duchess of Bedford, visited the Lisbon prisons, and which affected nearly three thousand political prisoners and exiles.

Successive Governments, faced with a financial situation of growing embarrassment and with Royalist risings on the one hand and Syndicalist ris-

ings on the other, were lamentably weak and short-lived. Dr. Costa, as Premier in 1913, made an attempt to grapple with the finances, but the fact that a few days after taking office he had converted on paper a large deficit into a surplus aroused considerable distrust as to his financial methods. At the outbreak of the World War the sixth Republican Premier, Dr. Bernardino Machado, was in office. Portugal at once adhered to the Allies, and helped by furnishing arms and munitions. Troops were sent out to protect the colonies, where fighting with the Germans occurred long before war was declared on Portugal by Germany, on March 9, 1916, in consequence of the seizure of the German shipping lying in the Tagus. Portugal took up the challenge at a historic sitting of the Congress attended by the British Minister, the Hon. Sir Lancelot Carnegie. Until the beginning of 1915 the Government of the country had practically been in the hands of a single party, that of the Democrats, but a picturesque movement in the army, known as "The Movement of the Swords," had the support of public opinion, and President Arriaga entrusted General Pimenta de Castro with the formation of a Ministry on more national lines. Moderate and conciliatory, the new Government, organised in January, 1915, was in fact the first attempt to break through the political machinery set up in 1910 and 1911 by the Democrats. The answer was a bombardment of Lisbon by the Radical marines, on May 14 and 15, the casualties numbering nearly as many as in the revolution of October, 1910. As a consequence of this successful movement President Arriaga resigned on May 29. The Premier, Pimenta de Castro, was deported to the Azores. A series of Democrat Ministries followed, the longest of which was the second premiership of Dr. Costa — from November, 1916, to December, 1917 — which however ended disastrously. Dr. Braga had again occupied the position of President for a few months after the May revolution, and in August the candidate of Dr. Costa and the Democrats, Dr. Bernardino Machado (born in 1851), was elected.

STILL ANOTHER REVOLUTION

On December 5, 1917, the third serious revolution of the republic broke out at Lisbon. The soul of the movement was Major Sidonio Paes, an attractive man of great energy and strong will, who belonged to the Liberal party and had represented Portugal at Berlin till the declaration of war between Germany and Portugal. After two days' fighting the fire of the Radical men-of-war in the Tagus was silenced and the revolution successful. The arrest of the Premier, Dr. Costa, and the expulsion of President Machado followed. The Constitution now underwent drastic changes. Power was concentrated in the hands of the President (Major Sidonio Paes) after the American presidential system and Ministers were termed Secretaries of State. But the most important reforms concerned religion. The Law of Separation was modified, and relations with the Vatican were resumed. The result of this wise policy was felt long after the death of the man who inaugurated it; it strengthened the hold of the republic on the country and divided the royalists. The Nuncio, Monsignor Locatelli, who in 1923 received his Cardinal's hat from the hands of President Almeida, did not arrive in Portugal until four months after Paes' murder. The whole country had seemed to awaken from its apathy, the popularity of Major Paes became greater daily as his courage and good sense were realised, and he was chosen President by over half a million votes. The nation had, however, to learn once more that it was not expected by the politicians to take too active an interest in its own concerns, and on December 14, 1918, President Sidonio Paes fell by the

bullet of an assassin in the Rocio station at Lisbon. His death opened a period of almost unparallelled chaos in Portugal. Admiral Canto e Castro temporarily became President, but in January the monarchy was proclaimed at Oporto with Captain Paiva Couçeiro as Regent, and lasted peaceably for three weeks, being overthrown, not by the troops sent against it from Lisbon, but by a Radical plot. At Lisbon the Monarchists shelled the city from Fort Monsanto, but their attack proved unsuccessful. The excuse for these seemingly ill-timed risings was that the Democrats were rapidly regaining control of the political machinery, and in fact, in May, after the elections, they were once more securely in power, although at Lisbon severe street fighting occurred between the official police and the Carbonarios and serious communist outrages became frequent.

GOVERNMENT AND MURDER

President Canto e Castro resigned in June, 1919, and in the following August the candidate put forward by the Democrat party, Dr. Almeida, was elected to succeed him. In 1920 there were no less than eight Ministries and the resulting political and financial chaos may be more readily imagined than described. Matters showed but little improvement in 1921, for the second Premier of the year, Dr. Machado, was overthrown by a military movement in May; and the fourth, Dr. Antonio Granjo, fell in a Radical revolution in October. The leader of the new movement, Colonel Coelho, became Premier, but the cold-blooded murders of Dr. Granjo, of Admiral Machado Santos, founder of the republic, and several other prominent men on the night of October 19 militated against the successful revolution, and he held office for only a month. This list of persons marked for murder is said to have been much larger; a group of marines and Carbonarios in a motor lorry called at the houses of the proscribed, and conducted them to the Naval Arsenal, where they were despatched. It had thus become obvious that not only the end of the republic, but the end of Portugal, was within sight, and a natural reaction brought somewhat greater stability and drove revolutionary tactics underground.

A MORE STABLE GOVERNMENT AT LAST

The premiership had ceased to be an object of great ambition, but to the persistency of Dr. Antonio Maria da Silva, who became Premier in February, 1922, the republic owed its first stable government. He weathered a revolutionary movement, which, a few days after he had taken office, drove the Minister and the President of the Republic to take refuge at Cascaes, ten miles from the capital, and was followed by the siege of Lisbon. Dr. Silva resigned at the end of October, 1923, and after Dr. Afonso Costa had failed to form a Ministry and the crisis had lasted sixteen days, Dr. Ginestal Machado took office at the head of a Government formed by the new Nationalist party. The new Cabinet, however, was of only four weeks' duration and, after suppressing without bloodshed a Radical revolutionary movement which broke out on December 10, was succeeded by a Ministry under Senhor Alvaro e Castro, who at once took in hand the task of retrenchment. That the spirit of the nation was not completely dead was proved by the enthusiasm evoked by the flight of two Portuguese airmen, Admiral Gago Coutinho and Commander Sacadura Cabral, from Lisbon to Brazil in the spring of 1922, and by the scenes at the funeral of the poet, Guerra Junqueiro, in 1923.

The two principal candidates to succeed Dr. Almeida, the first President who remained in office for the full term of four years, were the expelled President, Dr. Machado, and Senhor Teixeira Gomes, Portuguese Minister in London. The latter was elected on the third ballot on August 6, 1923, for the period October, 1923, to October, 1927. It was a welcome choice because, although a Radical in politics, the new President had lived for many years abroad, far from the political intrigues of Lisbon. He had also learned to understand British ways during ten years' residence in England, and to realise the advantages of the British Alliance, and it was hoped that he would give his country a lead in throwing aside petty party strife and narrow nationalism in order that Portugal might take its rightful place among the nations. More cynical observers remarked that he was the nominee of a single party — that of the Democrats, among whom the defeated candidate, Dr. Machado, had a considerable following, and foresaw serious internal troubles in the immediate future. Nevertheless, the new President, with his powers strictly limited by the restored Constitution of the Republic, might be able to enhance Portugal's prestige abroad. Much hinged on the question of finance and on the situation in the Portuguese colonies, which had enjoyed a large measure of autonomy since 1914, and the administration of which by High Commissioners was proving expensive, a costly experiment which only success would justify. The financial situation was far from reassuring. Portuguese money at the end of 1923 showed a depreciation of 2,700 per cent as compared with 1910, and the paper currency had risen from under 80,000 contos to 1,300,000 contos. High prices had brought money into the pockets of both tradesmen and peasants, but the impoverished exchequer was totally unable to provide roads for the motor-cars of the newly rich or adequate educational facilities or improved land and sea communications. The revenue was entirely absorbed by unremunerative expenditure, by salaries of the bureaucracy and armed forces and by service of the national debt. Government had not been strong enough to tax war profits, and after the war the country became increasingly at the mercy of artificial finance and speculation. When an internal loan was at last floated (in June, 1923), it was issued on terms so disadvantageous to the State that the sum raised scarcely sufficed for current expenditures, while desperate attempts to raise revenue immediately, such as the decree of January, 1922, imposing payment of shipping dues in gold, were unwise and prejudicial to Portugal's true interests. Owing to vast national resources both at home and in the colonies, the situation was not desperate, but it had become abundantly clear that a sounder financial policy and more economical administration were essential, and that it was imperative to encourage production and give the utmost facilities to the capital and enterprise of countries made friendly to Portugal by the part she played in the war, instead of adopting panic legislation to meet present difficulties at whatever cost to the country's future. For their part the Monarchists had good reason to hope that if the expectation of improvement under the presidency of Senhor Teixeira Gomes proved illusory, his term of office would be the last. The election of January, 1922, showed that a change had come over the republican city of Lisbon, for while Dr. Costa polled fewer votes than in previous elections, the Monarchist candidate fell short of him by less than 500 and completely eclipsed the other Republican candidates. The death of the Duke of Oporto in 1920 left King Manoel without an heir to the throne, but by an agreement with the Miguelist branch of the royal family, the succession passed to Dom Duarte Nuno (born in 1907), his father, the Duke of Braganza, and elder brother, the Duke of Vizeu, having renounced their claims.

CHAPTER XLV

CZECHOSLOVAKIA: THE MAKING OF A NEW REPUBLIC

By Jacob Wittmer Hartmann, Ph.D.

Formerly Assistant Professor, The College of the City of New York.

Czechoslovakia, which has been in existence as a nation and government only since the World War, in reality dates back many centuries. Of all the Slavic tribes that penetrated into western Europe during the great migrations preceding and following the break-up of the ancient Roman Empire, only this comparatively small community (now constituting a state covering an area approximately the size of England and Wales combined or of the State of Illinois) survived with fully developed race consciousness after it had completely absorbed western civilisation. Other Slavic tribes had gone just as far west: what is now northern Prussia, for example, was largely Slavic even in the later middle ages, until the Order of Teutonic Knights rolled back the tide of Slavic advance. But while other Slavic races were either driven back or absorbed without a trace by their conquerors, the Czechs developed a written language in the midst of more highly cultured nations, practiced the arts of civilisation, and have now in addition acquired political control of their ancestral home.

The history of the migrations which brought the Czechs to their present home in what we are still in the habit of calling "Bohemia," is but little known; equally obscure is that of the movements made by the Moravians and Slovaks before they too established themselves in their present seats. All that historical science has been able to determine with a fair degree of certainty is that after their arrival in these districts, perhaps but a short time before the opening of the Christian era, they began to spread out toward the south, with the result that there still exist little enclaves of Slavic speech even in remote parts of Hungary (in the *comitats* of Esztergom, Budapest, Bars, Nograd). In the ninth century these Slavic peoples (with the exception of the scattered groups above mentioned) were welded into a single nation under the hegemony of the Czechs. Their ruling dynasty, the Premyslids, eager to encourage the economic development of their country, began settling it with German colonists early in the twelfth century; these, coming from various parts of the Holy Roman Empire, brought into Bohemia a number of arts that had previously been practiced with little success, and laid the foundation for the present condition of Czechic equality with the western nations in most of the fields commonly understood to constitute European culture.

RIVALRY BETWEEN CZECHS AND GERMANS IN BOHEMIA

Numerically these German colonists must have been very considerable, for in many localities south of the Danube they began to displace the Czecho-

Slovak population; this was in the southwest of what was formerly known as Bohemia. In the north the German colonists made even more serious advances, occupying much of the northern portion of Bohemia and Moravia, and establishing a rather close group of German cities and towns along the southern slope of the Erzgebirge and the Sudetes, from which they scattered in small groups into the interior of the country. The ebb and flow of this movement could be traced in detail, but it is sufficient here to state that it does not differ essentially from similar fluctuations in the racial frontiers that may be observed all over Europe.

But among the Czechs, as among most of the peoples of Europe, the more interesting developments of the spirit of nationalism, and the consequent desire for ruling their own homeland, came in the nineteenth century. With the great spread of literacy during that century (which rendered great masses of people all over Europe accessible to ideas which hitherto had reached but a small audience), a study of the native language and its ancient literature became, together with a systematic emphasis of the peculiar genius of the people in question, the source of a strong feeling of national coherence in many communities formerly more or less indifferent as to the advantages of membership in a certain race-group. Of all the Slavic peoples, the Czechs were most affected by this rising nationalist tendency, probably because they alone — of all the Slavic peoples — had a population fully or nearly as literate as the western European populations, and therefore fully as accessible to the doctrine of Czechic nationalism as were the other continental peoples to their own peculiar nationalisms.

THE RISE OF NATIONALISM IN GERMANY AND BOHEMIA

A close parallel to the development of the feeling of nationalism among the Czechs will be found in Germany. With the rise of the Romantic school in German literature beginning about 1800, which directed the attention of scholars to the treasures of the literary past of the nation, and with the sympathetic study that began then to be given to the history of the peculiarities of the native language, there began also a feeling that these treasures and peculiarities were the endowment of a singularly gifted people, perhaps more favoured by nature as to intellect and taste than others. The result was that whereas German scholars in the eighteenth century had been rather proud of their contacts with France and England, of their preference for foreign ways and foreign books, they were now more inclined to emphasise their own peculiar national traits. Similarly, the Czechs during the nineteenth century began moving farther and farther away from the Germans, as far as mental contact was concerned, while unfortunately the physical contact remained, and it was a contact with a people who were similarly undergoing a sharpening of their race-consciousness, with results that were often unpleasant for both. The history of Bohemia throughout the period of the life of the Holy Roman Empire, and particularly since that empire was dissolved in 1806, down to the present day, has been the history of the contact and rivalry of the Czech and German races. To say that this rivalry was kept alive chiefly by the fact that the opponents spoke different languages, and might have disappeared if either had absorbed the language of the other, is perhaps to utter the truth, but it does not change the situation. Such absorptions have taken place in the course of centuries along the Czecho-German language frontier, but from year to year they have been the subject of more and more jealous observation from either side, and the sense of tragedy that grew in the heart of the loser when a

whole village that had spoken either Czech or German a century before had now acquired the foreign tongue, must not be overlooked. This feeling will be readily understood by those who have heard or read the laments of the many generations of cultured foreigners in America as they observe their language and tradition disappear before the all-conquering English, leaving not a trace behind.

But the chief bearers of the "national" tradition, of the language-cult, in Czechoslovakia as elsewhere, were the intellectuals. It will therefore cause no surprise to learn that the street brawls and public demonstrations that have marked the last forty years in every Bohemian city whenever such questions arose as which language should be the language of instruction in a new municipal school, were fought chiefly between university students and other intellectuals on either side. Particularly severe were the frequent encounters in the streets of Prague between the students of the two universities, the German and the Czechic, for it had become necessary to maintain two such institutions for students of the two nationalities from various parts of the country. The hostilities between the German and Czechic students is of very old standing. In 1409 the German students had already become so dissatisfied with their status at the University of Prague (founded in 1348) that a large number of them, with their professors, left Bohemia and settled in other sections of the German Empire. The University of Leipzig, now the richest in Germany, was founded to answer the needs of the largest of these emigrant student bodies from Bohemia. During the decade immediately preceding the World War, these encounters between rival student organisations of the two groups were often bloody, resulting in broken heads and much heated newspaper discussion.

CZECH ASPIRATIONS AND THE PAN-SLAVIC MOVEMENT

In the early forties of the nineteenth century, the feeling of nationalism had advanced so far in Europe as to cause groups of individuals of related races to seek understanding and support in powerful nations representing the same race. The most striking expression of the new desire for a racial solidarity, transcending even the limits of the individual nation, was the rise of the Pan-Slavic movement, which was of course based chiefly on the fact that the various Slavic peoples spoke languages that were very similar to one another. Any oppression of the Czechs in Bohemia was immediately followed by a wave of sympathy in Russia, and while the Tsarist Government was unable to use the Czechs as diplomatic pawns to the same extent as was later the case with Bulgarians, Serbians and Ruthenians, the intellectual sympathy in Russia for the Czechic people did give rise to many expressions that tended both to embarrass the Austro-Hungarian Government and to add further stimulus to the growth of the Czechic movement in Bohemia. But the Pan-Slavic movement was chiefly an intellectual one, as were many of the phases of the Revolution of 1848 throughout Europe, although it did result in definite class struggles in other countries. In Bohemia its chief external result was the holding of the First Pan-Slavic Congress at Prague in 1848.

Intellectually the sympathy for Russia was a fruitful cause of activity in Czechoslovakian circles, and the preoccupation with Russian ideas has given to Czechoslovakian thought a number of contributions which it might otherwise not have received. Thomas Garrigue Masaryk (born at Hodonin, Moravia, March 7, 1850), who is not only the President of the Czechoslovak Republic, but also one of its most famous scholars, in his *The Spirit of Russia*

devotes himself largely to the religious, moral and political thought of Russia, although as he himself admits, he is also greatly influenced by the works of English and German philosophers. Edward Beneš (born at Kozlany, Bohemia, May 28, 1884), a disciple of Masaryk, also did much to direct Czechic thought toward Russia (incidentally, he is the Foreign Minister of the Czechoslovak Republic, another illustration of the predominance of intellectuals in the Government of the country). Much of the music of Czechoslovakian composers (the most important works known abroad being Dvořak's "New World Symphony" and Smetana's opera "The Bartered Bride") follows Russian rather than German models.

In a practical way, the new sympathy between Russia and the Czechs had its effects even on the private lives of the latter. Austrian firms dealing with Russian customers, for example, found it useful for decades before the World War to send Czechs to Russia as commercial travellers, for the feeling of Pan-Slavic brotherhood had so permeated the upper classes in that country as to make the mere presence of a Czech a source of delight and stimulus in many circles, including even business circles.

The Austro-Hungarian Monarchy strove hard to regain the sympathies of the Czechs, and there were reasons that made those efforts tolerably successful to such an extent that no effective move to separate Bohemia from the monarchy could have been made if the latter had not broken down under the stress of war in 1918. In the first place, the monarchy had a rather able administrative staff, which carried on the business of government with the various foreign nationalities within the empire with considerable tact and gave as little offence as possible; and in the second place, the Czechic sympathy for Russia was not so great as to cause the Bohemian population, which has long been literate and given to reading the newspapers, to support or seek support from the tyrannous autocracy of the Tsar.

THE OPPORTUNITY AFFORDED BY THE WORLD WAR

But the World War was the opportunity for the separatist movement in Bohemia, as it was for the other national movements within the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. The immediate effect of the outbreak of the war was to render extremely difficult any form of separatist agitation, for the Austrian authorities were watchful. Many political leaders fled to foreign countries, for they naturally sympathised with the Allies against Austria, and could expect to find better opportunities for carrying on propaganda abroad than within the limits of the empire. Among those who fled were Professor Masaryk and Dr. Beneš. As the war progressed, however, the weakening of the monarchy's authority, even at home, enabled the Czech leaders to carry on their work more openly. On January 6, 1918, ten months before the collapse of the Central Powers, a *Twelfth Night Manifesto* was issued at Prague, signed by all the Czech deputies to the Austrian Reichsrat and the Diets of Bohemia, Moravia and Silesia, demanding full independence for these regions, as well as their representation at the Peace Conference which was already then foreseen as not far distant.

Outside of Bohemia, the Czechs did what they could to weaken Austria. Many who had been drafted in the Austrian armies (the draft had proceeded smoothly and with no active internal troubles) either deserted or permitted themselves to be taken prisoner by the Allies at the earliest opportunity. Professor Masaryk's agitation abroad was having its effect, and a number of Allied Governments were beginning to plan an independent Czechoslovak State, partly with the intention of thus cutting off Germany's route to the

Adriatic and the Orient, in the reapportionment of territory to be undertaken in the eventual peace treaty. The earliest official declaration that hinted an intention to grant freedom to the Czechs and Slovaks was that of the British Government on August 9, 1918:

"Since the beginning of the war the Czechoslovak nation has resisted the enemy by every means in its power. The Czechoslovaks have constituted a considerable army, fighting on three different battlefields and attempting, in Russia and Siberia, to arrest the Germanic invasion. In consideration of their efforts to achieve independence, Great Britain regards the Czechoslovaks as an Allied nation and recognises the unity of the three Czechoslovak armies as an Allied and belligerent army waging a regular warfare against Austria-Hungary and Germany. . . ."

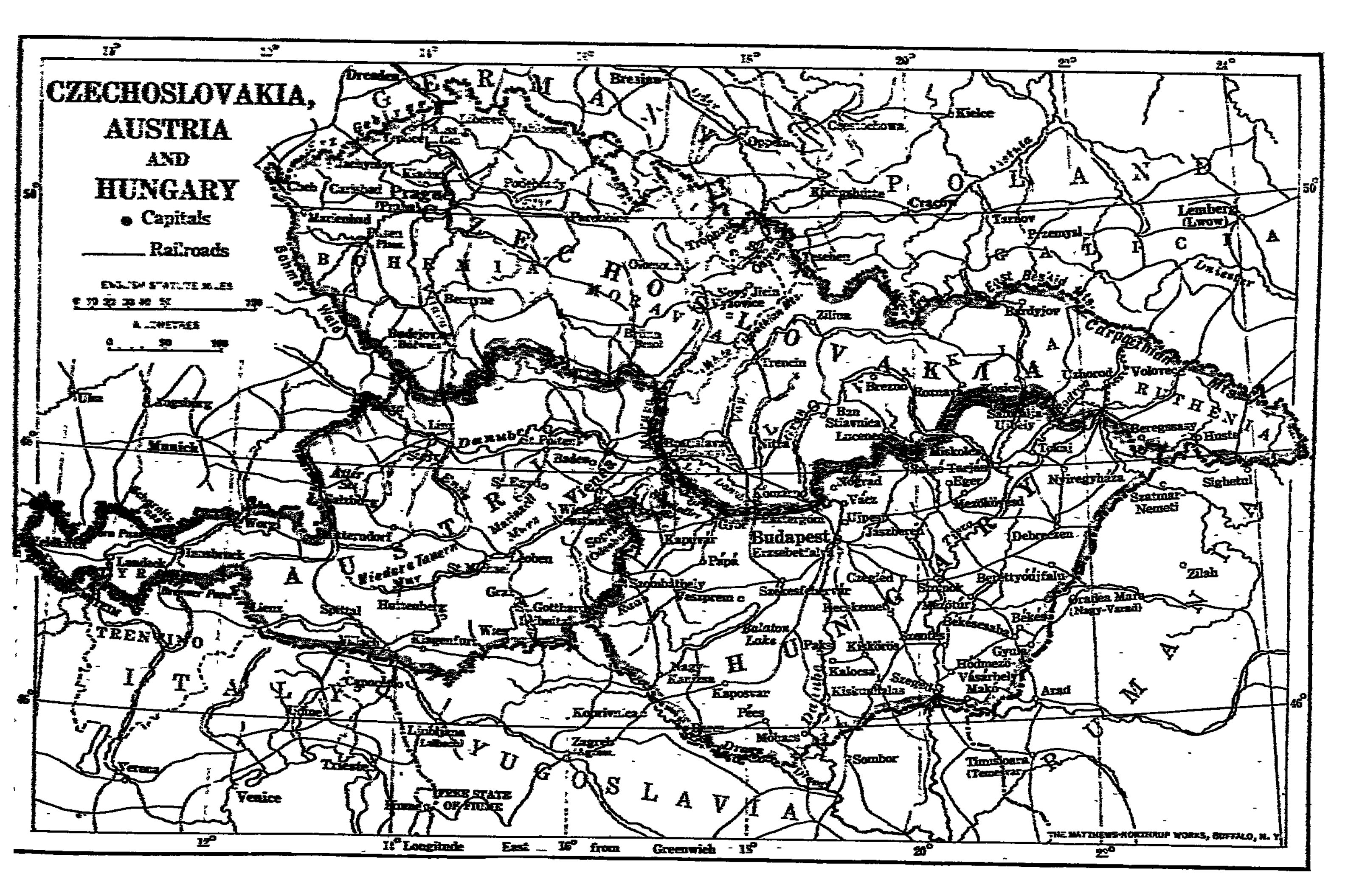
The United States and Japan issued statements early in September, 1918, confirming this British statement and practically subscribing to it. On October 14 the Czechoslovak National Council — which had been established early in the war at Paris as a political propaganda agency and of which a branch had been set up at Prague on July 13, 1918 — was constituted as the Provisional Government of Czechoslovakia, "with all the attributes of sovereign and independent power." An offer from the Austrian Emperor Charles, of a certain autonomy for all the peoples of his empire, was issued October 17, but was not even discussed by the new Provisional Government. From its seat at Paris the latter on the following day issued a declaration of independence, signed by Masaryk, Beneš, and General Stéfánik. On the same day on which it cabled to President Wilson a request for a Peace Conference (October 27, 1918), the Austrian Government recognised the rights of the Czechoslovaks.

THE NEW STATE BEGINS TO FUNCTION

After three centuries of subjection to Austria, the Czechs were now permitted to rule themselves as a nation. The details of the amputation from the dying empire were carried out with tact and without violence, the Austro-Hungarian garrisons in Prague and other towns, as well as the civil and military authorities, being permitted to retire to the interior without bloodshed or disorders. On November 16, 1918, the so-called "National Assembly," the first stage in the legislative history of Czechoslovakia, met at Prague and decided upon a republican form of government and elected a Cabinet. At the head was Professor Masaryk, who was unanimously chosen President; Dr. Kramař was Premier, and Dr. Beneš Foreign Minister. In 1924 Masaryk and Beneš were still occupying these posts, while Kramař had been succeeded as Premier by Mr. Svehla.

RACIAL COMPONENTS OF THE POPULATION

What constitutes the Czechoslovak population, and why the double name of the country (*Ceskoslovenská Republika*)? According to the census of 1921, there were 8,760,957 Czechoslovaks in the country, as contrasted with 3,123,-448 Germans, 75,852 Poles, 747,096 Magyars (Hungarians), and 461,466 Ruthenians, making a total population of 13,611,349. Doubtless the German element of the population would have preferred to insist on the greater correctness of the figures of the Austro-Hungarian census of 1910, which had given 8,034,890 Czechoslovaks, 3,750,673 Germans, 269,249 Poles, 1,070,871 Magyars, and 434,810 Ruthenians. But in view of the comparatively high standard of popular education in this country for many decades past, it would not be astonishing to find a large number of persons capable of speaking both



CZECHOSLOVAKIA, AUSTRIA AND HUNGARY
• Capitals
Railroads
POLAND
GALICIA
CZECHOSLOVAKIA
BOHEMIA
MORAVIA
RUTHENIA
AUSTRIA
HUNGARY
RUMANIA
YUGOSLAVIA
ITALY
TRENTINO
GERMANY
Dresden
Breslau
Kielce
Oppeln
Czestochowa
Cracow
Tarnow
Przemysl
Lemberg (Lwow)
Dniester
Prague (Praha)
Carlsbad
Marienbad
Pilsen
Budejovice
Brünn
Teschen
Zilina
Trencin
Bardyjov
Kosice
Uzhorod
Volovec
Beregszasz
Huszt
Sighetul
Tokaj
Miskolcz
Eger
Nyiregyháza
Szatmar-Nemeti
Debreczen
Zilah
Brezno
Lucenec
Nitra
Bratislava
Komarom
Esztergom
Vácz
Nógrád
Budapest
Erzsebetfalva
Jászberény
Czegléd
Szolnok
Kecskemet
Székesfehérvár
Veszprem
Papa
Szombathely
Balaton Lake
Paks
Kiskörös
Kalocsa
Kiskunfélegyháza
Szeged
Hódmezö-Vásárhely
Makó
Gyula
Arad
Békés
Békéscsaba
Oradea Mare (Nagy-Varad)
Timisoara (Temesvar)
Sombor
Mohacs
Pecs
Kaposvar
Nagy-Kanizsa
Zagreb (Agram)
Ljubljana (Laibach)
FREE STATE OF FIUME
Trieste
Venice
Verona
Udine
Graz
Leoben
Klagenfurt
Villach
Spittal
Lienz
Innsbruck
Landeck
Munich
Ulm
Augsburg
Linz
Danube
St. Polten
Baden
Wiener Neustadt
Vienna
Salzburg
Steyr
Enns
Niedere Tauern
Mur
Brenner Pass
Carpathian Mts.
Böhmer Wald
East Beskid Mts.
Tisza
Drava
Danube
12° Longitude East 16° from Greenwich 19°
20°
50°
46°
ENGLISH STATUTE MILES
KILOMETRES
THE MATTHEWS-NORTHRUP WORKS, BUFFALO, N. Y.

the principal languages, and, as political interest required, these would naturally have preferred to register as German-speaking under the Austrian *régime* and as Czechoslovak-speaking under the Czechoslovak *régime*. The Slovaks, to whom the new country owes the second half of its name, inhabit the eastern portion of its area, together with the Magyars and Ruthenians, and speak a Slavic dialect that has considerable similarity to Czechic ("Bohemian"). The Magyars are extremely reluctant to pass under Czechoslovak rule, as their language and tradition render them more akin to their fellow-Magyars in the much reduced country that once ruled half of the Dual Monarchy. Of the Magyars we shall say a few words more below.

Bohemia and its successor Czechoslovakia have had an eventful religious history. It will be recalled that the Thirty Years' War opened in Bohemia as a result of the active and persistent Protestant movement in that country (1618), but the past three centuries of Bohemian history have been Catholic centuries. In 1921 the census figures showed, for all of the present territory of Czechoslovakia: 10,384,860 Catholics, 992,093 Evangelicals (Protestants), 532,508 Greek Catholics (chiefly Ruthenians), 325,332 Jews, and 72,696 Greek Orthodox. The 1910 figures (Austro-Hungarian Monarchy) present an interesting contrast; there were in 1910: 11,075,187 Catholics, 929,205 Evangelicals, 592,699 Greek Catholics, 361,990 Jews, and 23,051 Greek Orthodox. The chief difference as compared with the 1921 figures is that the older census shows more Catholics and fewer Evangelicals. The reason for this difference is to be found in the extremely active religious discussions now going on within the country, which are chiefly an evidence of internal dissatisfaction with the authority of Rome in the Church. The "Away from Rome" movement has not only strengthened the various Protestant sects and numerically weakened the Catholics, but has also resulted in the establishment of a "national" Czechoslovak Catholic Church. In part, this movement represents historic tendencies of great age, dating perhaps from the time (about 1600) when 90 per cent of Bohemia's population were Protestant; while in part it must be explained as an internal Catholic criticism of the Catholic Church; between 1918 and 1921 the latter lost about a million members.

EDUCATION FOR THE VARIOUS RACES

Education is compulsory between the ages of six and fourteen. Illiteracy in the more highly advanced parts of the country is as little known as in Germany or Sweden, but in Silesia there are still some illiterates. The following table shows how extensively the elementary and advanced public schools (corresponding to the American "primary" and "grammar" schools) are attended.

	Elementary Schools (1921)			Advanced Schools (1921)		
	Number of Schools	Number of Pupils		Number of Schools	Number of Pupils	
		Boys	Girls		Boys	Girls
Bohemia	6,184	483,600	401,570	815	80,201	76,831
Moravia	2,872	211,069	214,284	377	20,137	28,343
Silesia	507	52,031	52,076	77	5,812	5,702
Slovakia	3,319	185,838	181,013	102	8,400	12,383
Ruthenia	475	28,004	26,749	10	922	980
Totals	13,417	962,392	969,208	1,411	130,131	121,002

In addition to the above elementary and advanced schools there are in Czechoslovakia the following schools for secondary education: 57 gymnasia, 99 real-gymnasia, 3 higher real-gymnasia, 29 reform real-gymnasia, 78 real-schools, 36 lyceums for females, 68 teachers' institutes, 8 institutes for the instruction of female teachers in domestic economy, 9 institutes for the instruction of nursery governesses, one secondary evening school, a total of 388 secondary schools. These schools have an attendance of 103,489 pupils, of whom 26,033 are girls.

The two universities still exist at Prague, the German University not having been suppressed; it has 3,523 students (winter-term, 1921–1922), as compared with 8,330 for the Czechic University. There is also a Czechic University at Brno (Brünn) and a Slovak University at Bratislava (Pressburg). The "technical high schools" (schools of mines and engineering) are of university grade; of these there are two at Prague (one Czechic, one German), and two at Brno (one Czechic and one German).

AGRICULTURE, INDUSTRY AND FINANCES

In 1921 the number of acres sown with beets was 546,200, with a yield of 4,071,655 metric tons. This will at once make it apparent how important Czechoslovakia has become in the Continental sugar supply: it is in fact the main producer of sugar in Europe. The 17–20 per cent of sugar contained in the sugar-beet forms the basis of an enormous industry: the 172 sugar factories of Czechoslovakia in 1920–1921 produced 722,995 metric tons of sugar. In 1921 exports of sugar totalled 457,039 tons, valued at 3,748,751,409 Czechoslovak crowns.

The principal coal-fields are those of Brux-Komotau-Teplitz and in the Falkenau district, while iron, graphite and garnets are found in large quantities. There are also gold, silver, copper and lead in the Carpathians, and rock-salt in eastern Slovakia and Ruthenia. The coal production in 1921 was 21,050,713 tons of lignite (brown coal), and 11,648,399 tons of hard coal. On January 1, 1922, the coal-mines numbered 372 and there were 127,305 employees. Coal and water-power furnished motive force to 8,833 factories in 1920, of which 1,999 were textile factories, 1,755 glassworks and precious-stone factories, 1,358 food factories, 674 for furniture and bent-wood manufacture, 297 paper-mills, and 458 chemical factories.

This control of great quantities of iron and coal made Bohemia, in the days of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, one of the arsenals of Europe, and it is well known that many of the great guns used by the Central Powers during the World War were cast at the famous Skoda works at Pilsen. The latter are now controlled by the French Schneider-Creusot interests, and are only a part of the present Czechoslovakian primacy in metals which constitutes so strong an element in the military security and the commercial strength of the new country.

A complete system of savings and agricultural credit banks provides for the banking needs of the country. The latter are known as "Raiffeisen Banks," having been modelled years ago on the lines of the farm banks founded in Germany by Friedrich Raiffeisen. The total note circulation of Czechoslovakia on December 23, 1922, was 9,400,000,000 crowns (averaging below 800 crowns per inhabitant), supported by a metallic reserve of 817,000,000 crowns. This comparatively low emission of paper money has enabled the Czechoslovak Government to maintain an enviable position in Central Europe as far as financial credit is concerned, and for over a year

has maintained the Czechoslovak crown at an almost constant quotation in the British and American markets. In March, 1923, the crown was worth 2.97 cents; in March, 1924, 2.90 cents.

FOREIGN RELATIONS

In general it may be said that in internal prosperity and peaceful relations with its neighbours Czechoslovakia has done rather well for a new nation, and somewhat better than most of the older countries of Europe. Troubles have appeared on the horizon occasionally: disputes with Poland on the annexation of the Teschen district, internal disorders due to the rise of a strong Communist party in 1920, bad blood with Hungary over the Czechoslovakian annexation (granted in the Peace Treaty of Versailles) of a part of northern Hungary. Permanent danger lies chiefly in the relations with Hungary. This danger consists largely in the fact that Hungary is the last stronghold of the Habsburg Dynasty, and that attempts at a restoration of the Dual Monarchy, which would necessarily be a menace to the new Czechoslovakian State, would probably proceed from Budapest.

An excellent single pronouncement on the country's foreign policy was delivered on January 27, 1921, by Foreign Minister Beneš, in the form of a speech to the Chamber of Deputies, in answer to an interpellation from the Left parties (printed in English at Prague, 1921). In this speech, Beneš declares the main difficulty with Hungary to lie in the difference of cultural standard between Czechoslovakia and that country: in Czechoslovakia a republic, with a literate population, largely industrial; in Hungary a kingdom, waiting for the restoration of a Habsburg, with an untrained population, chiefly of peasants. Certainly the political and intellectual ideals of the two peoples are different, but it [illegible] certain that this must lead to war. With Germany and Austr[illegible] out, relations were good. On January 25, 1924, a new [illegible] affairs was signed between France and Czechoslovakia.

NEW TREATY WITH FRANCE AGAINST HUNGARY

Under the terms of this treaty, the Governments of the two republics agree to discuss in common "foreign questions which might endanger their security or affect the order established by the peace treaties which they have both signed," and to "agree upon measures adapted to safeguard their common interests in case they are menaced"; as well as to submit, in accordance with the principles of the Covenant of the League of Nations, either to the Permanent Court of the League of Nations or to one or several arbitrators to be chosen by them, "litigious questions that may arise between them in future which cannot be settled by friendly agreement and by diplomatic means." But doubtless the principal reason for the drawing up of the new treaty is the prospective Habsburg danger in Hungary, and the possibility of a Hohenzollern restoration in Germany, as expressed in Articles IV and V of the Treaty. Article V reads:

> "The high contracting parties confirm their full agreement regarding the necessity imposed upon them, in order to maintain peace, of adopting a common attitude in the presence of any attempt to restore the Hohenzollern dynasty in Germany, and agree to discuss in common the measures to be taken in such an eventuality."

The great fear of the two republics (France and Czechoslovakia) is therefore the possibility of Habsburg restoration in Hungary. The agitation in

favour of the Habsburgs became very strong in Hungary in 1920, particularly in February of that year, while formal negotiations for the Treaty of the Trianon, between Hungary and the Allied and Associated Powers, were in progress. Although Charles IV had renounced the Hungarian crown in 1918, he wrote from exile in Switzerland on August 14, 1919, "I am still king." Many rumours were circulated at the time to the effect that the Allies would not be unwilling to recognise a Habsburg on the throne of Hungary if the restoration should be successfully accomplished; the Council of Ambassadors therefore issued on February 3, 1920, a statement in which they declared their opposition to a Habsburg restoration in any form, and that while they did not regard it as the duty of the principal Allied Powers to intervene in the internal affairs of Hungary, "the Powers cannot admit that the restoration of the Habsburg dynasty should be regarded as a question affecting only the Hungarian nation. They declare that a restoration of this nature would be contrary to the very bases of the peace settlement and would be neither recognised nor tolerated by them." A year later (March 27, 1921), Charles IV attempted a *coup d'état* in Hungary, whither he had made a sudden return. After the failure of this attempt, Czechoslovakia, Rumania and Yugoslavia declared that they would blockade Hungary (March 30) and organised a "military demonstration," as a result of which the Council of Ambassadors on April 1, 1921, issued a statement to the effect that:

> "The Allied powers expect the Hungarian Government, conscious of the gravity of the situation which the return to the throne of Hungary of the former sovereign would cause, to take efficacious measures to deal with the attempt, the momentary success of which could have for Hungary only disastrous consequences."

RELATIONS WITH FRANCE AND ENGLAND

Of course this does not finally settle the Habsburg question nor the danger of new Central European complications, but every effort is being made by the Czechoslovakian Government to solidify its position in Europe by means of agreements and friendly relations with other powers. As Beneš has repeatedly pointed out, the main dependence of Czechoslovakia is on her allies in the war, France and England. Czechoslovakia is itself a country with a predominantly socialistic electorate, and a socialistic majority in the Chamber of Deputies (but not in the Upper House, the Senate), and it is therefore natural that her statesmen should view with sympathy the experiment of the Labour Government in Great Britain. In an issue of the Prague magazine, the *Přítomnost* ("The Present"), (February, 1924) President Masaryk states his belief that the success of the English Socialists was due to the greater thoughtfulness of the many millions that "had been murdering each other for years," and that the resort to bloodless revolution in England was just as correct an application of the doctrines of Marx and Engels as would have been a revolution by more violent means. But the chief ally and support of Czechoslovakia abroad is now France, not England, for France needs her aid on the European continent, while England does not.

France is the powerful prop of Czechoslovakia; the army is drilled by French officers and many high army officers are Frenchmen. Under French influence was formed the Little *Entente*, an alliance between Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia and Rumania, for the purpose of preventing the growth of any new movement to reëstablish the Habsburgs in neighbouring countries. It is to the interest of France, from the standpoint of preventing a territorial consolidation of Germany and parts of former Austria, to maintain in Central Europe the long and narrow strip of Czechoslovakia, friendly to France and

hostile to the old empires. But humanly speaking, the Czechoslovakian State is justified in its existence by far more than the mere ambitions of France. To be sure, there is a language problem, which most persons would call a race problem, and no doubt some communities of Germans and Magyars are being governed by Czechoslovaks without their consent to the arrangement. But there is a democratic form of government, as good as most governments, and it may be that the representation which they have in the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate will gradually win over the disaffected portions of the population to a relative acceptance of the situation. Certainly the language situation is no worse in Czechoslovakia than it was in the old Austro-Hungarian Empire, and the prosperity of the country as compared with all its neighbours, together with the military and industrial demoralisation of almost all the latter, may yet give the new state so strong a hold on the minds of its citizens as to consolidate a durable political system within a short time. If the general European depression should result in everyone's inability to break the peace, Czechoslovakia will be able to develop into a nation as serious and powerful as any in Central Europe, but the maintenance of peace is essential to this end. No one can predict what would be the results of war for any of the new states.

RELATIONS WITH DANUBE STATES AND RUSSIA

One of the methods applied by the crumbling Austro-Hungarian Monarchy in 1918 to accomplish once more the cementing of its various peoples into a single great nation was the proposal of a "Danube Confederation," to include all the states situated in the vast basin of the Danube River. This proposal received but scant attention from the rising political units to which it was addressed. But a kind of understanding between the various countries involved has already begun to take shape, and while it is certain that Austrian or Hungarian hegemony in such a system would be entirely inacceptable to the other states concerned, the Little *Entente* and the other agreements between Czechoslovakia and her neighbours may well prove to be the beginnings of a new system of federation. This would remove the present irksome customs boundaries and provide inland states, at present deprived of access to the sea (Czechoslovakia and Hungary), with what they need for the free development of their foreign commerce. Czechoslovakia has already signed agreements or arrangements with Austria, Rumania (which touches Czechoslovakia along a fifty-mile boundary, so far does the new republic extend to the east) and Yugoslavia, and exchanged notes equivalent to a treaty with Italy, February 8, 1921.

Foreign Minister Beneš has several times announced his desire to supplement the commercial agreement between Czechoslovakia and Russia with a full recognition treaty. It is probable that this consummation, following close upon the other recognitions extended to Russia early in 1924 (by Great Britain, Italy, Norway and Sweden), will do much to enlarge the sphere of European trade and fellowship, and will thus aid in continuing the conditions of peace and stability upon which the Czechoslovakian Government, like so many others, must largely depend in the future.

CHAPTER XLVI

THE DELIVERANCE AND REUNION OF POLAND

By Roman Dyboski, Ph.D.

Professor in the University of Cracow. Sometime Lecturer on Polish History and Literature, University of London.

I. DIVIDED POLAND

The twentieth century dawned upon a Poland which, having lost its political independence and unity more than a hundred years before, seemed further remote than ever from reunion and deliverance. After the disastrous armed risings of 1831 and 1863 the nation had settled down, under three different foreign Governments, to what was popularly called "organic work," being peaceful and legal endeavours to raise the general level of welfare and enlightenment.

However conducive these activities were to the progress of Poland along the common paths of modern democratic humanity, they were not without fatal danger to the existence of a united Polish nation. They required loyal adaptation to three different political and legal systems, and thereby they strengthened the effect which the frontiers, dividing Poland for more than a century, were producing slowly but surely on the people. In the routine of their everyday tasks, the three sections of the nation were evolving different social and economic interests, different tactics and mentalities, in accordance with the three empires they severally belonged to.

The Pole in *Prussian Poland*, ever since Bismarck definitely inaugurated a strenuous anti-Polish policy of Prussian settlement, was absorbed in an economic struggle against the invading German colonist, and in this struggle had learned much from his adversary in the way of economic organisation and social discipline. The fight for the land was, on the whole, successful for the Poles, in spite of the huge financial efforts of the state-supported Prussian Colonising Commission. On the other hand, there was little scope for higher intellectual refinement and next to none for political activity.

Political activities were the strong side of *Austrian Poland* which, besides a powerful representation in the Vienna Parliament, possessed a Provincial Legislative Assembly of its own, and a purely Polish administrative, judicial and educational system. With such advantages, Austrian Poland had become the shelter for the best elements of Polish historical culture and the centre of conscious Polish political endeavour. On the other hand, Austrian Poland was undoubtedly the poorest one of the three territories, because half a century of purely predatory rule by Austrian officials had sucked it dry, and the succeeding half-century of a self-government, conducted chiefly by the larger country landowners, had done little to develop the country industrially. Finally, the very freedom which Poles enjoyed under Austria led them to identify their national interests more and more closely with those of the Habsburg Monarchy, while Austria, on the other hand, carefully fostered the growth of Ukrainian nationalism in Eastern Galicia as a check on the Polish power within its political system

In sharp contrast with the Austrian section, *Russian Poland*, the largest part of the three, presented the seeming paradox of political oppression existing with a rapid growth of economic prosperity. Starting from the beginnings laid down in the early nineteenth century by a Polish Finance Minister of genius (Lubecki), the Russian Government had developed its Polish province into an intensely active industrial area which, until the comparatively recent rise of larger industrial centres in Russia itself, and even after that, held a practical monopoly in supplying the vast markets of the whole Russian Empire with manufactured articles.

Whilst a Chinese wall of tariffs protected this growth of Polish industry, and Polish agriculture was benefitting by the lightness of taxation characteristic of the rich and undeveloped Russian Empire, the national life of the Poles in Russia was being quelled by a persistent policy of Russification. A vile Russian bureaucracy was employed in casting a Russian garb over the whole of the political, judicial and educational administration, and even over the course of private business. The organised resistance of Poles was to some extent successful so far as the maintenance of Polish intellectual, artistic and literary life in the capital (Warsaw) and in the larger towns was concerned; but the peasantry in the country, with all efforts at Polish popular education severely suppressed, remained largely in a condition of dark illiteracy and political indifference.

Since the early nineteenth century it had been the policy of all the partitioning Powers to assume the rôle of protectors of the Polish peasants against the country gentry, who really kept Polish nationality alive. In Prussian and Austrian Poland the growing consciousness of national solidarity of interests had gradually thwarted these efforts. In Russian Poland, the Government's ostensible protection of the peasant had been as ineffectual in the matter of his enlightenment and uplifting as in Russia itself. The fatalistic gloom which hung over the country-side in Russian Poland at the beginning of this century was depicted with grim power in W. S. Reymont's prose epic *The Peasants*, which also did full justice to the tenacity of the Polish peasant element as giving promise of a better future.

As regards the educated class of the towns in Russian Poland, recruited largely from the ranks of the country gentry, the allurements of career and fortune drew many of the best brains of the younger generation into business and engineering, and drove many Poles into distant parts of Russia, since, in Poland itself, all avenues of official preferment were carefully barred against the Pole. This gave a wholesome new tinge of realism to the romantic Polish temperament, but at the same time estranged the new type of Pole more and more from larger political aspirations.

II. NATIONAL MOVEMENTS

With such widely different conditions prevailing in the three parts of Poland, Polish life seemed to be tending hopelessly toward provincial separatism. But in the midst of it all, idealists were not wanting who raised their voice on behalf of national unity. Such voices made themselves heard chiefly in Austrian Poland, where there was freedom of speech.

Stanislas Szczepanowski, who wrecked his life in attempting to build up industry on a large scale in Austrian Poland on the basis of the country's riches in oil, left a legacy of constructive national thought which served as the groundwork for the programme of a Pan-Polish Nationalist party.

A great poet, Stanislas Wyspianski, at the very turn of the century, stirred the hearts of his countrymen with a clarion call in his play *The*

Wedding, in which he exposed the sluggishness of political resignation and the imperfect understanding between the educated class and the peasantry.

Finally, the social and political ferment in Russia, which, after her defeat in the Japanese War, led to the abortive revolution of 1905, reacted on Russian Poland in the form of a definite political movement: the *Polish Party of Socialists* endeavoured to unite the class aims of modern industrial labour with the national ideals of the Polish race in one revolutionary programme. In practice, the activities of these revolutionaries outwardly amounted to little but a campaign of bomb outrages and armed assaults, promptly answered by reactionary terror on the part of the Russian authorities. But the secret propaganda of the new ideas in a newspaper called *The Workman*, sowed the seeds of renewed national self-consciousness and of a reborn spirit of revolt. The foremost worker in the new movement, Joseph Piłsudski, was to become the first chief of the new Polish state. A " philosophy of work " was constructed out of the elements of this national Socialism by Stanislas Brzozowski in an epoch-making book *The Legend of Young Poland;* and the greatest living novelist of Poland, Stephen Zeromski, was inspired by the National Socialist creed in many of his works.

Political activities of a very different kind from those of the Polish Socialist party developed in Russian Poland, when the unaccomplished revolution of 1905 left behind in Russia as its child that first substitute for a Russian Parliament the Duma. The Polish Duma deputies under the able leadership of Roman Dmowski, who had already made his mark as a gifted writer on political subjects, endeavoured to work for Polish national ends in concert with those Russian parties which, by methods of parliamentary opposition, were trying to push Russia further along the road towards a modern democratic constitution. Soon, however, the stiffening autocratic reaction in Russia reduced the Duma to a mere tool of its policy, and the Polish representation in it, by restriction of the parliamentary franchise, to a shadow. On the other hand, the Russian Liberals also proved to have little sympathy for such Polish national aspirations as would extend beyond provincial self-government strictly limited both in territory and in range.

The short spell of greater freedom in the matter of language and of education after 1905 had given a strong impulse to Polish cultural, journalistic, and organising effort both in Central Russian Poland and in those eastern borderlands which had belonged to the old Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy, and in which a Polish educated class, represented chiefly by the country gentry, was surrounded by masses of non-Polish peasantry. In order to undo the effect of these reinforced Polish and Roman-Catholic influences in the borderlands, the reactionary Russian Government separated, in 1912, the south-eastern district of *Cholm* (Polish, Chelm) administratively from the body of Russian Poland and incorporated it into Russia proper, as the other border provinces were incorporated before. The measure was violently resented by Poles as "a fourth partition of Poland."

The gradual recrudescence of Russian reaction after the partial emancipation of 1905 coincided with increased oppression in *Prussian Poland*. There, the systematic efforts at radical extermination of the Polish element culminated in the sphere of education in brutish outrages against school children, and in that of colonisation in a law authorising expropriation of Polish landowners by the State. The great Polish novelist Henry Sienkiewicz made himself the spokesman of the nation's indignant protest to the civilised world, and the famous pianist Ignatius Paderewski aroused universal enthusiasm by erecting, at his own expense, a memorial to the victory won by the Poles in 1410 over the German Knights of the Cross. The memorial was put up, on the 500th

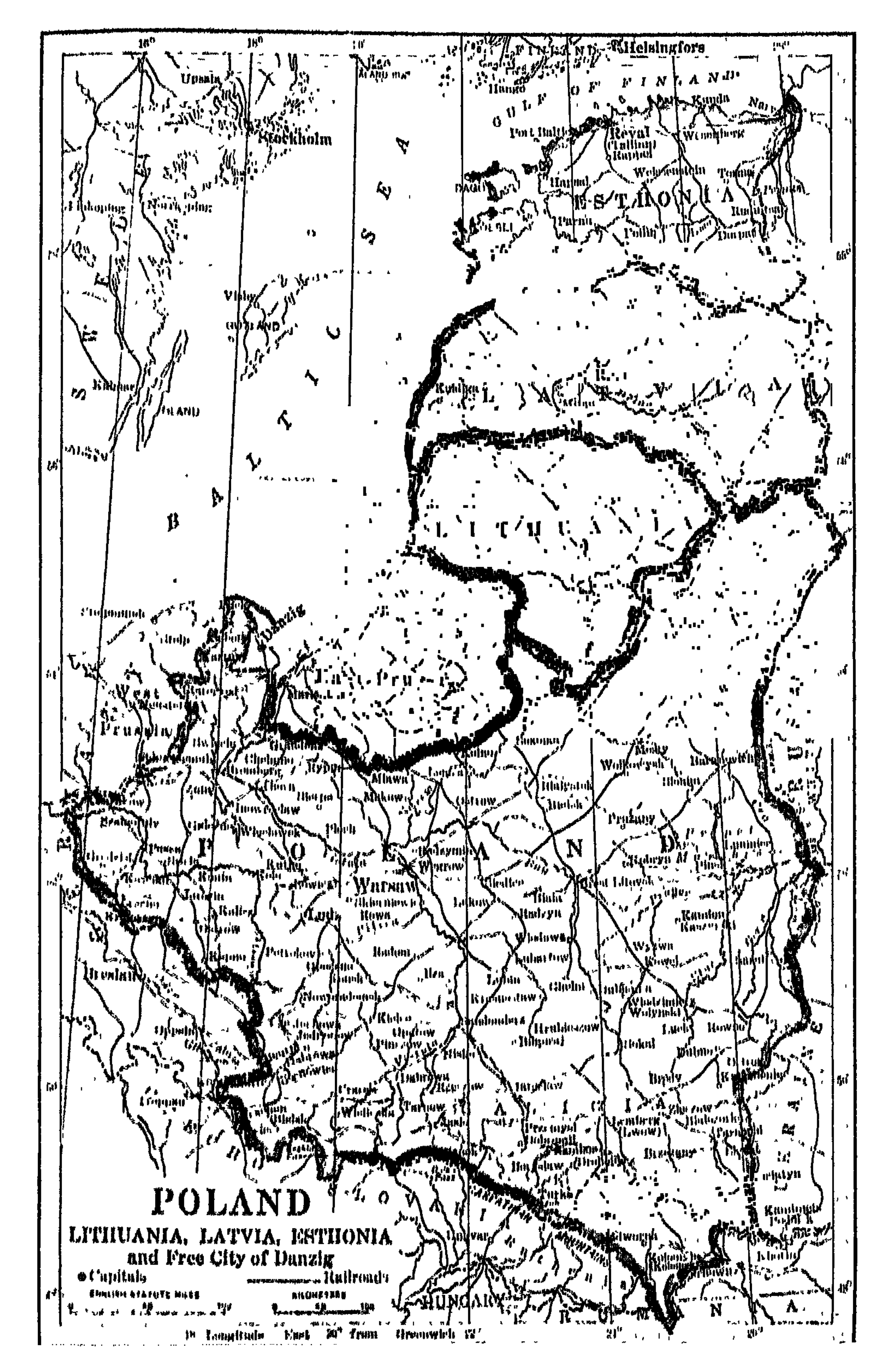
anniversary of the battle, in Poland's mediæval capital Cracow, on the self-governing soil of Austrian Poland.

III. THE WAR AND POLAND'S DILEMMA

Austrian Poland, in the sultry atmosphere of the last years before the war, was fully justifying its name of a "Polish Piedmont." Since the insurrection of 1863, it had been the constant refuge of victims of Russian persecution across the border, and it became so more than ever in the new century both before and after the revolutionary events of 1905. The Russian schools of Russian Poland having been declared under boycott by Polish youth, students flocked into the two Polish universities in Austrian Poland, and Cracow in particular seethed with conspiracies against Russia. The Austrian Government found it expedient to connive at these doings, because it saw a conflict with Russia coming in connection with the Austro-German policy of expansion in the Balkans. The military training of schoolboys and volunteer riflemen was encouraged all over Austria; in Austrian Poland it assumed the form of a distinctly Polish military organisation, and it was finally taken in hand by Pilsudski.

Thus it happened that when the World War broke out, a small Polish armed force, under the historical name of the *Legions* (hallowed by memories of Polish soldiers under Napoleon), took the field side by side with Austria's armies, with the moral sanction of the Polish representation in the Austrian Parliament and the material support—however insincere and inefficient—of the Central Powers. The old foes of Poland were at war with each other; neutrality of Poland in the strife would have meant disregard of its wishes by all parties at the conclusion of the peace: in this dilemma Pilsudski and his associates had decided to support that one of the three partitioning Powers which had behaved most liberally to its Polish subjects. But Austria was practically a vassal of Germany by that time; the Legions were really fighting for Germany's cause, and accordingly got no support from Prussian Poland, which maintained throughout the war a stubborn attitude of passive resistance to the military exactions of Germany. Even in Austrian Poland, the Poles of eastern Galicia, having at first organised into a "Legion," soon disbanded. A disposition to favour the prospect of a Russian victory rather than a German one spread widely among the Polish educated classes. It was the prevailing mood among the Poles under Russian rule. Their patriotic imagination was set aflame by the manifesto of the Russian Commander-in-Chief, the Grand Duke Nicholas, which promised the reunion of Polish lands under Russia and the gift of self-government. There was even a short-lived body of Polish volunteers formed on the Russian side, and the Poles liable to conscription and included in the ranks of the Russian and Austrian army respectively, fought with equal resolution, often meeting their brothers on the battlefield. The pathos of this tragedy was increased by the ruin of flourishing Polish territories, which were the scene of war.

The political hopes both of those who trusted the promises of Russia, and of those who pinned their faith to Austro-German success, were disappointed with equal bitterness. The reunion of Polish lands under Russia was not accomplished, and in that part of Poland which still remained in the hands of Russia for a year, nothing was done to give effect to the manifesto; nay, the occupied town of *Lwow* (Lemberg, in eastern Galicia), which had been Polish for half a thousand years, was officially treated as "old Russian land." When Austria and Germany, on the other hand, had conquered the entire historical territories of Poland almost as far as the


POLAND
LITHUANIA, LATVIA, ESTHONIA
and Free City of Danzig
Capitals
Railroads
Helsingfors
Stockholm
ESTHONIA
Reval
B A L T I C S E A
L I T H U A N I A
Danzig
West Prussia
Warsaw
P O L A N D
HUNGARY
Longitude East from Greenwich

old eastern frontier, it took a long time before the reluctance of Germany to come to any decision with regard to the problem of Poland, was overcome by considerations of military and political expediency. By a proclamation of November 5, 1916, the occupied territories of Russian Poland proper were declared independent, no prospect, however, being held out of the reunion of other parts of Poland with them. Some progress was made during the following years in educational organisation — a Polish university being reëstablished in Warsaw — and in the creation of judicial and administrative institutions. But the actual division of the country into a German and an Austrian sphere of occupation in former Russian Poland, besides the continuance of Austrian and German Poland themselves in their pre-war status, was maintained even after an assembly of all Austro-Polish parliamentary politicians at Cracow in May, 1917, had emphatically demanded the reunion of all Polish lands; and a heavy police *régime*, coupled with predatory requisitions, hung over all parts of Poland alike. With the crucial question of organising a Polish army no headway was made at all: the increasing friction between the Polish Legions and the military authorities of the Central Powers led in the end to the disbanding and internment of the former, and drove many of their members into a secret "Polish Military Organisation," preparing a rising against the occupants. The half-hearted creation later of a small Polish armed force under German control, called *Polnische Wehrmacht*, was a poor makeshift, but ultimately served Polish national ends. The Peace of Brest-Litovsk, in which most vital Polish interests were cynically bartered away to Soviet Russia, called forth indignant demonstrations of protest from the whole nation.

Finally, the open abandonment of the Austro-German ranks by General Joseph Haller's Carpathian Brigade of the Polish Legion in February, 1918, dramatically marked a final breach with the political programme of Polish military "activism" on the side of the Central Powers, and the beginning of a new stage of Polish armed effort.

IV. THE WESTERN ALLIES AND THE RISE OF THE POLISH REPUBLIC

Poland's traditional sympathies for France had been manifested at the very beginning of the war by a band of Polish volunteers organised at Bayonne, who shed their blood freely on the battlefields of the western front. But France had been bound for many years by a close alliance to the Russia of the Tsars, and in the early stages of the war the western Allies were vitally dependent on Russia's active support. Accordingly, it was only natural that both Western Powers observed an attitude of reserve on the Polish question during the first years of the war. The voice of the third ally, Italy, nobly raised in her Parliament in 1916 in favour of unconditional independence for Poland, could be of little immediate avail. The untiring efforts of pro-*Entente* Polish politicians, with Roman Dmowski at their head, organised into a *Polish National Committee,* certainly leavened public opinion in the two great western countries, but could not have more tangible results. Even the fall of Tsardom in Russia did not change matters essentially at first. The first Russian revolutionary Government, in a manifesto to the Polish nation, issued on March 30, 1917, while admitting the principle of Poland's independence, still treated the limits and conditions of that independence as a matter to be settled by Russia alone. It was only with the coming of Bolshevism, when Russia dropped entirely out of the Allied ranks, that support for the idea of an independent Poland from the Western Allies became a proposition of practical politics.

At about the same time, the entry of America into the ranks of active belligerents brought a factor to the front which could afford to treat the reëstablishment of independent Poland as a political axiom apart from opportunist considerations. President Wilson did so, more emphatically than any other Allied statesman before him, and thereby earned the gratitude of the whole Polish nation.

The Russian Revolution, before it affected the international position of the Polish problem in the way described above, had had a stimulating effect on Polish military effort. The principle of national self-determination being proclaimed, Polish military units spontaneously and irresistibly sprang up everywhere in Russia out of the *débris* of the disintegrating Russian army, partly with the concurrence of prisoners of war from the Austro-German ranks. The fate of these formations, organised against overwhelming inward and outward difficulties in the perplexity of exile and the welter of Russian revolutionary events, was mostly tragic. Scattered over the vast spaces of Russia, on both sides of the Ural Mountains from the Arctic to the Black Sea and the Pacific, they reached Poland in remnants only, and after an Odyssey of adventures. Nor did they consolidate into sufficient strength to fulfill their obvious and immediate mission of protecting those outposts of Polish civilisation — the ancestral homes of the Polish country gentry in Poland's eastern borderlands — against wholesale pillage by the peasant populace, by the new Ukrainian Nationalist troops, and by the Bolshevik Red army in turn, during the terrible years of 1918 and 1919.

A better fate than that of the Polish military formations on Russian soil was in store for the large Polish army which was formed by General Haller in France in 1917, largely out of American Poles inspired by Paderewski's fiery propaganda, but also out of prisoners of war from the Austrian and German ranks, taken in the earlier years of the war by the French and the Italians. Under the command of General Haller, this army had its share in the final triumph of the Allies on the western front, but it did not get to Poland in time to help the country in the most critical moments of its new existence.

For the new Poland did not emerge out of the Versailles Peace Conference ready-made, nor did it enjoy tranquillity in the period of its organisation. In spite of the earnest efforts of Poland's distinguished representatives at the Conference — Dmowski and Paderewski — to secure definite recognition of a possible maximum of national demands, the frontiers of the new Poland both in the east against the enigmatic Bolshevik neighbour, and at many another point, were left undefined by the Peace Conference; this caused a great deal of international trouble in the following years.

In the meantime, even before the conclusion of the peace, the nucleus of a Polish state had arisen spontaneously. A series of popular risings in the last months of 1918 cleared central and western Poland of its Austrian and German occupants without much effort. The revolutions in Austria and in Germany precipitated the deliverance of Poland, and Pilsudski, returning from prison at Magdeburg, where he had been confined, took the reins of power out of the hands of the Regency Council which had governed Poland under German occupation. The Dictatorship of Pilsudski officially ceased with the meeting of a Polish Constituent Assembly in February, 1919, and this supreme legislative organ, in turn, made room for a two-chambered Polish Parliament elected in the autumn of 1922. A Provisional Constitution of February 20, 1919, was replaced by a more elaborate, definite one in March 17, 1921. The Chief of State was succeeded, after December, 1922, by constitutional Presidents — the first of them unfortunately murdered by a political fanatic a week after his election.

The new Polish republic, as it came into being under Pilsudski's rule late in 1918, was strongly radical in complexion, and the first Polish Cabinet was headed by a pronounced Socialist. With the famished condition of the country after the war, and revolutionary turmoil prevailing in all surrounding states — Russia, Hungary, Austria, Germany — the danger of Bolshevism was imminent. The Polish National Committee in Paris, which had considered itself a sort of Provisional Government, at first held aloof from those who had taken the fate of the country in their hands. It was not till relations were established with it, and Paderewski became Prime Minister of Poland, that the collaboration of all political forces in the organisation of the new state was secured. As Pilsudski's firm hand had saved the country from utter anarchy, so Paderewski in his turn saved it from the extremes of radicalism, and perhaps from social revolution, by obtaining, through his American connections, large and prompt relief in food from across the Atlantic. America has since been very popular in Poland, and remains so even in her present detachment from European affairs.

V. THE FIGHT FOR THE FRONTIERS

One of the most urgent tasks in the formation of the new Polish state was to fix definitely its territorial limits. Polish politicians were confronted by the dilemma whether there was to be a lesser Poland, composed only of the territories with a strictly homogeneous Polish population, or a greater Poland within something like the ample historical frontiers of the Polish-Lithuanian Monarchy before its first partition, in 1772. Real safety for the Polish state, with its open frontiers liable to attack by powerful neighbours, lay only in the larger solution; but that involved territorial quarrels with neighbouring states, and the inclusion, in Poland itself, of large bodies of non-Polish population in the border provinces both on the eastern and the western side. Accordingly, the first years of the history of the new Polish republic were of necessity filled with wars against its neighbours without, and difficulties with non-Polish national minorities within.

A war against the Ukrainian Nationalists, of which Eastern Galicia and chiefly its capital, Lwow (Lemberg), with its 85 per cent Polish inhabitants, was the object, ended in victory for the Poles, and sanction of the Polish military occupation of that province by the peacemakers of Versailles. Poland was less successful against her western neighbour Czechoslovakia, which wrested from her the western part of the Polish-speaking border province of Cieszyn (Teschen, former Austrian Silesia) with its rich coal-fields. The loss was partly compensated by the long-delayed award of the eastern portion of Prussian Silesia, with its Polish majority and coal-mines, to Poland, after several armed passages of partisan warfare between the Poles and Germans in that country, and after a plebiscite under Allied military control.

With her north-eastern neighbour, Lithuania, Poland found it impossible to reëstablish the relation of federal union which had existed during four centuries until the partitions of Poland. As Ukrainian nationalism by Austria, so Lithuanian separatism had been nursed by Russia in the late nineteenth century into determined enmity to Poland. A proposal of the League of Nations, drafted on something like the historical federative lines, appeared to the rulers of the new Lithuania's state to amount to loss of national independence, and to the Poles to offer insufficient safeguards for the rights of the Polish majority in Lithuania's old capital *Wilno* and its neighbourhood. The Gordian knot was finally cut by Polish military occupa-

tion of Wilno and its district, which have since, after a vote of the population, been formally included in Poland.

Lithuania, in 1923, took possession, by armed force, of the internationalised port of Memel, and the *status quo* has been recognised by the Western Powers with reservations in favour of eastern Polish trade, of which Memel is the natural outlet.

Old Poland's principal outlet on the sea, Danzig, at the mouth of the Vistula, was erected by the Peace Conference into a Free City under inter-Allied control, with safeguards for Poland's free access to the port. The relations between this German town and the Polish state have never ceased to give rise to disputes, in spite of the rapid growth of prosperity which Danzig is reaping from its connection with Poland now, as it did in the past when it was part of the Polish state for more than three centuries. A Convention concluded between Poland and Danzig in 1920 did not remedy matters definitely, and the whole problem occupied the League of Nations in 1923.

The Convention of 1920 was distinctly unfavourable to Poland; so was the result of a plebiscite taking place at the same time concerning the fate of a strip of borderland between Poland and East Prussia (Allenstein). Both facts were due to Poland's then being engaged in the greatest foreign conflict it yet had to face — the war with Soviet Russia.

A lingering state of war which had continued since the beginning of the existence of the new Poland, culminated after fruitless negotiations in hostilities on a larger scale. A temporary Polish occupation of Kiev was followed by a Bolshevik invasion of Poland which rolled its tide as far as the banks of the Vistula and reached the very gates of Warsaw. By a great national effort the invaders were at last thrust back, and as a net result, Poland obtained in the Peace Treaty of Riga in 1921, not indeed her large frontiers of 1772, but approximately those it occupied after the second partition in 1793, and before the third and final one of 1795. These frontiers, together with Poland's overlordship over eastern Galicia and over Wilno, have since been recognised by the Western Powers in a decision of the Ambassadors' Conference on March 14, 1923.

In its present shape, the new Polish republic is a state of 387,000 square kilometres (150,000 square miles, or about three-fourths of the area of France) in extent, and has a population of over 27 million inhabitants, of whom more than two-thirds are Poles. There are, besides, about seven million Poles outside Poland — in the neighbouring states and in America.

VI. POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF THE NEW POLAND

The attainment of political stability within the new Polish state has been chiefly hampered by fierce party controversy over certain very vital issues of policy.

The principal one is the question of *land reform.* Since the abolition of serfdom in the nineteenth century, the peasant farmers of Poland had rapidly risen in economic strength. Emigration to America in large numbers and for long periods brought them additional wealth, and even before the war, two-thirds of the Polish soil was already in their hands. Politically, they had formed a powerful party in self-governing Austrian Poland, and under the profoundly democratic provisions of the new Polish Constitution — with universal suffrage and an elective second Chamber — they have risen to the position of a dominating force in the state. Even before the passage of the Constitution by the Constituent Assembly, a Land Reform Bill had

to be passed, which provides for quickened and compulsory disintegration of the large estates in the country in favour of small peasant farmers, enabling them to buy land at almost nominal prices. The struggle as to whether this law is to be put into operation on an extended scale or not, has been going on ever since. Twice in the short history of the new Polish State has the able peasant leader Vincent Witos, who had made his mark in Austro-Polish politics before the war, been Prime Minister of Poland. It was to the energy of his appeal to the country that the mustering of the nation's whole strength for the repulsion of the Bolshevik attack in 1920 was chiefly due. In 1923, he returned to power at the head of a coalition between his own peasant party and the Nationalists, who represent chiefly the vested interests in the country. The resistance of the landowners' class may delay, for some time longer, the sweeping execution of the agrarian reform. But whether by slow means or by quick means, Poland is without any doubt on its way to becoming a country characterised by middle-sized peasant farms, just as it certainly is even now a country of rising peasant prosperity.

The second capital issue of Polish domestic politics — the attitude of the state towards the numerous and strong national minorities — is partly determined from abroad: by the provisions of a special Minority Treaty, which Poland had to sign at Versailles, by the interference and control of the League of Nations, and by the consultative jurisdiction of the Hague Court of International Justice, which recently decided against the Polish State in a dispute concerning the rights of German colonists in former Prussian Poland.

Of the larger minority groups some are acquiring provincial autonomy, besides the parliamentary representation which the proportional system of Polish elections secures for them. Silesia, with its strong German element, has a provincial Legislative Assembly of its own. For eastern Galicia, a statute of self-government was passed by the Polish Constituent Assembly before its dissolution in 1922, but it has not yet been put in operation. The Ukrainians, who constitute nearly two-thirds of the total population of that province, have largely resisted Polish rule passively, and in part actively, hitherto, but seem willing to coöperate with the Polish state now. With regard to the middle stretches of Poland's eastern border, inhabited chiefly by White Russians, the succeeding Polish Governments have not yet been able to determine on a definite policy.

All these national minority questions, however, are mere provincial troubles in comparison with the *Jewish problem,* which is a nation-wide issue of old standing. Since the early middle ages, Jews from other countries in which they were persecuted, had found shelter in Poland, where, by virtue of their great numbers and the communal self-government they enjoyed, they had remained foreign to the body of the nation not only in faith but in speech and dress, traditions and habits. In recent times, the anti-Jewish policy of Tsarist Russia had increased the burden by foisting large numbers of Russian Jews upon Poland. The gravity of the issue was fully realised by Polish public opinion when, at the Duma elections of 1912, the very capital of Poland, Warsaw, returned a candidate nominated by the Jews. A boycott of Jewish traders was propagated and widely practised; it compelled numbers of Jews to emigrate to America.

The war made many Jews rich by profiteering, and in the early days of the new Polish republic many Jews took sides with Germans, Bolsheviks, and Ukrainians against Poland; these two facts were the motives of anti-Jewish excesses in the new Poland, which were extravagantly described abroad as *pogroms,* but have since been proved, by foreign missions of

inquiry headed by distinguished American and British Jews, to have been much less outrageous in reality than in the reports.

The new Poland has to face the facts: that there are about three million Jews — one-ninth of the population — within its borders; that they are scattered all over the country in proportions varying from one per cent in western to eighty per cent in eastern towns, and amounting to from thirty to forty per cent in the large cities of central Poland; that they still hold practically a monopoly of trade, especially in smaller provincial towns, and thereby impede the much-needed growth of a solid Polish middle-class, in which modern Poland is sadly deficient; that they have risen considerably since the war, in Poland as elsewhere, in wealth, education, and collective power; finally, that in their bulk the Jews are as foreign as ever to Polish nationality, and, in fact, present in Polish political life a united opposition of Jewish Nationalism. A solid group of thirty-odd Jewish deputies in Parliament are the spokesmen of that Nationalism. The Jews were the principal factor in a *bloc* of the national minorities of Poland, organised during the election campaign of 1922. Communist propaganda against the Polish State is supported by Soviet Russia, but largely conducted by Polish Jews.

Emigration of Jews on a larger scale either to Palestine or America is out of the question, and Soviet Russia has tried to thrust new masses of Jewish proletarians on Poland. Self-government of the Jewish community within Poland in any wide sense of the word is obviously impracticable, in view of their not being limited to any special part of the country. Assimilation, in view of the number and racial distinctness of the Jews, is neither easy now, nor desired by either party. How, under such circumstances, the Polish national character of the state is to be maintained without inflicting on the Jews any of those old-fashioned "civil disabilities" which are not to be thought of in a modern world, is a problem which has vainly puzzled all succeeding Polish Governments, the more so as any attempted solution of it is bound to have the most important bearings on Poland's international and economic position.

Third among the problems which violently divide Polish public opinion, there stands the question of Poland's foreign policy. The French alliance is, indeed, a political axiom accepted by all parties; the continuance of the *Entente*, and friendly relations with Great Britain are as unanimously desired. That a revengeful Germany on the one side and a Bolshevik Russia on the other jointly constitute a grave danger to the very existence of Poland, is seen clearly by everybody, and makes the alliance with Rumania an obvious necessity. But the relations with the Russia of to-morrow, and, in connection with this problem, the attitude of Poland towards the Slav powers of the Little *Entente* and towards the small Baltic states, constitute a debated point. The Nationalists favour conceptions which would amount to a revival of Pan-Slavism as a safeguard against the German danger, while their opponents would prefer Poland to rely on good relations with Hungary and Italy in order to be independent of a combination in which Czechoslovakia at present, and Russia in the future, would undoubtedly be the predominant partner.

Finally, another internal source of dissension and difficulty must be mentioned as still existing, though rapidly dwindling — viz., the differences in mentality and outlook between Poles from the three parts of Poland which had been separated for a century and a half. The abolition of the customs frontier which, even in the new Poland, for a time separated the former Prussian province from the rest; the disappearance of temporary regional institutions such as the "Ministry for the Affairs of Former Prussian Poland,"

which existed till 1921; the training of Polish officials and teachers in former Prussian and Russian Poland, in which no Poles held public office before the war; migration and intermarriage between the different sections of the population within the reunited country; finally, the uniform education of the young Polish citizens now growing up — these measures and factors will, ere long, effectually remove all vestiges of the old divisions.

VII. THE ORGANISATION OF THE STATE

In spite of the still-existing differences in mental type and habits, in spite of almost continuous foreign wars till 1921 and of passionate political and social contests within, much has been done, in the few years of Poland's new existence, towards the unification of a state which has risen out of the *débris* of three widely different foreign political, legal, and administrative systems.

Poland is now divided, as the old Kingdom of Poland was, into uniform administrative districts (the Palatinates or "voyvodcies"); it has uniform police administration (organised on English models) and a standardised judicial procedure; a uniformly organised and well-equipped army on a basis of conscription and with a peace strength of 275,000 men (or one per cent of the population); a connected and efficient complex of State railways increasingly well provided with rolling-stock; a public health service which, with assistance from the League of Nations, has coped successfully with terrible epidemics introduced from Soviet Russia; finally, a united and well-developed educational system.

Especially in the sphere of education the progress has been considerable and the achievement great, considering that Prussian Poland had only German schools before the war, and Russian Poland was very poor in schools of any sort. While there were 4,000 elementary schools in Russian Poland before the war, there were 10,000 Polish elementary schools in 1923 in that province alone. In place of the two Polish universities of pre-war Galicia, Poland had six in 1923, besides a number of Polytechnic High Schools, Academies of Agriculture and of the Arts, Institutes of Research, and a network of secondary and elementary schools increasing in density.

The creation of a body of laws for the new Polish state is a gigantic task, and the Codifying Commission, composed of the best experts of the country, which is at work on it, is still far from the end of its labours. The old laws of the partitioning powers are still largely in operation; but the codes most urgently needed in the everyday life of society, especially those governing business relations, have already been worked out.

Poland is not free from that besetting weakness of all latter-day Europe — an overgrowth of bureaucratic apparatus in all departments of public life. This is largely accounted for by the extraordinarily wide and continually growing sphere of social tasks which the humanity of to-day expects the state to perform for it. The magnitude of such tasks in a country ruined by war, and the huge military effort required at a moment's warning by the invasion of 1920, have been the principal causes of a catastrophic decay of the Polish currency. The connection between the Polish and the German mark, dating from the time of the German occupation, and difficult to dissolve because of constant business relations with the German neighbour, has been another contributory factor toward disaster. Resolute attempts were made to stem the tide of inflation; reductions of official personnel and state expenditure, endeavours to increase taxation, even the heroic remedy of a Capital Levy (in 1922), have been tried, on the whole without marked

success. Besides large new taxes voted by Parliament in 1923, and a second Capital Levy, which is to be distributed over three years, another effort has recently been made by voluntary limitation of the powers of Parliament over finance in favour of the Executive, which is at present organising an independent State Bank on a shareholding basis, in order to stop the increase of paper money. In the course of 1924, a new and reformed currency is to replace the depreciated Polish mark.

VIII. ECONOMIC PROGRESS

In the meantime, Poland presents the spectacle, not infrequent in post-war Europe, of a community flourishing economically while its State finances are out of order. Economic reconstruction after the ravages of war has made wonderful progress all over the country; 43 per cent of the one and a half million destroyed dwellings in Poland, as well as most of the demolished railway bridges and station buildings, were rebuilt before the end of 1921. Agriculture, still the occupation of two-thirds of Poland's population, recovered more quickly than any other activity, chiefly owing to the indefatigable industry of the Polish farmer. The percentage of land left waste after the war was reduced from an average of 25 in 1919 to zero in 1922. While in 1921 Poland was still obliged to import seven million metric tons of foodstuffs from abroad, there were already in 1922 half a million tons of corn, two million tons of potatoes, and 150,000 tons of beet sugar available for export, besides ample food for the population. Poland is developing again into an exporter of agricultural produce, meat and other articles of food. It is also exporting timber on a large scale, besides utilising an increasing quantity of it in her own industries.

But whilst agriculture and forestry are regaining a status they held before the war, a more sweeping change is coming over the industrial aspect of the country. The highly industrialised condition of pre-war Russian Poland is communicating itself to the whole territory of the republic. The large increase of the home market in area by the reunion of Poland, and in capacity by the growing wealth of the peasant farmers, has given a powerful impulse to industrial activity. This compensates to some extent for the loss of the huge Russian markets of pre-war times. The textile factories of Lodz, "the Polish Manchester," have got back to one-half of their pre-war activity, and have found new markets for their manufactures in all parts of the world. Polish manufactured articles of all sorts are being exported not only to such industrially undeveloped countries as Rumania or the Baltic states, but also to the west of Europe. In 1922, Poland's exports reached the level of her imports, and if this has not yet had its due effect on Poland's international credit and the salvation of her finance, the fact can only be explained by the political uncertainty and unsettled economic condition of the whole European system since the war.

Undoubtedly, the rapid growth of post-war Polish industry has something of a hectic flush about it, feeding, as it does, on the very decay of the Polish currency (which places it outside foreign competition both at home and abroad), and being fostered by large State credits. Still, it is a distinct gain that thanks to this development Poland has not suffered, among the many troubles and difficulties of its first years, from the scourge of unemployment on a large scale. A continued development of industry is a vital necessity for Poland, being the indispensable outlet for a landless surplus of country population, which will exist in large numbers even if land reform be carried out in the most drastic fashion. And it is not unsafe to predict

that Polish industry, in the stage of evolution it has reached, is fully capable of weathering a possible crisis. It is certainly safeguarded by that most solid natural foundation, a wealth of mineral resources. With three coal basins within its borders, including the rich Upper Silesian one (which exports 4,000 cars of coal per day to Germany alone), and with her oil-fields in Eastern Galicia (which produced three per cent of the world's oil supply before the war), Poland would have the makings of a perfectly self-contained industrial area, if it were not for the lack of high-class iron ore. On the other hand, the country possesses such curiosities as the salt-mines near Cracow, which have been worked since the thirteenth century, more salt-mines in former Prussian Poland, and remarkably productive layers of potash salts and phosphorite in Eastern Galicia. These now keep over 100 chemical factories in Poland busy, and supply Polish agriculture in quickly increasing quantities with the artificial fertilisers needed by the stretches of sandy soil in some parts of Poland.

With such natural resources at its command, the country may look forward confidently to the economic fluctuations which are still in store for the new Europe of the later twentieth century. Poland's future, both as an old-established agricultural community and as a newly developing industrial area, can be considered as assured. Her political future depends on less calculable factors; but the past, with a thousand years of not inglorious national history, and a century of heroic struggles against oppression, gives sufficient proof of a vitality which will no doubt be equal to the dangers of a peculiarly exposed international position and to the responsibilities of a conspicuous place among the civilised nations of the modern world.

(For a more detailed account of the rise of the new Polish State, the numerous French and English publications of the Polish National Committee may be consulted. The author of this chapter is indebted to the Polish works of Professor Kutrzeba and others, as well as to a collection of historical documents published by Professor K. W. Kumaniecki and covering the period from 1912 till the end of 1923.)

CHAPTER XLVII

SELF-DETERMINATION ON THE BALTIC: FINLAND, ESTHONIA, LATVIA AND LITHUANIA

By BARON ALEXANDER MEYENDORFF

Reader in Russian Law, Institutions and Economics, King's College, University of London. Formerly Member of the Russian Duma and Senator, Privat-Dozent at St. Petersburg University.

RUSSIA AND THE BALTIC STATES

THE area covered by these four newly born and independent states, of which Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania may be termed peasant republics, is formed from the spoils amassed by Orthodox Russia since the day of Peter the Great, Lithuania having belonged originally to Roman Catholic Poland, the rest to Protestant Sweden. Through the acquisition of Finland in 1809 by Alexander I, the Russian control of the eastern part of the Baltic seemed to be definitely established throughout the nineteenth century; but with the eclipse of Russia as a military power in 1917, her hold over the Baltic shores has been reduced to a small strip facing Petrograd. The independence of these four new states rests upon international charters and treaties, and not upon the good-will of their potentially powerful neighbours. Three of them — Finland is usually mentioned separately — remind us of the observation of Graham Wallas in *Our Social Heritage,* that the danger-spots of the world are those regions where markedly different races are brought into relations with each other too close for illusion.

DUALISTIC CHARACTER OF BALTIC STATES

Finland and the three Baltic provinces (*i.e.*, Courland, Livland and Esthland) now forming the republics of Esthonia, Latvia and Lithuania, have all experienced western influence in the past, but in varying degrees of quantity and quality. The problems of internal pacification and adjustment to Russian claims had to be faced under considerable difficulties. The first of these problems was derived from a marked dualism in the population of these four territories. In each of them there existed ruling minorities of Swedish, German and Polish descent or culture, who were distinguished by discipline and energy, and by their devotion, both in the towns and the country, to their racial, military, cultural and religious traditions. They were possibly over-conscious of their superior political inheritance and were averse to making allowances for the less fortunately situated native peoples. This dualism hampered racial amalgamation, cultural fusion, linguistic unification and economic equilibrium. Hence the alien landowners and townsmen, notwithstanding the fact of several centuries of cohabitation, failed to form coherent and homogeneous nationalities with the native Finnish, Esthonian, Lettish or Lithuanian

peasant owner, tenant and agricultural labourer. Religious unity was attained, Lutheranism prevailing except in Lithuania, where Roman Catholicism remained dominant, but this unity was largely due to enforced methods of Christianisation in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and was considerably weakened in modern times by bilingualism. Naturally, the awakening of national consciousness among these subject races was permeated by a sense of past wrong, and thus it was little disposed to place any great value on the benefits of western culture.

NATIONALIST ASPIRATIONS

During the second half of the nineteenth century this dualism subsided in semi-independent Finland and Catholic Lithuania whenever the population unanimously turned against attempts at enforced Russification. Oftener, especially in Esthonia, Livonia and Courland and, with regard to the all-important land problems, in Lithuania also, Russian policy only increased and intensified the local discord, favouring, according to the needs of the moment, sometimes the ruling classes and sometimes the people.

The adjustment to Russian religious, national and economic demands grew increasingly difficult, for the younger generation of proletarian and peasant intellectuals were devoted, almost to excess, to universal ideas, and was, and still is, disinclined to understand those limitations that are imposed by realities and by the past. The idea of nationality that gathered strength in all those states, excepting Fin[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] to be applied amid the complexity of modern life and [illegible], and numerous tasks of administration, education and reconstruction were thrust upon ill-equipped pioneers. The State has, in the Baltic republics, much more than in Finland, become the chief land and trade monopolist, and provides employment for the growing numbers of so-called educated young men who—to use an expression of General Smuts—are possessed by the matriculation mania and are unfit for any but clerical work. The prospect for these republics has its alarming side, but their chief asset is their great vitality.

FINLAND

According to the census of December, 1920, the population of Finland amounted to 3,367,542, of which 2,754,208 spoke Finnish, 340,963 Swedish, 4,806 Russian, 2,378 German and 1,603 Lapponic. In religion the majority of the inhabitants are Lutherans; 54,701 are Greek Catholics or Russian dissenters, 404 are Roman Catholics and 1,618 Jews; 543,046 live in cities.

RUSSO-FINNISH CONFLICTS

Finland possesses a solid political past and a sound political training which has been subjected to the test of recurrent Russo-Finnish conflicts. The suspension of the Finnish Constitution in 1899 by a Russian Imperial Manifesto and the dictatorship of General Bobrikov were matters that attracted attention all over the world, as did the assassination of the latter in 1904 by a young official named Schaumann, whose letter to the Tsar, Grand Duke of Finland, emphasised the sanctity of law and defined clearly the political unity of Finland's bilingual population in those days of passive resistance to Russian claims.

In November, 1905, the Russian internal troubles following on the Russo-Japanese War helped a Finnish revolt and caused the Tsar Nicholas II Grand

Duke of Finland, to concede all demands embodied in the petition of the Finnish Social-Democrats. The Diet, composed of the four orders of nobility, clergy, burghers and peasants, was radically reformed and universal suffrage, without regard to sex, was introduced. Though formally dependent on Russia, Finland already appeared as a perfectly articulate commonwealth.

IMPERIAL LEGISLATION ACT

Stolypin, the Russian Premier, believed, like Bismarck, in the possibility of checking disruptive forces by nationalistic and emotional policy, and attempted to define any given legislative matter as a domestic Finnish or Imperial Russian question. The preponderance of Social Democracy in Finland and the facilities offered to Russian revolutionaries by the proximity of Finnish territory to the Russian capital (a fact which repeated itself when Lenin sought refuge in Finland in 1917), combined with the independence of the Finnish tribunals in Russian political proceedings, helped Stolypin to have "The Imperial Legislation Act" passed by the Russian Duma and Council of State. This new law came into force in June, 1910. According to its provisions, any matter relating to education, language, finance, customs, the monetary system, press restrictions and personal liberties could henceforth be submitted to a decision of the Russian legislative bodies, the Finnish Diet being reduced in such cases to the position of a mere advisory body. It is true that this procedure was adopted only twice — once when citizen rights in Finland were conferred upon temporary Russian residents, and again when the Finnish pilot system was transferred to the Russian Admiralty.

GROWING ALIENATION FROM RUSSIA

But the alienation of Finland, arising from a feeling of obstructed liberty, was growing rapidly even among the *bourgeoisie,* although this class viewed with dismay the importance of Finnish socialism. Finnish magistrates refused to enforce these Imperial laws, and many very distinguished judges were condemned to heavy penalties by the Russian courts, while between 1909 and 1917 the powers of the Russian Governor-General, especially under Seyn, became so oppressive that the Finnish population united in a common passive resistance. Thus the anti-Tsarist feeling of the preceding decade, owing to the course taken by the Russian Duma and a section of the Russian press, changed into an anti-Russian sentiment largely shared and encouraged by the whole of Europe. The conclusions of the Westlake Committee, signed in London in 1910 by prominent jurists from various countries, almost amounted to an international manifesto in favour of the Finlanders.

FINLAND IN THE WORLD WAR

In view of the foregoing it is small wonder that during the World War the Swedish minority and the *bourgeoisie* in general, notwithstanding the extraordinary commercial advantages derived from Russian Government orders, were definitely pro-German. Indeed they assisted Finlanders to volunteer in Germany, where they formed a separate snipers' unit. On the other hand, the proletariat, led by the Social Democrats, following on the abdication of the Emperor on March 15, 1917, fraternised gladly with the mutinous Russian garrisons, hoping to rid themselves of a *bourgeois* rule that was, at least temporarily, based on German military power.

The *bourgeoisie* formed a volunteer army, led with success by the former Russian General, Mannerheim, who was supported by German troops led by Count von der Goltz. These landed in Finland on April 3, 1918. The Red forces, in spite of material help received from Petrograd, collapsed after the fall of Viborg in May, 1918. Fifteen thousand Reds were killed, 73,915 were taken prisoner, and 31 per cent of the population were prevented from taking part in the elections held in June, when a triumphant *bourgeois* majority was returned.

INDEPENDENCE OF FINLAND

It was planned to invite a German prince, Charles Frederick of Hesse, to occupy the throne of Finland, but in July, 1918, there came a turn in the tide of war: the independence of Finland, virtually declared by the Diet on July 18, 1917, was to be readjusted to the policy of the ruling *Entente* Powers. Senator Pehr Evind Svinhufvud, who had exercised almost supreme power at the end of 1918, relinquished his direction of affairs, and on December 12 was succeeded by General Mannerheim as Regent, who formed a Coalition Government composed of six Republicans and six Monarchists. On July 17, 1919, the Finnish Diet decided to establish a republic with a president to be elected every six years, and on July 25, 1919, Professor Kaarlo Juho Ståhlberg was elected by 143 votes against 50 recorded for Mannerheim.

RELATIONS OF THE NEW REPUBLIC WITH RUSSIA

The economic position of Finland once more became tolerable since American grain now replaced Russian, upon which the country had generally been dependent. But in her Russian policy Finland passed through many anxieties. After some bickerings, Finland had to come to terms with Soviet Russia, and on October 14, 1920, signed a treaty with this country, obtaining territorial advantages and vague assurances regarding self-government for the Karelian population in the neighbouring provinces of Archangel and Olonets. The status of these kinsmen of the Finns forms one of the disputes which the Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague has refused to discuss.

THE FUTURE

Finland in a greater degree than any of the other Baltic republics has had time to absorb and thoroughly master her newly acquired powers; but a difficult task lies ahead in finding some protection for her in her foreign relations. A coalition with the other Baltic States and with Poland, or the scheme of a Baltic League under the leadership of France, appears provocative to Soviet Russia, but no plan can be recommended until the League of Nations has acquired sufficient authority to enforce its decisions.

Finland emerged from the Civil War of 1918 preserving the main features of the competitive state based on the principle of private ownership and the sanctity of mutually negotiated contracts. She had no embarrassing problems of franchise or of constitutional discontent to solve. Her land problem, the conversion of the class of small tenants into landowners by the Act of October 15, 1918, and, later, decrees introduced by the Prime Minister, Kyosti Kallio, though representing a radical and almost eleemosynary transfer of land to small tenants who usually paid their rent by work and in kind, cannot be compared with the revolutionary land reforms which changed

the social structure in the Baltic states. Thus the new status of Finland does not bear the stamp of an improvisation which must be justified by her future; it is, on the contrary, already justified by her past.

ESTHONIA

A FEW STATISTICS

According to the preliminary census of 1921, the population of this new Baltic state is 1,109,479, of whom 92 per cent are Esthonian, four per cent Russian and about two per cent of German origin, those last being known as Balts or Balto-Saxons; they were formerly the ruling class and, until lately, economically preponderant. The language spoken is Esthonian, which is akin to Finnish. Three-fourths of the population are engaged in agriculture; in 1919, 2.5 per cent were employed by the Government, and only 1.9 per cent by private industrial concerns. Protestantism is the prevailing religion. The area of the country is 18,300 square miles, larger than Switzerland. Previous to the Land Act of October 10, 1919, about 4.9 millions of acres were owned and farmed in large estates, chiefly belonging to the Baltic "barons"; 1.4 millions were owned by corporations; 1.4 millions were tenanted and farmed in small lots; 4.3 millions were owned and farmed by peasant owners. The expropriation by the State of the first group, and the redistribution of land (the forests excepted) to small occupying peasants, agricultural labourers and soldiers are the chief principles of Esthonian domestic policy. The same applies to Latvia and, recently, even to Lithuania. The ejection or reduction to a pitiful state of a formerly influential social group is the main by-product and chief pride of the national renaissance of the native nationalities.

One of the most important Universities of eastern Europe, that at Dorpat (Russian *Yuryev*), is situated in Esthonia. Founded by Gustavus Adolphus during the Thirty Years War, the language of instruction was for some time Swedish, changing later to German, and in 1890 to Russian. The professors may now teach in Esthonian, German or Russian.

UNDER RUSSIAN RULE

Independent Esthonia covers the northern part of the former Russian province of Livonia (where is situated the Germano-Russian University of Dorpat) and the province of Esthonia, of which the chief town, Reval (Tallin), has now become the capital of the republic. Both halves of the race developed into one distinct nationality in consequence of a common speech and compulsory and free education in the Protestant elementary schools, and of the local administration law of 1866. According to the latter, the Russian Government based local affairs upon two mutually almost independent factors—the squires on their home farm or demesne, and the peasantry, composed of tenants and landless labourers, forming the communal units. The power of the squirearchy in educational matters and in the election of law and police officers was abolished by the Russification legislation of 1886, 1888 and 1889, and by the appointment of Russian officials. What survived of the squire's influence in ecclesiastical affairs, together with some other privileges, as the preservation of game on sold but tenanted land, were more than sufficient reasons for the Esthonian intellectuals to foster and to cultivate national feeling among the Esthonian masses, whose self-respect, together with their economic conditions, was rapidly progressing.

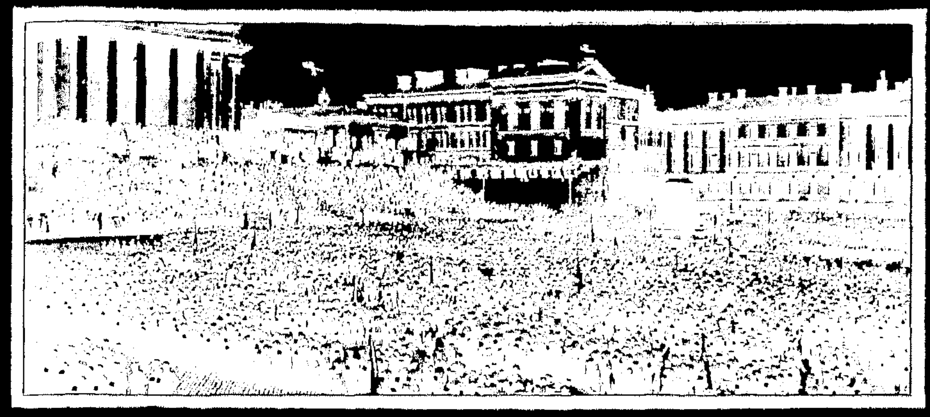
NATIONALISTIC FEELING

The first insurrectional attempt in the direction of the establishment of Esthonian autonomy and of the ejection of the landlords was made in 1905 in connection with the general revolutionary movement in Russia. It broke down, as did the movement in Russia proper. The surviving victims of the Russo-Baltic repression, which was as severe as the movement had been wild, reappeared later as active supporters of a policy of independence. Since 1905 people began to feel that the racial, religious and linguistic minorities in Esthonia would some day be deprived of their preponderant position. The leaven could not be prevented from working in the Esthonian press, social life, municipal affairs and the coöperative movement, but it was kept under observation by the Russian administration on account of its democratic aspects and its connection with socialism.

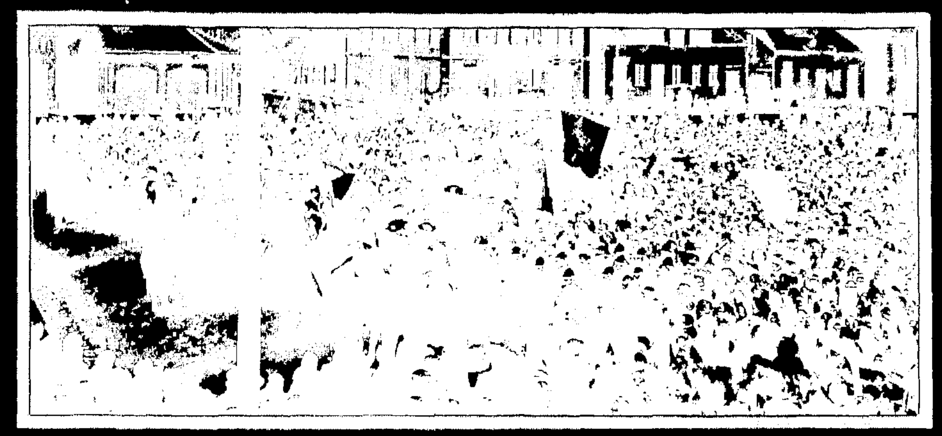
When Nicholas II abdicated in March, 1917, and Russia's military power collapsed, the Esthonians realised that they would have to look after themselves. They experienced some eighteen months of Russian revolutionary *régime*. Mutinous soldiery and Bolshevik violence and propaganda, the latter almost succeeding in producing an internal division of labourers *versus* farmers within the nation, represented a danger calling for immediate measures of self-protection. A victory for Germany, a request for whose troops was made in January, 1918, by the terrorised squires, was dreaded by the Esthonians. Their democratic leaders, while the outcome of the fight was still uncertain, turned for help to the Allies, who promptly responded to the claim of Esthonian independence, Paetz, Wilms, Poska, Larko, Kukk and others having formed a Provisional Government on February 24, 1918. This decision may fairly be set down as one conspicuous for the daring it exhibited; merely prudential considerations would have prevented the Esthonian leaders from declaring Germany their chief antagonist at a time when her troops were victorious and were expected to help the Finns to escape from a similar situation.

THE FIGHT AGAINST BOLSHEVISM

Subsequent developments bear the stamp of this anti-German orientation: but pending any support from the *Entente* Powers, the Esthonians, in November and December, 1918, were actually saved from the Bolshevik grip by their Baltic compatriots, who, assisted by German headquarters, were the first ready to fight for their homes against the Bolshevik invaders. The Baltic banks of Reval provided funds for hiring Finnish volunteers for this fight. The distinguished Esthonian military leader, Laidoner, had but few genuinely Esthon[illegible], but with a degree of courage that verged on [illegible] under Colonel Weiss, together with the Finnish [illegible] protection of the British fleet, saved the situation. [illegible] own army, receiving military, financial and me[illegible], France and the United States, this being the origin of her foreign debt, which amounts to 14 million dollars to the United States, 10 million francs to France and £251,000 to Great Britain. This army fought with distinction against the Bolshevik forces in coöperation with Russian anti-Bolshevik units under General Yudenich, and at the same time, in June, 1919, substantially helped the Lettish army in its fight against the German volunteers and Baltic units, which, having liberated Riga from the Bolsheviks, were now regarded as a new danger. This laid



A Parade of the Volunteer National Guard in the Square at Helsingfors, Capital of Finland.



Lithuanians celebrating their independence in the little town of Mariampol.



A street in Mitau in the Republic of Latvia, once a part of Russia.

the foundation of Lettish-Esthonian friendship. A favourable peace with the Bolsheviks was signed in February, 1920.

DRASTIC LAND LEGISLATION

In 1920 came Esthonia's opportunity to break the backbone of landlordism, an operation that was performed with eagerness by the Constituent Assembly by means of the predatory Land Act of that year. It was expected that the disturbing consequences of an uneconomic liquidation of the large farms would be easily outweighed by the development of trade with Russia, an influx of foreign capital and State management, on "scientific" lines, of the expropriated forests and other natural riches. It was hoped that by the establishment of complete democracy and by the distribution of land to State-aided settlers, the Government would have a greater hold upon the confidence of the people and that the communistic paradise would be no temptation to the landless section of the community.

DIFFICULTIES AHEAD OF THE NEW REPUBLIC

The basic requirements of public safety and a good administration of justice have been satisfactorily established in Esthonia and form a good omen for the future. The fight against communistic intrigues is carried on with energy, and the political struggle has found its normal channels in the working of the constitution. The question of the teaching of divinity, for instance, has already been the object of a popular initiative. But the nation is divided into 16 or 17 political parties. The Government, at the head of which is President K. Paetz, elected in August, 1923, has therefore to overcome all the difficulties of capricious coalitions. The best men seem to be disinclined to enter political life; business has up to the present been chiefly of a speculative nature; the solid traditions of economic life have been overruled by the all-powerful nationalist passion; and the State, as a distributing machine, encourages gambling and not production. There is therefore but a moderate confidence in the future.

LATVIA

SOME CENSUS FIGURES

The census of June 14, 1920, gives this new Baltic state a population of 1,596,131 (estimated January 1, 1922, at 1,850,622), of whom 408,880 inhabit Livonia, exclusive of Riga, which has a population of 187,137 (in 1913, 517,522); 282,453 inhabit Courland; 222,311 Semgallia; 496,222 Latgallia, the stronghold of Roman Catholicism. In religion 914,409 of the total population are Lutherans, 375,227 are Roman Catholics, 138,803 are Russian Orthodox, 73,310 are Russian Dissenters, 79,626 are Hebrews or belong to other minor groups. As regards racial grouping, 1,159,396 belong to the Lettish race, 157,671 are Russians, 79,368 Hebrews, 55,097 Germans (called Balts or German-Balts), 52,244 Poles, 25,588 Lithuanians and 8,701 Esthonians.

STRENGTH OF THE PEASANT MOVEMENT

The history of the area covered by contemporary Latvia, with the exception of Latgallia, centres around the same principles which characterise

Esthonian developments and which has led to similar sociological and political results. The integration of the peasant population into a self-conscious nationality, and its subsequent division into antagonistic classes and parties, show a complex interplay of vital forces and natural gifts suppressed and at the same time encouraged by this very suppression.

While the Esthonians could follow the lead of their more advanced kinsmen and neighbours — the Finns — the Letts never turned to their kinsmen and neighbours, the Lithuanians. However dark the background of Baltic and Russian rule appears to the Lettish "patriots" of to-day or yesterday, they do not deny that the process of Europeanisation and the astounding economic progress of their people, since the reforms of 1864 and 1866, are not to be found either among the Lithuanians or even among the Letts of Latgallia, where the accursed Baltic "baron" and his followers were lacking and where there was no important centre of old Teutonic commercial activities such as Riga, and no German seat of learning, such as Dorpat, and, finally, no period of Swedish domination with its trusteeship over the peasant population.

ANTI-GERMAN AND PRO-BOLSHEVIK SYMPATHIES

It is one of the most striking features of Russian development in general that those provinces which have experienced the rule or, let it be said, even the oppression of Protestant Teutonic minorities, have been led to some initial stage of cultural development. Russian absolutism and bureaucracy, all-powerful in Latgallia, with its primitive life, did not prevent the consolidation of the European economic framework in both town and country in the main districts of Latvia. The responsible peasant owner of Latvia and the organised agricultural labourer, his present antagonist, formed the community which Lettish intellectuals of the western or the Russian radical type desired to lead or mislead to political action. The temperament of the complex class of intellectuals, even when their education was German, was ill-matched with that of the former "alien" masters, who were mostly authoritarians. The wave of 1905 rolled over the Letts, as it did over the Esthonians. It left mortification and bitterness among them and a "die-hard" disposition among the bravest of their antagonists, but it did not paralyse economic progress. From the very beginning of the World War the Letts were eagerly inciting the Russian authorities and the Jingo press against the Germano-Balts of all descriptions — squires, clergymen, industrialists and intellectuals. Scores of them were sent to Siberia as undesirable, while Russian confidence and sympathies were gained by the creation, July 19, 1915, of Lettish battalions, which showed excellent fighting spirit against German troops in 1916 and 1917. At the end of the latter year they became the backbone of the Bolshevik army, and in 1919, in the struggle against Latvian *bourgeois* independence, they sided with Shtuchka and other Bolshevik leaders of Lettish origin against their homeland.

BETWEEN THE BOLSHEVIKS AND THE GERMANS

During the World War Latvian territory was impoverished and depopulated, especially in Courland. The German advance from 1915 to February, 1918, gradually developed into an occupation preparatory to annexation by some form of federation with Germany, while the Russian forces, after the abdication of Nicholas II in March, 1917, lapsed into a state of chaotic convulsions, constituting a danger to life and property wherever

appeared. It was a moment of supreme peril, and each of the two sections of the population which inhabited that borderland situated between a triumphant Germany and a collapsing Russia experienced the pinch of individual destiny. One section, headed by the Baltic "die-hards," Von Sievers, Oettingen and Rahden, and encouraged by the German chief of staff, Colonel Franz, was ready to merge itself into German security and order; while the Letts boldly followed the star of national independence. It is true that a considerable section of Lettish intellectuals and landless proletarians attached themselves to the communistic creed, and after the breakdown of Germany and from January to May, 1919, as masters of Riga and the northern part of the country, they gave practical application to the doctrine of proletarian dictatorship, while the newly born national Government of Latvia, headed by K. Ulmanis, was reduced to the necessity of residing on a ship. Until the liberation of Riga by a small unit under Baron Manteuffel, it experienced the humiliation of comparing the passivity of the Lettish population with the restless energy of the Baltische Landeswehr — German volunteers and Russian units drawn from the prisoners' camps in Germany and all supplied by Germany. Starting from Libau, these units reconquered the capital, and were received with blessings by the liberated citizens. Then followed the extraordinary manœuvre of getting rid of the liberators, who were preparing to become the masters.

THE END OF GERMAN INTERVENTION.

In this, Ulmanis and Meierowitz, the Minister for Foreign Affairs, with the help of Esthonian troops assisted by England, succeeded. The Lettish Government repudiated the promise of land made, at a moment of danger, to the German mercenaries. The Baltische Landeswehr under an English commanding officer, Colonel Alexander, purged of foreign German elements, continued the fight against the Bolsheviks. General Ballod, as High Commander of the Lettish army, at last obtained decisive successes, crowned by the Russo-Latvian Treaty of August 11, 1920.

THE LAND ACT

Of all the various interesting aspects of the development of Latvia, the far-reaching Land Act of September 16, 1920, is perhaps the most important. This Act provided for: (1) the transfer of all large estates to the State; (2) State management of all the forests, forming about two-thirds of the expropriated area, or 3,500,000 acres; (3) the allotment of about 100,000 family holdings on tillable land to landless agricultural labourers, ex-service-men, etc.; and (4) liquidation of the big agricultural enterprises. No compensation was awarded to the former landowners, who were left with a maximum of 50 hectares, until 1923, while a nugatory indemnity was paid for live stock and implements. As the Latvians were, at the moment of the passing of this Act, seeking to establish relations with foreign financiers with a view to reviving the all-important trade of Riga and Libau, it appears to have been singularly inopportune to have shocked thus Western opinion. The fluctuating limits of State interference have been increasingly obliterated, but if political pressure overrides economic fundamentals, the politician may acquire, the psychologist may admire, the economist may inquire, but the business man will retire; and unfortunately it is a fact that this last is by all means the most important of the four. Fortunately, Esthonia followed this example.

DRASTIC ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION

The intellectual cross-currents of the nation, as well as its religious dispositions, are bewildering. The retrocession by the Government to the Roman Catholic Church of an historic parish church, which for nearly four centuries had been appropriated to the Lutherans, formed, in September, 1923, the subject-matter of a referendum; while the conversion of some Greek Orthodox churches into Lutheran churches by act of Government shows an extravagant conception of sovereign power. The status of racial, linguistic and religious minorities has since, however, and with the consent of the Latvian Government, been placed under the trusteeship of the League of Nations, and it is worth mentioning as a new departure in the rights of minorities in Europe, that the Latvian Government, according to its declaration of July, 1923, will admit advisory verdicts on such matters by an international tribunal.

THE FUTURE

Expert opinion will admit that Latvia, under its President, J. Tschakste, elected in January, 1923, is living a busy, enterprising and restless life, but unfortunately is engaged in introducing lawless political adventures in a civilised form of social life. Latvia is, however, fully aware of the difficulties arising from the existence of neighbours more powerful and still more enterprising than herself, and there is, therefore, justification for her action in promoting a great Baltic League which will sustain to advantage the character she has assumed.

LITHUANIA

POPULATION

The population of Lithuania was estimated in 1922 at 2,293,100, of which 70 per cent are Lithuanians, 13 per cent Jews, 8 per cent Poles and 7 per cent Russians.

BEGINNING OF LITHUANIAN SELF-CONSCIOUSNESS

Among the formative factors in the development of recent Lithuanian self-consciousness must be mentioned a considerable fluctuating emigration to the United States, a peasant-born Roman Catholic rural clergy, an impregnation of the Lithuanian youth of school age with Russian and Jewish progressive and revolutionary ideas — an involuntary by-product of Russian political and cultural activities among the non-Russian subject races. So far, the dualistic structure of life in the former three provinces of west Russia, which now form the territory of Lithuania, reminds us of what has already been said of Latvia, Esthonia and even Finland. But besides the difference in creed and race, there are basic differences in political, social and economic conditions — differences which can be summed up by stating that Lithuania is less European. Illiteracy is more frequent, the peasantry is a more uniform mass and not differentiated into two classes — one a wealthy class of owning farmers and the other composed of agricultural labourers. Large islands of Russian and even Tartar peasantry, a numerous but poor Jewish population, a primitive town life, an economically less active and progressive gentry, numerous absentee or speculative owners, an all-

powerful Russian officialdom of an inferior kind, were all factors that combined to differentiate Lithuania from the other Baltic States. The national consciousness of the people grew in silence and obscurity, and only after the movement of 1905 and the Lithuanian Conference of Vilna did the Russian Government concede the printing of Lithuanian books in Latin letters.

LITHUANIA AND THE WORLD WAR

During the first years of the World War the German advance was met with reserve by the Lithuanian population. Neither did the peasantry see any advantage in enthusiastically backing the Russian horse; they preferred to wait and see who the winner was going to be. In 1916, in Switzerland some Lithuanian intellectuals began to propagate the idea of Lithuanian independence, and after the downfall of Russia, German attempts to subordinate Lithuanian aspirations to a German scheme for the creation of a Lithuanian principality under a German prince facilitated the formation of an organising centre — the *Taryba* or State Council, of which Dr. Smetona was president. In proportion as Germany's collapse became increasingly apparent, this body became increasingly a national centre.

LITHUANIA BECOMES INDEPENDENT

On May 15, 1920, a Constituent Assembly composed of 59 Christian Democrats, 29 Social Populists, 13 Social Democrats, six Jews, three Poles, one German and one non-partyman, superseded the *Taryba*. None of the other Baltic States showed moderation in the initial period of their formation as did the Lithuanian Assembly, although it was convened immediately after the Bolshevik menace — a fact which has been explained by ascribing it to the moderating influence of the Catholic clergy and the business instinct of the Jews. A. Stulginskis became temporary President of Lithuania in June, 1920, and was elected President for a further term of office in February, 1923.

TROUBLE WITH POLAND

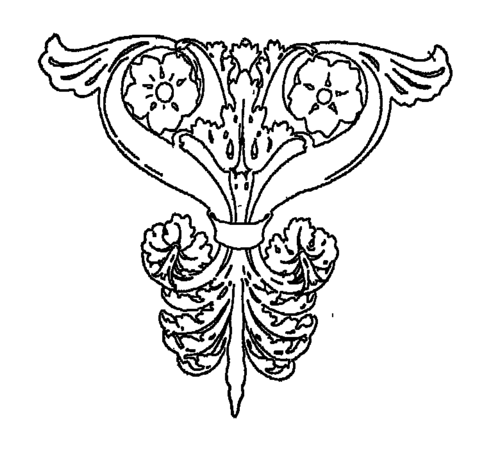
In Lithuania the Bolshevik advance had been successfully stopped in April, 1919, by the battle of Koshedari; but Vilna, the proposed capital of the new state, was occupied by the Poles, who had previously made common cause with the Lithuanians against Bolshevik Russia. This incident led to trouble between the Poles and Lithuanians. A decision of the Council of Ambassadors on March 15, 1922, favourable to the Poles, has seemed to be, in the eyes of many, an abject British surrender to French aims. Acting in the Polish manner, the Lithuanians helped themselves to the port of Memel, leaving it to the Powers to recognise the accomplished fact. The frontiers of Lithuania bordering on Latvia, Poland and Germany are now fixed, but the Lithuanian-Polish dispute makes Poland an incalculable element in Baltic affairs which may have far-reaching consequences.

It was not until February 15, 1922, that the new republic surrendered to the "land hunger" of the populace. The maximum extent of land to be retained by landholders has been fixed at 80 or even 120 hectares (against 50 hectares in Latvia). Compensation is made, but at pre-war prices, which are derisory in view of the rate of exchange. Nearly 3,000 landowners and 2,500,000 acres are affected by the reform, 900,000 acres being divided among 25,000 to 35,000 new settlers.

ECONOMIC STATE OF THE COUNTRY

The Lithuanian land reform has not caused so great a convulsion as would appear from the magnitude of its scope. The liquidation of large farming which was less important in Lithuania than in Latvia and Esthonia, was not so sudden as in these countries. The exportation of eggs, timber, flax seeds and hides, mainly to Germany, has helped Lithuania to maintain her economic balance. She owes about four million dollars to the United States and a smaller sum to the National Metal and Chemical Bank in London. The Lithuanian Liberty Loan, issued in June, 1920, was covered by Lithuanians in America.

In a better Europe these three Baltic states may hold their own, but only in a better Europe and on condition that the states themselves succeed in developing a superior mentality.



CHAPTER XLVIII

THE KINGDOM OF THE SERBS, CROATS AND SLOVENES

By Hamilton Fish Armstrong

Military Attaché at the American Legation, Belgrade, 1918–1919. On the Editorial Staff of the *New York Evening Post*, 1919–1921. Correspondent in Eastern Europe, 1921–1922. Managing Editor of *Foreign Affairs*, 1922.

If, as has been said, oppression is the force which gives vitality to any national movement, the Yugoslav movement, which in 1918 culminated in the birth of the unified Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, may claim to have been most consistently favoured, even in a section of Europe where oppression has been the historic rule.

The Serbs, Croats and Slovenes who form this new state, commonly known as Yugoslavia ("Yug" means "south" in Slavic; hence the term "Yugoslavia" is the equivalent of "South Slavia"), have as their forebears the three Slavic tribes which in the sixth and seventh centuries wandered out of the region north of the Black Sea, penetrated into the Danube Valley and spread through the Balkan Peninsula as far south as the Aegean and as far west as the borders of the Adriatic. Hardly had the migration been completed when there began a racial struggle for survival which has not ceased up to the present day. The Slav settlers came successively into conflict with the warlike Avars, who followed on their heels from the shores of the Caspian Sea — with the Byzantine emperors, who first employed the Avars against them and were in turn humbled by the united barbarian forces — with the Bulgars, a Central Asian people of Turanian stock who sifted in between the Slavs and the Black Sea, acquired an admixture of Slav blood and developed a Slav dialect — and with the Magyars, who in the eighth century drove westward like a thunderbolt into the racial kaleidoscope of eastern Europe. The Magyars, fierce horsemen and spearmen, secured a foothold just north of the Danube, in the valley of the river Theiss, thus cutting off the Southern Slavs from the Slavic peoples farther north, the Poles, Czechs and Slovaks.

Separated by mountain ranges and great rivers, the three sections of the South Slav race, though retaining the same language and looking back through the misty past of the same traditional origins, came to differ in almost every characteristic. This difference the political and military events of succeeding centuries tended to confirm. The Slovenes, inhabiting the northwestern Yugoslav lands, came early under Germanic rule. In 1102 the Kingdom of Croatia, lying largely between the Danube and Save rivers, was attached to the crown of Hungary. The mediæval Serb state, after varying fortunes, received its death blow from the Turks on the heroic field of Kossovo on June 15, 1389.

SERBS UNDER OTTOMAN RULE

For the next five hundred years the Serbs were ground under the heel of the Turks. The blight which spread through all lands subject to Ottoman rule descended upon Serbia along with the rest of the Balkan Peninsula. Art and literature ceased; the mediæval mines were left unworked; the trade roads decayed and were gradually deserted; the peasants cared little about cultivating new fields only that they might pay larger tithes to their conquerors.

With the coming of the Turks many Serbs migrated across the Danube into the parts of Hungary inhabited by their Croat kinsmen, but they bettered their condition only temporarily, as the whole Danubian plain was soon in Turkish hands also. Only in the remote fastnesses of the Montenegrin mountains and in isolated seafaring towns on the Adriatic, like Ragusa, did any of the Southern Slavs escape Turkish rule. But through all the countryside and in every mountain village the memory of freedom was kept alive. The exploits of old-time Serb heroes served as the subject of the patriotic ballads passed down from generation to generation, and coupled with them always were prophecies of a day of redemption when the Southern Slavs should again be their own masters.

While the oppression of the Turks was keeping alive the national consciousness of the Southern Slavs in the Balkans, to the north of the Danube the Magyars and Austrians, having driven out the Turks, were tightening their hold over the many million Southern Slavs in Croatia, the Banat, Styria and Carniola. The decay of the northern outposts of the Turkish Empire strengthened the position of the Habsburgs, who, after the Peace of Carlowitz (1699) had given them most of Hungary, were encouraged to talk of dividing the whole Balkan Peninsula with Russia. Meanwhile, they introduced processes which were calculated thoroughly to Austrianise and Magyarise their Slav provinces.

This much must be said in brief review of events before 1800 if the reader is to have any clear idea of the zeal with which the Serbs turned to their task of securing freedom from the Turks during the nineteenth century, and the spirit animating the first exponents of the "Yugoslav doctrine" — the doctrine that the three branches of the Southern Slav race should some day be free from foreign masters and united in one national state.

Even the songs of the Serbian *guslari* do not exaggerate the romance and daring of the revolt of the Serbs from their Turkish masters. The story cannot be told here even in outline. The first insurrection began in 1804; it was organised by the peasant Kara George, a bold and energetic leader who, like the peasants who flocked to his banner, possessed the primitive faults one expects to find with primitive virtues. In 1867 the last Turkish garrisons left Belgrade forever; Serbia became an independent Principality, being recognised fully as such by the Treaty of Berlin in 1878. The rivalries during this period of the two Serbian dynasties — the one descended from Kara George (Alexander, the present King of the Yugoslav State, is his great-grandson), the other descended from Milosh Obrenovitch, a second Serbian patriot who carried on the work begun by Kara George — are of much interest because they involve the rivalries of Russia and Austria-Hungary and the efforts of these two states (assisted from time to time by Britain, Italy and France) to manipulate the domestic politics of the Balkan countries to their own advantage. But we must concentrate our attention on the relations of Serbia and Austria-Hungary and the policy pursued by the rulers north of the Danube toward their South Slav subjects; for in these

matters are chiefly to be found the roots of the Yugoslav movement, which was destined to be indirectly the cause of the World War and which has obtained its main objectives as a result of that war.

OPPRESSIVE RÉGIME OF THE MAGYARS

The same year which saw the expulsion of the Turks from Belgrade witnessed the adoption of the Dual System in the realm of the Habsburgs. Following the "Ausgleich" the Magyars assumed a larger share in the direction of the monarchy; and as they increased their ascendency in internal affairs they multiplied the devices by which they sought to weld their Southern Slav subjects to them. Various traditional privileges possessed by the minority races of Hungary were gradually suppressed by the Budapest Government. After 1870 the Magyar language was the only language permitted in the courts (with what abuses must be evident), and became the exclusive medium of instruction in all State-controlled primary and secondary schools. The Magyarisation process was pressed especially in Croatia, a province inhabited almost exclusively by Southern Slavs, and the capital of which — Agram, now called Zagreb — was an important centre of Southern Slav culture. A policy aiming at the disintegration of Croat unity was adopted, including the artificial arrangement of railway routes and a juggling of freight rates to make the province dependent on Budapest and Vienna. A political dictatorship wiped out individual liberties and demoralised public life. When the Magyars rose in 1848 against the Habsburgs, the eloquence of Kossuth won the sympathy of Europe. Kossuth pleaded and fought for liberty; but it turned out to be a liberty of a peculiarly Magyar sort, for when it had been won it was used to enslave others, to institute and extend a relentless racial monopoly.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY'S FORMAL ANNEXATION OF BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The ferment created in Croatia by this *régime* was brought to a head in 1908 by the Austro-Hungarian annexation of the provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for which the Young Turk revolution provided an opportunity. By the Treaty of Berlin the Dual Empire had been allowed to administer the affairs of Bosnia-Herzegovina, although the sovereignty of the Sultan was still recognised. The Serbians were always hopeful that when the final break-up of the Turkish Empire occurred they might succeed in having awarded to them these two provinces, both essentially Serbian, and thus secure for themselves an outlet on the Adriatic. But Austria-Hungary, biding her time for the plunge towards Salonika which should make her mistress of the Balkans, decided as a preliminary move to complete the absorption of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

The cry of disappointment and anger which went up in Serbia at this fresh annexation of South Slav lands was echoed in Croatia. The provincial officials made efforts to break the rising spirit by accusing the leaders of the Serbo-Croat Coalition party of high treason and of plotting with Serbian agents for the disruption of the Habsburg Empire. In the effort to substantiate their charges the officials forged documents and arranged a series of astounding hoaxes, which, however, were laid bare in the course of the famous Friedjung trial and fell to the ground. But though no treason was proved, and no *casus belli* with Serbia was established, without doubt the statesmen of Austria-Hungary estimated quite correctly the end to which the activities of the Serbo-Croat Coalition must inevitably lead.

THE BALKAN WARS CREATE NEW BITTERNESS

New bitterness was given to the dispute between Serbia and Austria-Hungary, and to the corollary dispute of the Austro-Hungarian Government with its South Slav subjects, by the events of the Balkan Wars.

The cause of the first Balkan War, in which Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro drove the Turks out of Europe (except for Constantinople and immediately adjacent territory), may be summed up in one word — Macedonia. This province of European Turkey had long been the classic example of ethnic confusion. For years its population had been subjected to conflicting nationalist propagandas, inaugurated in the neighbouring states, and to reprisals and massacres by the Turks. In 1912 Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece, the three states bordering on Macedonia, formed a military alliance. Turkey attacked them and was decisively defeated. The Great Powers insisted on peace, and the Treaty of London was signed May 30. By it Turkey was left the territory east of a line drawn from Enos, on the Aegean, to Midia, on the Black Sea. The rest of Turkey in Europe, with the exception of Albania, went to the Balkan Allies. Austria-Hungary, in accordance with her cardinal rule that Serbia must be blocked from the Adriatic, and supported by Italy, insisted that Albania be constituted an independent kingdom. Further, by arranging the frontiers of Albania so that they included Scutari on the north and northern Epirus on the south, the Powers precluded Montenegro, Serbia and Greece from retaining portions of the former Turkish territories which were in their hands at the conclusion of hostilities.

Serbia turned to the Bulgarian Government for compensation in Central Macedonia, part of which had been assigned to Bulgaria by an *ante-bellum* compact, the remainder being left for later settlement. Serbia was particularly anxious that if she were to be cut off from the Adriatic she would at least have a common frontier with Greece in Macedonia, and so be able to trade through the Aegean port of Salonika. Bulgaria, however, insisted on securing all this debatable territory, regardless of the fact that the Powers had intervened to prevent Serbia from receiving her promised share of the bargain.

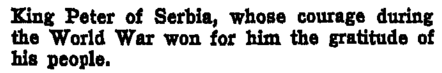
While Serbia and Bulgaria were preparing to submit their dispute to the arbitration of the Tsar of Russia, Bulgarian troops suddenly on the night of June 29 turned upon the Serbian troops and attacked them. Whereupon Rumania (who before had been neutral) intervened against Bulgaria, the Turks from their side reattacked (soon recapturing Adrianople), and the Serbs pressed forward with such effect that Bulgaria was forced to sue for peace. By the Treaty of Bucharest, the north-east corner of Bulgaria went to Rumania; Serbia acquired the central part of Macedonia, and Greece the southern, with a common frontier. As a result of the subsequent negotiations between Bulgaria and Turkey, the Ottoman Empire retrieved Eastern Thrace.

The principal results of these events, in the light of what ensued, was a heightened bitterness on Serbia's part against Austria-Hungary — first, because through Count Berchtold's insistence Scutari and the window on the Adriatic had been closed to her; second, because Austria-Hungary had looked askance at Russia's suggested arbitration of the Serbo-Bulgarian dispute and it was surmised that Vienna's blessing had been given to the treacherous attack on the Serb troops. And in the Dual Empire itself the sudden successes of Serbia, after her grievous disappointments, awakened such enthusiasm among the South Slav population that the imperial authori-





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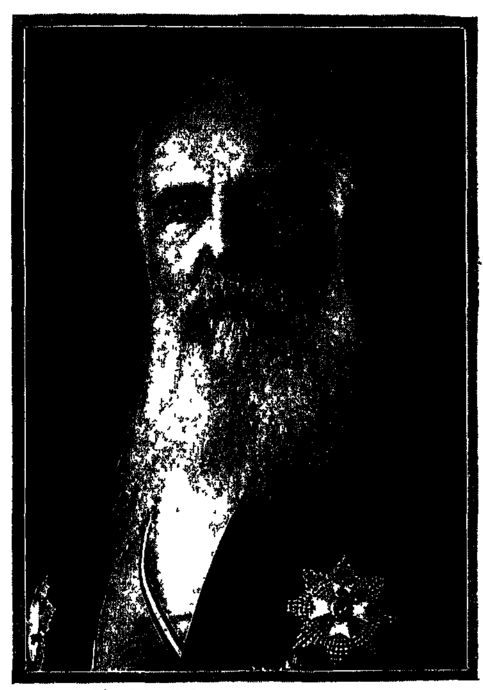


King Peter of Serbia, whose courage during the World War won for him the gratitude of his people.



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King Alexander of Yugoslavia, who succeeded his father, King Peter, in 1921.



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M. Nikola Pashich, the most famous Serbian statesman of the twentieth century, and head of the Radical Cabinet formed in 1922.

ties could no longer entertain doubts as to the vitality and seriousness of the movement towards independence and unity of the whole South Slav race.

THE MURDER OF THE ARCHDUKE FRANCIS FERDINAND

Such was the immediate background of the murder at Serajevo, in Bosnia, on June 28, 1914, of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand, heir to the empire of the Habsburgs, at the hands of a fanatical student of Serbian blood, a native of one of the South Slav provinces of Austria-Hungary.

An opportunity for settling accounts with Serbia now presented itself to the politicians of Vienna and Budapest. We know that in 1913 Austria-Hungary had informed the Italian Foreign Office that she intended making war against Serbia with a view to defending her interests and that she would expect Italy's support under the terms of the Triple Alliance, a tentative request which met an immediate rebuff at the hands of the Marquis di San Giuliano. We know, further, that Conrad von Hötzendorff subsequently renewed his plea for an open break with Italy and the arrangement of a "preventive war" against that "faithless ally," and, incidentally, against Serbia; but the Emperor Francis Joseph, fearing lest England and France might not remain quiet (even under pressure from Germany), while the Austrian armies settled their score with Italy, postponed action. The new opportunity which presented itself in 1914 was not to be lost.

THE ULTIMATUM OF AUSTRIA-HUNGARY

Whatever sense of outrage the world may have felt regarding the Archduke's murder was quite blotted out by the terms of the ultimatum which, after deliberate reflection and with the evident purpose of provoking war, the Austro-Hungarian Government addressed to Serbia on July 23, 1914. This note, after alleging the existence in Serbia of a "subversive movement with the object of detaching a part of the territories of Austria-Hungary from the Monarchy," stated that the Serajevo murder was planned in Belgrade and that "the passage into Bosnia of the criminals and their arms was organised and effected by the chiefs of the Serbian frontier service." No proofs of these allegations were offered, and none was subsequently adduced.

There followed the terms of the ultimatum proper. Serbia was called upon (Sections 1–3) to repress anti-Austrian feeling in Serbia, to dissolve the nationalist society called the "Narodna Odbrana," and to remove school teachers and discard text-books critical of Austrian policy. Section 4 demanded that Serbia dismiss such officials and army officers as the Austro-Hungarian Government might consider guilty of hostile propaganda and whose names should subsequently be communicated to Belgrade. Section 5 of the demands read as follows: "To accept the collaboration in Serbia of representatives of the Austro-Hungarian Government for the suppression of the subversive movement directed against the territorial integrity of the Monarchy." Section 6 read: "To take judicial proceedings against accessories to the plot of the 28th of June who are in Serbian territory; delegates of the Austro-Hungarian Government will take part in the investigation relating thereto." There were other subsidiary demands. Serbia was required to accept this ultimatum by 6 P.M. Saturday, July 25, that is to say, within 48 hours.

Three points in the Austro-Hungarian ideology which prompted the dispatch of such an ultimatum are noted in a telegram sent by the Serbian

Minister at Vienna to his Government the week previous: "The general conviction here," he wrote, "is that for Austria-Hungary once again to take no action against Serbia would be equivalent to suicide. Moreover, the idea that Serbia, after two wars, is completely exhausted, and that a war undertaken against her would be nothing more than an expedition ending in prompt occupation, has taken still deeper root. It is believed also that such a war would be over before Europe could intervene."

SERBIA'S CONCILIATORY REPLY

Britain, France and Italy, having failed in an effort to gain an extension of the time limit laid down by Austria, urged Serbia to reply favourably on as many points as possible and to make no absolute refusal on any point.

Two minutes before the expiration of the time limit the Serbian Government handed their reply to the Austrian Minister at Belgrade. It was conciliatory on every point. In reply to one of the two vital sections of the demands (Section 4), Serbia agreed to dismiss officials and officers whose guilt should be determined as a result of a judicial investigation, assisted by Austria's communication of the names and the submission of evidence against them; to the other (Section 5) Serbia replied that she was ready to accept such collaboration from Austro-Hungarian representatives as conformed to the principles of international law and criminal procedure.

It should be observed that although Serbia did not categorically accept the Austrian demands *in toto,* she did accept all the possible provisions, and on the other two went as far as an independent state could go — as Sir Edward Grey said, "further than she could have been expected." It was not to be expected that Serbia would accord to a foreign government the right to dismiss at will any official, officer or teacher that it might object to, or to confess to the existence of an anti-Austrian propaganda which Austria might thereupon make the excuse for an attack upon her. Short of this, she was prepared to do anything.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY DECLARES WAR

On July 27 the Austro-Hungarian Government declared the reply unsatisfactory and said that it "must appeal to force." On July 28 came the formal declaration of war. On July 30 Belgrade was bombarded. (Bulgaria had declared her neutrality on July 29; Italy did so on July 31.)

The military course of events in the Balkans — the three successive invasions of Serbia in 1914 by Austro-Hungarian troops under Field-Marshal von Potiorek, and their repulse — the campaigns of 1915 against the Austrian armies, now reinforced by 200,000 German troops and, in October, by some 400,000 Bulgars — the fall of Nish and the retreat of King Peter and the remnants of his army over the Albanian mountains — their re-formation at Corfu — their re-appearance on the Salonika front — their final victory and their recapture of their country — all this is detailed elsewhere in this work. But a word or two must be given regarding corollary political events, particularly those bearing on the development of the Yugoslav movement and governing its final success.

On December 7, 1914, Premier Pashich issued a declaration which made Serbia the open protagonist of the Yugoslav movement and showed plainly that if Austria-Hungary were finally defeated, its empire over non-Austrian and non-Magyar races would end. The Austrians in November had penetrated as far into Serbia as Valjevo and the ridge of the Rudnik mountains. On December 3 the Serbian armies, led by General Mishich, turned on the

invaders, and in a series of desperate engagements drove them precipitately northward, out of the valley of the Morava, out of Belgrade, and across the Save in panic-stricken confusion. In the moment of triumph, though before Belgrade itself had been recaptured, Premier Pashich issued to Parliament the statement just referred to. He said that the Government of Serbia considered that its "only task" was "to secure a successful end of this great struggle, which, at the moment of its beginning, has developed into a war for the unification of all our unliberated brothers, Serbs, Croats and Slovenes."

These Serbian sentiments were echoed in a manifesto issued in London in May, 1915, by representative Yugoslavs from all parts of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. "The Serbs, Croats and Slovenes," they said, "pray for the victory of the Triple *Entente* and confidently await from it the salvation of the Yugoslav nation."

The Yugoslav programme before long received official encouragement from the Allies, who in their reply of January 10, 1917, to a recent note from President Wilson, put among their war aims "the liberation of the Italians, as also the Slavs, Rumanians and Czechoslovaks, from foreign domination."

PROCLAMATION OF INDEPENDENCE

The remnants of the Serb army which had reached the Adriatic under the leadership of old King Peter and the Prince-Regent Alexander were joined at Corfu by members of the Serbian Government and by political refugees from the South Slav provinces of the Dual Monarchy. At Corfu, on July 20, 1917, despite the disheartening situation, they proclaimed the "joint future state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes," "free, national and independent." The document, known as the Pact of Corfu, was signed on behalf of Serbia by Premier Pashich and on behalf of the South Slavs of Austria-Hungary by Dr. Ante Trumbich, Deputy for Zara in the Austrian Parliament and President of the Yugoslav Committee. As it constitutes the basis on which the Yugoslav State was actually set up a little over a year later, the principal sections must be given here:

"(1) The State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, who are also known as the Southern Slavs or Yugoslavs, will be a free and independent kingdom, with indivisible territory and unity of allegiance. It will be a constitutional, democratic and parliamentary monarchy under the Karageorgevich Dynasty, which has always shared the ideas and the feelings of the nation, placing liberty and the national will above all else.

"(2) This State will be named 'The Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.' And the style of the Sovereign will be 'King of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.'

"(3) The State will have a single coat-of-arms, a single flag, and a single crown. These emblems will be composed of the present existing emblems. The unity of the State will be symbolised by the coat-of-arms and the flag of the Kingdom.

"(4) The special Serb, Croat and Slovene flags rank equally and may be freely hoisted on all occasions. The special coats-of-arms may be used with equal freedom.

"(5) The three national designations — Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes — are equal before the law throughout the territory of the Kingdom, and everyone may use them freely upon all occasions of public life and in dealing with the authorities.

"(6) The two alphabets, the Cyrillic and the Latin, also rank equally, and everyone may use them freely throughout the territory of the Kingdom. The royal authorities and the local self-governing authorities have both the right and the duty to employ both alphabets in accordance with the wishes of the citizens.

"(7) All recognised religions may be freely and publicly exercised. The Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Mussulman faiths, which are those chiefly professed by our nation, shall rank equally and enjoy equal rights with regard to the State. In consideration of these principles the legislature will take special care to safeguard religious concord in conformity with the spirit and tradition of our whole nation.

"(8) The calendar will be unified as soon as possible.

"(9) The territory of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes will include all the territory inhabited compactly and in territorial continuity by our nation of the three names. It cannot be mutilated without detriment to the vital interests of the community. Our nation demands nothing that belongs to others. It demands only what is its own. It desires to free itself and to achieve its unity. Therefore it consciously and firmly refuses every partial solution of the problem of its national liberation and unification. It puts forward the proposition of its deliverance from Austro-Hungarian domination and its union with Serbia and Montenegro in a single State forming an indivisible whole. In accordance with the right of self-determination of peoples, no part of this territorial totality may without infringement of justice be detached and incorporated with some other State without the consent of the nation itself.

"(10) In the interests of freedom and of the equal right of all nations, the Adriatic shall be free and open to each and all.

"(11) All citizens throughout the territory of the Kingdom shall be equal and enjoy the same rights with regard to the State and before the law.

"(12) The election of the Deputies to the National Representative body shall be by universal suffrage, with equal, direct and secret ballot. The same shall apply to the elections in the Communes and other administrative units. Elections will take place in each Commune.

"(13) The Constitution, to be established after the conclusion of peace by a Constituent Assembly elected by universal suffrage, with direct and secret ballot, will be the basis of the entire life of the State; it will be the source and the consummation of all authority and of all rights by which the entire life of the nation will be regulated. The Constitution will provide the nation with the possibility of exercising its special energies in local autonomies delimited by natural, social and economic conditions. The Constitution must be passed in its entirety by a numerically defined majority in the Constituent Assembly. The Constitution, like all other laws passed by the Constituent Assembly, will only come into force after having received the Royal sanction."

PRESIDENT WILSON AND THE NEW STATE

The United States favoured this programme. On October 7, 1918, President Wilson in replying to the Austrian Peace Note took occasion to recall Point 10 of his Fourteen Points. These Fourteen Points had been incorporated in an address delivered by the President before a joint session of Congress on January 8, 1918. It happened to be the writer's privilege to sit on the floor of the House on this memorable occasion in company with M. Vesnich and the other members of the Serbian War Mission. Point 10, which received the closest attention from the Serbians, was as follows:

"(10) The Peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the *nations we wish to* see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the first opportunity of autonomous *development.*"

Its general terms were a disappointment to the members of the Serbian Mission, who had hoped for a direct and encouraging declaration regarding the Yugoslav movement. They believed a firm statement would hasten the disintegration of the Habsburg Monarchy. The writer in particular remembers discussing with M. Vesnich whether the descriptive phrase beginning with the words "whose place" referred to "the peoples" or to "Austria-Hungary." When M. Vesnich decided that the President's pious hope referred to the monarchy itself, his disappointment was increased.

But what President Wilson left unsaid on January 8 was put in clear terms in his note to Austria on October 7. Referring to Point 10 of the Fourteen Points he wrote: "Since that sentence was written and uttered to the Congress of the United States, the Government of the United States has recognised that a state of belligerency exists between the Czechoslovaks and the German and Austro-Hungarian empires, and that the Czechoslovak National Council is a *de facto* belligerent Government, clothed with proper authority to direct the military and political affairs of the Czechoslovaks.

It has also recognised in the fullest manner the justice of the nationalistic aspirations of the Yugoslavs for freedom. The President is therefore no longer at liberty to accept the mere autonomy of these peoples as a basis of peace, but is obliged to insist that they, and not he, shall be the judges of what action on the part of the Austro-Hungarian Government will satisfy their aspirations and their conception of their rights and destiny as members of the family of nations."

FORMATION OF A YUGOSLAV GOVERNMENT

Such was the progress made abroad by the Yugoslav movement in nine months. The test at home was still to come. Events moved rapidly. The National Council of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on October 19, 1918, published at Zagreb a statement of "essential claims," among them the union of the three peoples in a single sovereign state and the reception and recognition of that state's representatives at the coming Peace Conference. On October 29 the Croatian Diet unanimously resolved that "the people of Croatia, Slovenia and Serbia wish to . . . constitute a free State, sovereign and independent." And on November 2, in the Zagreb Cathedral, the representatives of the National Council took the oath of office as the new Government. The President was Father Koroshetz, a Slovenian Roman-Catholic priest; the Vice-Presidents were Dr. Pavelich, a Croat, and Dr. Pribichevich, a Serb.

The representatives of this new body five days later met Premier Pashich and Dr. Trumbich, signers of the Pact of Corfu, at Geneva and agreed "to proclaim, solemnly and unanimously, to the entire world, their union in one State." The Yugoslav Council at Zagreb was recognised as the supreme authority in the state organised by the Yugoslavs of the former Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, and a joint Ministry for this Government and for Serbia was constituted under M. Protich, a member of M. Pashich's party but considered rather less narrow — less "Serbian" — than the Premier. On November 23 Prince-Regent Alexander of Serbia was chosen Regent of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes by the National Council at Zagreb. His first Ministry included M. Protich as President of the Council, Father Koroshetz as Vice-President, and Dr. Trumbich as Foreign Minister. This Government on February 7, 1919, received the formal recognition of the United States Government in a communication from Secretary Lansing, noting the desire of the Yugoslavs formerly in Austria-Hungary to unite with Serbia, as well as the Serbian Government's acceptance of the proffered union, and concluding: "The Government of the United States favourably accepts this union, but at the same time recognises the fact that the final settlement of the frontiers must be left to the Peace Conference, in conformity with the wishes of the interested peoples."

INTERNAL FRICTION

From the foregoing rapid summary it will perhaps be imagined that the process of unification took place smoothly and without dissension. Such was not the case. Some dissension was indeed inevitable.

The political and geographical differences between Serbia, primitive and patriarchal, and Slovenia and Croatia, accustomed to contact with the politicians and traders of Vienna and Budapest, have already been mentioned. They were accentuated by the fact that the Serbs, having been Christianised from the East, belong to the Greek Orthodox Church, while the Croats and

Slovenes are mainly Roman Catholics. It must be remembered, too, that if the Croats and Slovenes desired political freedom it was in no small degree because they thought it would bring them economic freedom also; they were tired of being discriminated against, of working for the profit of the middlemen of Vienna and Budapest. Where Serbia thought of the Yugoslav movement as a means toward the political and spiritual unification of blood-brothers long separated, Croatia and Slovenia were inclined to think of it mainly as an instrument for getting rid of task-masters and of setting up a confederation in which they should have a fairer chance to develop their resources and live their own lives. This picture of the Serbs as rather more patriotic and idealistic than the Croats and Slovenes may be criticised by those familiar with the part played by such Croats as Bishop Strossmayer and the poet and grammarian Gaj in awakening the Yugoslav spirit, but in broad outlines it is correct. And it accounts for the differences of opinion which developed during the war as to the proper form to be given the future Yugoslav state.

Many Serbs conceived the future state as an enlargement of Serbia. The Croats and Slovenes, while willing in general to accept the Karageorgevich Dynasty, thought rather of a confederation in which each province should have considerable autonomy. To the Croats the Serbian Premier, Nikola Pashich, seemed a relic of a past day, a heroic figure, if you please, but the product of an Eastern, non-progressive environment. To the Serbs, fresh from their sufferings and aflame with the martyr's spirit, the idea of haggling over the exact phraseology of a declaration of independence, a long-awaited pact of unity and freedom, seemed outrageous; they did not understand why the cause which was good enough for them to die for, and for which their King was willing to leave his country and risk his throne, was not flaming in the hearts of the South Slav subjects of the Habsburgs and leading them, too, to desperate revolts and deeds of valour.

Although encouraged, naturally, by Austrian and Magyar influences, the dissension between representatives of the two tendencies did not prevent either the signing of the Pact of Corfu or the inauguration of the new Government on November 23, 1918, as outlined above. But though the new state was actually constituted its internal troubles were not over. As early as February, 1918, [illegible], the leader of the Croatian Peasant party, was talking of [illegible] of Europeanising the Balkans" and the danger that the Croats and Slovenes would be "Balkanised." In Bosnia, where thirty per cent of the population is Mahommedan and where many large estates survived from Turkish times, opposition developed to the Government's plans for agrarian reform. In Montenegro, the former courtiers and partisans of the late King Nicholas, though precluded from urging the claims of his sons by the behaviour of those princes during the war, opposed the amalgamation of the country in the new state on the ground that the electorate, though possibly approving that step, had not been given adequate opportunities to express their wishes freely. And on all the frontiers there were the difficulties consequent upon the unfortunate but inevitable inclusion in the state of various racial minorities. Given the manifold difficulties, the internal history of the Yugoslav state during the past five years has been less troubled than some of its friends had feared.

The chief friction has been in Croatia, where Radich has managed to identify the federalist doctrine with all that the peasants most desire—no taxes, the supremacy of local interests over national interests, the propagation of the Roman Catholic religion as opposed to the Orthodox, and, above all, the chance to raise their crops without the interruption of military service and free as far as possible from the competition of agricultural Serbia

Radich, from time to time, though not consistently, has favoured going a step beyond federalism and instituting a Croatian Peasant Republic. He has been accused, also, of still harbouring friendly feelings for the former *régime* (he wrote odes during the war in honour of Emperor Francis Joseph), of parleying with D'Annunzio's agents in Fiume, and of supporting Montenegrin revolutionaries; there seems no reason to doubt that he has adopted these and similar tactics in the effort to embarrass and undermine the present Belgrade Government, which he repudiates.

It is unfortunate that Radich has preferred these manœuvres to going boldly to Belgrade, where representatives of his party are entitled to some seventy seats in Parliament — though they refuse to sit — and working there openly within the present governmental framework to secure the concessions desired. Many of these concessions are such as to appeal to reasonable Serbians, and it is the writer's opinion that Radich could have quickly secured most of them by intelligent negotiation and through constitutional processes, whereas his present tactics have brought him nothing but imprisonment and finally exile. Many of Premier Pashich's aides concede that his policy of centralisation has been rather too rigid and has been pressed too rapidly. But the violent exaggerations and pretensions of Radich have stiffened the Serbian attitude and have delayed the adoption of a policy of conciliation. The moment the Croatian demagogue restrains his inclination to talk in radical superlatives and takes up a reasonable attitude of parliamentary opposition, Premier Pashich will be enabled to show a willingness to make the concessions to diversities of political and cultural traditions which the future sound prosperity of the state demands.

FRICTION WITH ITALY

On all of her frontiers Yugoslavia has been faced with external difficulties of either a military or economic nature. Her chief friction, however, has been with Italy. As is well known, the Allies secured Italian help in the war by promises of territorial cessions on the north and east coasts of the Adriatic. The difficulty has been that much of the territory promised to Italy was not Italian. Dalmatia, for example, though at many points its coast bore the marks of Roman colonisation, and though several of the ports were well known in Venetian days as Italian trading centres, was shown by the Austrian census of 1910 to contain 610,669 Serbo-Croats against 18,028 Italians. Even if one accepts what the handbook prepared by the Historical Section of the British Foreign Office calls the views of "a responsible Italian publicist," advanced in 1914, there are only between 20,000 and 30,000 Italians in Dalmatia. The handbook concludes: "There is no serious dispute about the numbers of the component races."

The port of Fiume has been the object of particularly bitter dispute between the Yugoslavs and Italians. The same secret treaty which promised Dalmatia to Italy (the so-called Treaty of London) excluded Fiume from among the Italian rewards. It seems to have been recognised clearly at the time that, although there is a very important Italian settlement in Fiume, the town's existence as a prosperous port depends on its trade from the Yugoslav hinterland. It will be remembered that President Wilson in announcing in Paris that the United States did not consider itself bound by any pre-existing secret treaty, laid especial emphasis on the case of the Adriatic territories desired by Italy. But Fiume had meantime been included in Italian claims, partly, no doubt, because the Italian Government realised that its pretensions to Dalmatia stood a very slim chance of recog-

nition at Paris; partly (critics of Italy are inclined to say) because Italy desired to favour in a commercial way the more Italian port of Trieste as against Fiume and to keep Yugoslavia for a time at least in a state of economic dependence.

Time need not be wasted in describing D'Annunzio's seizure of Fiume on September 17, 1919, while its status was still being debated at Paris, or upon the involved negotiations by which he was finally forced to retire. At Rapallo on November 12, 1920, the Italian and Yugoslav Governments reached an agreement by which Fiume was made a Free State, connected by a coastal strip with Italy proper, while the port's easterly suburb, Susak, was assigned to Yugoslavia. Susak is of commercial importance because at that point the railway from the interior divides, one line descending by a spiral tunnel to the Baros docks, the other continuing into Fiume proper. With Susak in her hands Yugoslavia might use the small but useful Baros Basin for her commerce and be free of the customs restrictions of Fiume.

The Treaty of Rapallo was ratified by Yugoslavia on November 19 and by the Italian Chamber of Deputies on November 27, by a vote of 221 to 12. But the arrangement did not meet the approval of succeeding Italian Governments. Although Count Sforza, Italian Foreign Minister, had in a letter to the Yugoslav Foreign Office specifically admitted Yugoslavia's claims to Susak, including the docks at Baros, in order to gain her consent to the loss of Fiume proper, the next Italian Ministry repudiated the arrangement and, while strengthening its domination over the so-called Free State, denied the right of Yugoslavia to the Baros door-way. During 1923, Mussolini maintained the same policy. Recently Italy seems to have proposed recognising Count Sforza's concession of Baros in exchange for Yugoslavia's acceptance of the outright annexation of the Free State to the Italian crown. It seems doubtful if the annexation of Fiume will ever receive the permanent approval of Yugoslavia. She may for a time tolerate it, but will reserve freedom of action for the future, meanwhile developing Susak and Baros in the dual effort to solve her problem of freight communication with western Europe and to cut into Italian profits from what she considers to be Italy's unfair possession of the port. It unfortunately is only too plain where this sort of rivalry may easily lead. If there is to be peace, the *modus vivendi* for Fiume must be made part of a general political and economic *rapprochement* between the two Adriatic States.

AIMS OF THE LITTLE ENTENTE

Yugoslavia's relation with all her neighbours cannot be discussed here, but some reference must be made to the three-sided Little *Entente* of which she and Rumania and Czechoslovakia are members. The reasons which dictated the formation of this important political group are not far to seek. North of Yugoslavia, west of Rumania and south of Czechoslovakia lie the two fragments of the great Dual Monarchy which the peoples forming the three so-called "Succession States" once so disliked and feared. With the Austrian Republic comparatively good relations have been developed. But for Hungary there is the same distrust and much the same hate as prevailed at the close of the war. The Magyars have never lost an opportunity of expressing their contempt for the new states which have sprung up on their own political ruins; they do not disguise their hope to restore the Habsburg Dynasty in some form and their determination to overturn the peace treaties and regain their lost territories. Statesmen like Jonescu in Rumania, Benes in Czechoslovakia and Vesnich in Yugoslavia, seeing that it was essential

for their three states to present a firm and united front to this menace, formed the Little *Entente*. It is not a pact of military aggression, nor is it (save in a very secondary way) economic or commercial. It is simply a formal agreement to resist in unison any attempt on the part of the Magyars to translate into action their talk of reconquest and revenge. As such it is a most useful instrument of peace.

PROSPECTS FOR THE FUTURE

It is natural to over-emphasise uncertainties and difficulties in preparing this brief review of years which for the Balkans have been packed with such great events — the rivalries of the Great Powers in their efforts to share in the Turkish spoils; the fierce Balkan Wars and the kaleidoscopic shifts in national alignments; the fluctuating defeats and victories, tragedies and glories of the World War; the disappearance of the ancient Habsburg Empire to make way for experiments in new political and racial groupings, and the efforts of the new leaders to translate age-old longings and hopes into concrete, workable political and economic organisms. The difficulties are there, for all the world to see. But the spirit that prompts men to sacrifice and loss in the pursuit of an ideal is hidden deep in their minds, so deep, often, that they themselves do not know its full power. The spirit that nourished the Serbs through long years of Turkish oppression, that kept the Croats and Slovenes Yugoslavs still through their difficult years of Austro-Hungarian exploitation, cannot be painted in red letters across the Danubian plains or on the rocks of Montenegro; but it exists still, a mighty cohesive force.

The difficulties of to-day are more severe, it is true, than the difficulties of yesterday; it is easier to die for one's country than to govern it. But with time, with a little good sense and moderation, and above all with the gradual growth of the Yugoslav national consciousness in the minds of young men in all sections of the country from the Adriatic to the Vardar, there is no reason to despair or to believe that the fruits of so much sacrifice are to be thrown aside. Little more than half a century after the rising of Kara George, Serbia was free. Fifty years after the Turkish flag was hauled down from the white fortress above the confluence of the Danube and the Save, the Serbs had stretched out their hands across those old boundaries and united with the Croats and Slovenes in a single free state. When fifty years shall have passed after the inauguration of that difficult experiment, judgment may be given as to its wisdom and final success.

CHAPTER XLIX

THE COUNTRY THAT GUESSED WRONG

By H. CHARLES WOODS.

Special Correspondent of *The Times* (London) in the Balkans, 1911. War Expert of the *Evening News* during the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913. Military and Diplomatic Correspondent for the *Evening News*, 1914–1915. Lecturer before the Lowell Institute, Boston, 1917–1918. Author of *The Danger Zone of Europe* (Changes and Problems in the Near East); *War and Diplomacy in the Balkans; The Cradle of the War; etc.*

WITH the exception of Albania, Bulgaria is the youngest independent State in the Balkan Peninsula, for it was only in 1878 that Northern Bulgaria was created a principality under the suzerainty of the Sultan and that Eastern Rumelia was formed into an autonomous province under a Christian governor-general. Seven years later the two sections of the country were united by the bloodless Revolution of Philippopolis, and in July, 1887, Prince Ferdinand of Saxe-Coburg was elected to rule the country. During the first few years of his reign that personage wisely contented himself by consolidating his internal position under the guidance of Stambolov and, acting practically as a figure-head, he sanctioned the decisions of the anti-Russian Government led by his all-important adviser. Subsequently, in 1894, by cleverly and secretly identifying himself with the rising discontent against the Bulgarian Bismarck, Ferdinand was able not only to rid himself of the paramount power of his first Prime Minister, but also to secure the good-will of the population by bringing about the resignation of a man whose policy had grown to be considered as tyrannical. Thence followed the first international success of Prince Ferdinand, for, with the death of the Emperor Alexander in November, 1894, with the barbarous murder of Stambolov in 1895, and with the conversion of Prince Boris, the present King, from the Roman Catholic to the Orthodox faith in 1896, the reconciliation with Russia was sealed and the position of the Bulgarian ruler was regularised by his recognition by Turkey and by the Powers.

With the disappearance of Stambolov and with the international acceptance of Prince Ferdinand, that ruler was able to exercise far greater power than heretofore. Whilst nominally leaving the Government of the day a free hand in home affairs, he repeatedly procured the retirement of and appointed Ministers with the object of furthering his own ends. In foreign affairs, with regard to which the Prince always acted as his own minister, the peace was not broken between 1900 and 1908. Nevertheless, the internal and external positions were greatly complicated by the Macedonian question, which gradually became more and more acute, because of the treatment of the inhabitants by their Turkish masters and because of the rivalry between the Balkan States concerning the future ownership of that area. With regard to Bulgaria the position has been and is particularly complicated since, owing to the large Macedonian element in that country, no Sofia Government dares to take up a really pacific and moderate policy on the subject. In 1901, when the Macedonians of Bulgaria and of Macedonia were already



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Alexander Stamboliiski, Bulgarian statesman and Prime Minister.



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King Boris III of Bulgaria, who succeeded his father in 1918.



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Ex-King Ferdinand of Bulgaria, who abdicated in 1918.



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Ivan E. Gueshov, Bulgarian statesman and Prime Minister.

PROMINENT FIGURES IN BULGARIA

well organised, Miss Stone, an American missionary, was captured, and late in the autumn of 1902 a general rising was proclaimed by the Sofia Committee. Whilst this rising failed in its objects, it led to the promulgation of a scheme of reforms by the Sultan — a scheme shortly (February, 1903) followed by one agreed to by Austria and Russia. These schemes did not materially modify the situation and outrages continued with undiminished force. These developments, followed by disorders and by Turkish persecutions, gave rise to the widespread revolution of 1903, which brought Bulgaria and Turkey almost to the point of war. Subsequently Austria and Russia, desirous of avoiding that calamity (for which they were not prepared), issued the so-called Mürzsteg Scheme of reforms; but whilst this did something to improve the situation, Bulgaria was not thereby contented, and although she arrived at an agreement with Turkey in April, 1904, the years which intervened between that date and the reëstablishment of the Ottoman Constitution in 1908 were clouded by the inadequate measures taken by the Powers to enforce real reforms in this unhappy area, by the almost continuous fighting which took place between the rival elements, and by the ever-recurring danger of war between Turkey and Bulgaria, whose army was daily becoming more and more efficient.

From the international as well as the local standpoint the year 1908 was of all-preponderating importance. The agreement arrived at between Austria and Russia in 1897 for the maintenance of the *status quo* came to an end, a serious crisis arose as a result of the Austrian proposal to connect the railways at Bosnia and Herzegovina with those of Turkey — a proposal met by a Slav scheme for a Danube–Adriatic line. Moreover, Russia and Great Britain having composed their differences, the Tsar met King Edward at Reval, and the Young Turks, believing that at last a united Europe might try to insist upon real reforms, brought about the reëstablishment of the Constitution. This last-mentioned event was well received in the west and it led to a temporary fraternisation between the various elements of the Macedonian population. But the Bulgarians realised that the occasion could not be allowed to pass without putting an end to a position in which their country was, nominally if not actually, the vassal of Turkey. When matters were already critical, the situation was precipitated by a Turkish omission to invite the Bulgarian Representative at Constantinople to a diplomatic dinner on the ground that, as the agent of a "tributary" state, he in fact possessed no diplomatic rank; by the Bulgarian seizure of the Eastern Rumelian lines, which still belonged to the Oriental Railways Company; and by the visit paid by Prince Ferdinand, accompanied by his new consort, Princess Eleonore of Reuss Köstritz, whom he had married in the previous February and who was particularly acceptable to the Austrian Court, to the Emperor Francis Joseph at Budapest, where he was received with royal honours. The exact nature of the arrangements then made has never been published, but at a Cabinet Council held on board the royal yacht at Rustchuk, the Prince decided to execute his national *coup d'état* on October 5. The actual proclamation, declaring Bulgaria an independent kingdom and her ruler Tsar of the Bulgarians, made at Tirnovo, preceded the Austrian annexation of the already "occupied" provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina by two days. After lengthy discussion, and when Turkey and Bulgaria had been on the eve of war for some months, Russia signified her willingness to make good and actually did make good to Turkey the difference between the sum offered to and claimed by the former country on account of her losses suffered by the termination of the tribute for Eastern Rumelia and from the change of ownership in the above-mentioned railway.

The years from 1908 to 1912 were apparently uneventful so far as the

internal history of Bulgaria was concerned. With the Democrats, under M. Malinov, in power until March, 1911, when that party was succeeded by a Coalition under M. Gueshov, the efficiency of the army was increased, new railways were constructed, and the Constitution was revised to meet the conditions created by independence. Externally, the relations with Russia gradually improved, and for a time those existing with Turkey became normal. After, as before, the reëstablishment of the Ottoman Constitution, the real key to the Balkan situation, however, lay in the conditions prevailing in Macedonia. Thus (as is described in the chapter on "The Balkan Wars") from the time when the Young Turks proved themselves incapable of introducing any real reforms and particularly from the moment of the outbreak of the Turco-Italian War in the autumn of 1911, it became clear that Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro and Greece were beginning to forget their local differences in order to meet the danger common to all their brethren in the Ottoman Empire. The prolonged and difficult negotiations, which led to the formation of the Balkan League, are dealt with in the above-mentioned chapter and therefore sufficient be it to say here that Bulgaria was the link in a four-party arrangement, which included Serbia, Greece and Montenegro.

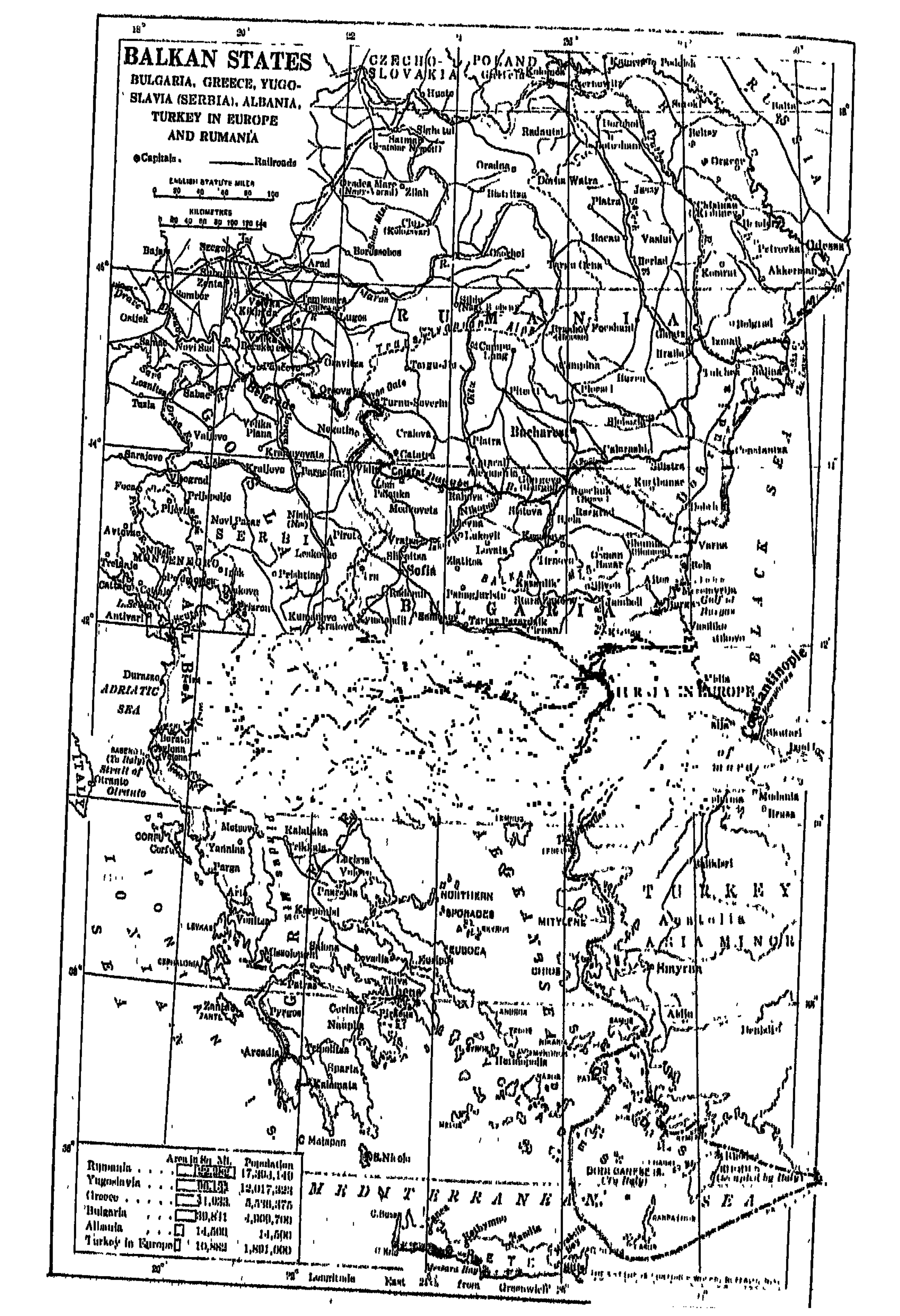
Although in a sense the apex of Bulgaria's success was attained at the end rather than at the beginning of the First Balkan War, it is convenient to consider here the manner in which the prosperity of that state increased during the first 34 years of its existence. Between 1886 and 1905 the population became greater by over one million, and between the latter date and 1910 it grew by nearly 294,000, which, on a total of just 4,000,000 inhabitants, was a considerable increase. Moreover, whereas in 1887 Sofia was estimated to have a population of about 20,000, in 1912 its citizens numbered over 100,000. Again, although in the former year there were no railways in the principality and only some 200 miles of line open to traffic in Eastern Rumelia, in 1912 Bulgaria possessed about 1,200 miles of railway besides nearly 200 under construction. With regard to roads, too, even if the highways of Bulgaria would strain the temper and the patience of the modern motorist, a great deal was done to render many of them passable for strong, wheeled traffic, and the main routes had become distinctly better than those of the neighbouring countries. Furthermore, the agricultural system, which includes peasant proprietorship, and the actual quality of the cultivation showed satisfactory progress. And then, if we recall that shortly after the fusion of the Bulgarian and the Eastern Rumelian armies, the combined strength of the two forces did not exceed 100,000 men, it is remarkable that more than 500,000 men were placed in the field for the First Balkan War. With regard to education, too, the efforts of the Government and the thirst for learning among the people received their reward, for with obligatory instruction in force almost from the first, by 1912 practically every village possessed its primary school. And lastly, every traveller who has studied the Near East must recognise that, from the financial and judicial standpoints, the conditions prevailing in Bulgaria prior to the Balkan Wars compared very favourably with those in the adjoining countries.

Until the close of the First Balkan War, or more correctly up to the date of the first armistice signed with Turkey on December 3, 1912, King Ferdinand had carried almost everything before him during a reign of just over 25 years. Later on, however, His Majesty countenanced if he did not actually inaugurate the policies leading to the misfortunes resulting from the Second Balkan Campaign and from the World War. The first of these disasters rapidly complicated the position of Dr. Danev, who had taken over the reins of Government from M. Gueshov in June, and he was succeeded by M. Radoslavov during the following month. The advent to power of that

politician, who was well known for his attitude of sympathy towards Austria and of hatred for Russia, was gladly welcomed by the King and, coupled with the fact that Russia showed little sympathy for Bulgaria once the Second War had begun, it was responsible for a gradual improvement in the relations between Bulgaria and the Central Powers. M. Radoslavov was defeated at an election held in December, 1913, but it is to be remembered that in another appeal to the people, which was issued in March, 1914, he succeeded in securing a small majority as a result of the enfranchisement of the inhabitants of the newly acquired territories. Consequently at the outbreak of the World War and during its entire duration, Bulgaria was ruled by a Chamber in which the majority depended upon the Turkish vote.

As the broader political aspects of the Balkan situation and the military events in which Bulgaria participated during the World War are discussed in other chapters, it is only necessary to say here that whilst renewed hostilities, undertaken principally in the hope of securing Macedonia, were never really popular, once the country was involved the Opposition became silent. As time wore on the population suffered privations and the situation was aggravated by the facts that the campaign was a prolonged one, that the peasant soldier was absent from his farm for an unprecedented time, and that much-needed supplies were exported to Germany. Consequently, when the Russian Revolution came, the Bulgarians were ready to sympathise with their brother Slavs and shortly afterwards there is no doubt that they were prepared to consider negotiations for an independent peace. These negotiations came to nothing, and in October, 1917, the Kaiser visited Sofia, but this visit constituted no compensation for the subsequent German withdrawal of her war subsidy. It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the publication of Mr. Wilson's Fourteen Points, coupled with the signature of the Treaty of Bucharest between the Central Powers and Rumania, by which Bulgaria secured the Southern Dobrudja, had great influence, and that the Cabinet of M. Radoslavov, who became generally hated, was replaced by one led by M. Malinov. That politician, who was afterwards severely blamed and condemned to be tried on this account by the Agrarians, did not propose an immediate peace and it was only on September 25, 1918, that M. Stamboliisky was liberated from prison, where he had spent the previous three years, and that the Premier asked for an armistice. The terms were signed five days later, King Ferdinand left the country on October 4, and on November 28 the Government of M. Malinov was replaced by a Coalition Ministry under M. Theodorov, who had been M. Gueshov's chief lieutenant.

In many ways the position of and in Bulgaria was more changed by the war than that of any other Balkan country. Reduced in size from an area of about 43,000 to one of just under 38,000 square miles, the Treaties of Neuilly and of Lausanne have left the country practically at the mercy of her neighbours. By the first of these documents, signed on November 27, 1919, the Southern Dobrudja was given to Rumania, certain small but important districts were handed over to Yugoslavia, and Western Thrace was renounced "in favour of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers," who undertook to ensure the economic outlets of Bulgaria to the Aegean. Whilst the two first-mentioned conditions inflicted great sacrifices upon Bulgaria, the third was and is by far the most significant from every standpoint. In April, 1920, at the Conference of San Remo, a small portion of Eastern Thrace was assigned to Turkey and the remainder of that area, together with Western Thrace, was handed over to Greece. These arrangements were confirmed by the Treaty of Sèvres, which was never ratified, and, although provision was then made on paper for Bulgaria's access to Dédé Agatch, it was not until the first Lausanne Conference and during the winter of 1922–1923 that fresh


BALKAN STATES
BULGARIA, GREECE, YUGOSLAVIA (SERBIA), ALBANIA, TURKEY IN EUROPE AND RUMANIA
Capitals
Railroads
ENGLISH STATUTE MILES
KILOMETRES
Area in Sq. Mi.
Population
Yugoslavia
Bulgaria
Turkey in Europe
12,017,323
RUMANIA
BULGARIA
SERBIA
TURKEY
ASIA MINOR
TURKEY IN EUROPE
CZECHO-SLOVAKIA
POLAND
ITALY
ADRIATIC SEA
Strait of Otranto
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Belgrade
Bucharest
Sofia
Athens
Constantinople
Odessa
Arad
Szeged
Sombor
Novi Sad
Turnu-Severin
Craiova
Nish
Durazzo
Valona
Corfu
Yannina
Patras
Corinth
Nauplia
Sparta
Kalamata
Zante
Arcadia
Missolonghi
Smyrna
Varna
Constantza
Galatz
Braila
Ismail
Jassy
Rustchuk
Silistra
Plevna
Philippopolis
Mitylene
Chios
Euboea
Northern Sporades
C. Matapan
Longitude East from Greenwich

proposals were expounded in regard to that question. No settlement of the problem was, however, arrived at, for the lease of a small Aegean coastal area and the use of the railways leading thereto were refused as inadequate by the Bulgarian representatives. Moreover, in the course of the second session of the Lausanne Conference held in the following spring and summer, Kara Agatch, a suburb of Adrianople, situated on the west of the Maritza, was returned to Turkey. With this change the railway to Dédé Agatch passes through two sections of Greek territory and a Turkish zone on its way from the Bulgarian frontier to the Aegean, and as a result the task of the Western Powers in giving effect to their promises in regard to Bulgaria's commercial access to that sea has been greatly complicated. From the political and military standpoints the peace terms were almost equally harsh. Disarmament and voluntary military service were imposed, and these conditions have placed the country in considerable difficulty, for it is practically impossible to raise even a small long-service army since the peasants are not accustomed willingly to absent themselves from their homes, especially for a lengthy period. The financial clauses fixed the reparations due to the Allies at £90,000,000, but in March, 1923, M. Stamboliisky, who achieved wide success in his policy of endeavouring to conciliate the Allies, secured the reduction of this sum to one of £22,500,000 — a reduction which is one of the few ameliorating circumstances in Bulgaria's otherwise disastrous international situation. Lastly, although the various treaties provide for the protection of the Bulgarian minorities in the neighbouring countries, these provisions have never really been put into operation, especially by Yugoslavia, and the continued disturbances arising out of the Macedonian question constitute an ever-recurring danger to the relations of the two countries.

From the internal standpoint the position was also materially modified. After the war the bellicose atmosphere which existed prior to 1912 was replaced by a desire for tranquillity, and a peaceful, but far-reaching, revolution occurred with the disappearance of the absolutism of King Ferdinand and with the transference of the Government from the bourgeois sections of the community to the Agrarian party, which latter change was completed by the formation of M. Stamboliisky's first Ministry in October, 1919. Moreover, from the moment of his accession, King Boris, whose upbringing in Bulgaria and whose membership of the National Church are partly responsible for his original popularity, abolished the autocracy of his father, and though he was only 25 years of age he decided to make no attempt to interfere with the foreign or home policies of M. Stamboliisky, who owed his position as Premier from October, 1919, until his death in June, 1923, to the development of the Agrarian party, to his well-known desire for peace, and to his own personality. That party, which represents the interests of the small owners, who make up 80 to 85 per cent of the population, was formed about the year 1900, and its post-war strength depended upon the grievances of the people of the country against those of the towns, upon the disasters of recent times, and upon the energy with which its chief threw himself into the movement. M. Stamboliisky himself was an obvious peasant, but whilst he possessed little ordinary learning, he had marked powers of observation, great strength of character, and entire disregard for conventions.

These conditions, coupled with the actual policy pursued by M. Stamboliisky, were largely responsible for the history of the period subsequent to the armistice. From the foreign standpoint that Prime Minister favoured the acceptance and the loyal maintenance of the Treaty of Neuilly, and worked for the establishment of good relations with his neighbours and particularly with Yugoslavia. But he made his greatest mistake in believing that by the pursuit of a successful international policy the dangers of a

breakdown in the internal administration would be obliterated, and by forgetting that, if it was necessary for him to be constantly abroad, as was the case, it was still more advisable that his representatives at home should be wisely selected. But whereas the downfall and the death of the Agrarian Minister were largely due to the unsatisfactory conduct of his subordinate, his far-reaching and unconventional legislation, which included a measure for compulsory labour, a statute expropriating buildings required by the State, and a law for the acquisition of larger properties, had a material effect. Finally, when feeling was already running very strong, great excitement was produced by the changes in the electoral law introduced in March, 1923. These changes favoured M. Stamboliisky at the elections held in the following month, but they materially strengthened the hands of the Opposition, which by that time was almost ready to assume the offensive.

Over and above these and such like conditions, the then Premier's attitude towards the King, the persecution of the ex-Ministers, and the unsympathetic policy of the Government towards the Macedonian question, had weighty consequences. A more or less avowed Republican, though in the opinion of the author not a Bolshevik, the Agrarian leader seems to have admired the young King, though he reduced his position to such a complete sinecure as to create considerable hostility among the population. The members of the Radoslavov Cabinet (except that politician and one or two of his companions already abroad) were arrested in the year 1919 and, after prolonged delays, sentenced in March, 1923. These men were tried under a special law dealing with the "National Catastrophe," but their cases did not attract the sympathy extended to the members of the other Cabinets, including M. Malinov, Dr. Danev and M. Madjarov, who were imprisoned in September, 1922. Shortly afterwards the Government resorted to the unusual course of holding a referendum as to their guilt, and, not satisfied with the powers already in its hands, the Cabinet introduced legislation for the appointment of a special court to try the members of the Gueshov and Danev Cabinets for their policy during the Balkan Wars, and those of the Malinov Administration, principally because they failed to enter into negotiations with the Allies immediately after the assumption of office in the summer of 1918. These gentlemen had not been put upon their trial prior to the Revolution of June 9, but their lengthy imprisonment and particularly their bad treatment played an important rôle in the downfall of the Agrarians.

As already stated, M. Stamboliisky favoured the establishment of good relations with Yugoslavia. Though perfectly legitimate and desirable, this policy excited the hostility of the Macedonians domiciled in Bulgaria, and it led to ever-recurring difficulties. In October, 1921, M. Dimitrov, a prominent Minister, who had paid a somewhat earlier visit to Belgrade, was murdered by *komitajis* in Bulgaria. About a year later, in November, 1922, M. Stamboliisky himself went to Belgrade, where he prepared the way for the subsequent Nish Congress. But this visit was strongly resented by the Macedonians and the Bulgarian Premier received several warnings as to his personal safety — warnings which persuaded him to reside for the most part in his native village after his return from the Lausanne Conference just before Christmas, 1922. In the following March a Serbo-Bulgarian Commission met at Nish to discuss the coöperation of the two countries for the purpose of suppressing the frontier bands. The agreement arrived at, which provided for mutual action against the revolutionaries, gave rise to great discontent among the Macedonians and their sympathisers in Bulgaria, and, coupled with the attitude of the Agrarian Government towards the Kara Agatch and the Dédé Agatch question, it constituted one of the primary causes of the Stamboliisky débâcle.

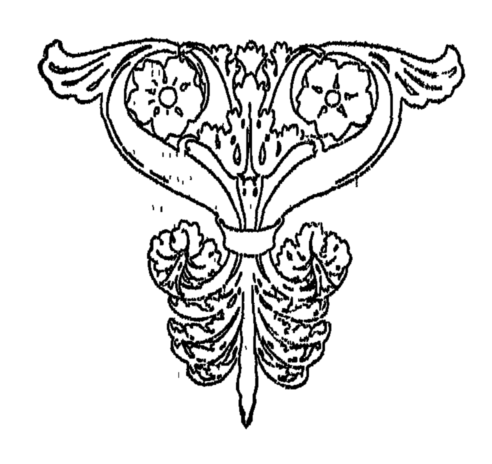
So much for the broader reasons leading to the Revolution of June, 1923. Coming to the actual organisation by which that change was accomplished, it has since become known that about the time of the formation of the National *Bloc* in the summer of 1922, there came into being a group of Bulgarians who, though not in strict accord with the leaders of the bourgeois parties, determined to do away with the Agrarian Government. This section of the community, composed very largely of younger men, under the leadership of Professor Zankov, the subsequent Premier, obtained the support of the ex-officers and of the army, now recruited from townsmen and from the less desirable elements of the community, who alone are willing to undertake prolonged service. The movement was carried on in the utmost secrecy, the staff work was excellent, and, whereas it was originally intended to postpone open action until later in the year, it was finally determined that prolonged delay would give M. Stamboliisky time to complete the organisation of his "Orange" army and to hold an immense Agrarian Congress which was planned at the completion of the harvest. For these reasons and only a few days beforehand, June 9 was fixed as the date for action. On the morning of that day most of the Agrarian Ministers were already under arrest and the King signed a decree appointing the new Ministry. Parliament was dissolved; the Agrarians, apparently surprised, made no serious resistance, and with the death of M. Stamboliisky, who was captured in the interior on June 14, and of M. Daskalov, his chief subordinate, who was murdered at Prague later on, the new authorities had overcome their preliminary difficulties.

The revolution carried with it a change towards the Right, the replacement of an extreme Cabinet by one of more moderate tone, and the re-advent to power of men who depend for their support largely upon the towns and upon the military. The power and prestige of the King were increased, certain of the ex-Agrarian Ministers were almost immediately put on their trial (nominally for infractions of the law but no doubt really on account of their policy) and the Government took active measures against the Communists, the Russian Red Cross Mission, sent to Bulgaria to supervise the repatriation of refugees, but proved to be implicated in political intrigues, being expelled at the end of July. During this time the Communists and the more advanced Agrarians, divided within themselves as to the adoption of a constitutional policy and of reliance upon the verdict of the elections or as to a resort to force, were active in their preparations for the future. About the middle of September, the Government, aware of these preparations, ordered the arrest of certain Agrarians and of a large number of Communists. This action had its immediate result, for a week later a revolution broke out in various and widely separated parts of the country. That revolution, encouraged by a dread of a warlike policy rather than by any widespread sympathy for the principles of Communism, was quickly and severely suppressed, and whilst the events of only a week cost the country material losses in life and property, the Agrarians and the Communists, deprived of the leaders upon whom they depended, appear to have been crushed. Consequently it seems more than likely that, having regard to the result of the elections held on November 18, the Government of M. Zankov or a Coalition supported by the instigators of the June *coup d'état* will remain in power until its position is jeopardised by some event the nature of which it is impossible to foretell beforehand.

With regard to foreign affairs, M. Zankov at once declared that he proposed to pursue a policy of peace and that he intended to abide by the terms of the Treaty of Neuilly. Nevertheless, in spite of these declarations, it is not unnatural that in western Europe and especially in the countries bordering upon Bulgaria, a certain suspicion should exist as to the intentions of

a party which came into power largely with the support of the military elements of the community. This suspicion has not justified the several extreme measures taken by Yugoslavia; but for some time to come the relations between Sofia and Belgrade must remain strained and those relations cannot be established on a basis of permanent friendship until the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State has seen the advisability of a change in her attitude towards the Macedonian question. There are practically no outstanding questions with Rumania, but it remains for the Powers and for Greece to discover a formula which will provide Bulgaria with the access to the Aegean guaranteed under the Treaty of Neuilly. By so doing they will stabilise a situation which will otherwise remain fraught with local and international danger.

In the foregoing pages endeavour has been made to show that, during just over 30 years, the Bulgarians built up a modern country and that subsequently they accepted disaster with a tranquillity astonishing to their most fervent admirers. The position arising out of the World War was well-nigh hopeless, but the sterling qualities of the people form a guarantee against their disappearance from the comity of nations. Unfortunately for them, their rulers pursued an unwise policy in the years 1913 and 1915, but, although dangers and difficulties still loom ahead, history will yet declare that this cold but determined people has played its worthy part in surroundings so constantly disturbed by conflict and by war.



CHAPTER L

RUMANIA RUINED AND REËSTABLISHED

THE history of Rumania and the Rumanians, who, in every province, are becoming an increasingly homogeneous people and are seeking means of closer unification in all the various domains of the country, is, from 1900 up to the time of the World War, a history of dreams, efforts and partial or brilliant success in so far as the creation of a united cultural life and the formation of a Rumanian State are concerned.

Charles of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen, who had been chosen Prince of Rumania in 1866 and crowned King of Rumania in 1881 on the establishment of a kingdom in that country, owed his power chiefly to the ignorance of the peasants and the materialistic aims and pursuits of the *bourgeoisie*. He had invariably checked the aspirations of the Liberals by calling the Conservatives into power for short terms and had ruled with a firm and clever hand — and ruled alone — in spite of the manifold activities and great influence of the Liberal chief, I. C. Brătianu. In the matter of foreign politics, influenced by the power of the German Empire and also by ties of blood, he was under the sway of the Triple Alliance and had taken his orders from Berlin and his advice from Vienna, eying with the utmost suspicion that Russia which had despoiled his country and wounded his pride by the annexation of Bessarabia in 1878.

But certain vital problems for which he had succeeded in finding temporary settlements were, nevertheless, still awaiting permanent solution. They presently began to prove all the more troublesome for having been so long neglected. But opposing the solution of these problems was not only the obstinacy of the old King, little inclined to undo a system of which he was extremely proud, but also that of certain vested interests and of the inertia of a generation which was now reaping the profit of the sufferings and success of the preceding generation.

FINANCIAL CRISIS OF 1899–1901

Rumania was at this time a rich country belonging to a people the majority of whom were extremely poor and the minority inclined to indolence and lacking completely in all power of economic initiative. Every year she exported her surplus production — even bread — with the result that the peasants were forced to stint themselves for the sake of international trade. The money derived from this trade was spent on luxuries, both public and private, or was wasted abroad. European banking — or rather German banking, which had become extremely powerful, just as had German uni-

versities in another sphere — assisted Rumania in its financial policy of continual loans, but was nevertheless ready to press the knife to her throat at the first sign of a world crisis.

Between this latent danger thus menacing the finances of the state, which, it must be acknowledged, had spent a large portion of the proceeds of these loans in building up its modern life, and that future danger which lay in waiting for a state whose economic edifice was based on the misery and ignorance of peasants, it was natural that it was the former which first came to a head. In the midst of a condition that had been apparently, if only superficially, satisfactory, it brought with it unforeseen elements of disorder.

At the head of the Government at the moment of the outbreak of this acute financial crisis was Georges Cantacuzène. On its accession to office this Government found itself faced with the payment of two and a half millions of Treasury bonds, which had been issued whenever money had been scarce, and with a Treasury empty of all resources to meet this payment. Extravagance, both public and private, had been rife. The cost of the splendid public buildings of Bucharest had frequently been defrayed out of foreign loans instead of from the budget. It now became apparent that if the Government was to extricate itself from its difficulties, a policy of severe retrenchment would be necessary. The immediate problem was solved in the latter part of 1899 by the raising of a loan of £7,000,000 in Berlin, but the terms of the contract were exceedingly rigid, for the Rumanian Government, in addition to paying a higher rate of interest than had hitherto been demanded, was also forced to agree that it would not contract any further loans until this last one was paid.

The methods advocated by the Liberal and Conservative parties to meet this crisis were almost diametrically opposed. The former, now in opposition, urged a permanent reduction of the annual expenditure of £800,000, a course which would necessitate the raising of only £200,000 by additional taxation, while the latter desired a moderate reduction of expenditure accompanied by a heavy increase in taxation. Naturally the Conservative programme proved extremely unpopular, and consequently the Liberals, under Demetrius Sturdza, a man of meticulous habits both of birth and education, were again returned to office, February 26, 1901. Sturdza courageously fell upon the officials, and even upon the public services and the army. So successful, indeed, was his financial policy that in 1904 receipts exceeded the proposed limit of expenditure.

The crisis was averted. No more haphazard loans were borrowed, even when borrowing once more became feasible. Another expedient was found by the quick intelligence of a young lawyer, Take Jonescu by name, the Minister of Finance of the Conservative party, which was returned to power in January, 1905. The haphazard appeals made to foreign capital were recognised as carrying with them the gravest disadvantages both in the matter of their various origins and of their differing conditions. A conversion, very much criticised at the time, but eventually proving useful, remedied the situation.

AGRARIAN PROBLEMS

Agricultural production had remained primitive in Rumania. The timber industry, fruit growing, bee culture and the raising of cattle, all suffered equally under a *régime* of mismanagement and neglect. Farmers and peasants clung to the old-time crops. Fields were not fertilised — an unknown process — but, instead, were alternated, or the fields were allowed to remain

fallow for a time. Also, and in spite of the beauty of immense stretches of golden wheat and green corn (maize), this primitive agricultural condition could in a large part be ascribed to the economically inferior condition of the peasant producer and the lack of foresight on the part of the consumer. Everything was sold as soon as harvested; no reserves were stored in the barns—in years of scarcity corn had even been imported from America—and the lack of variety in the crops rendered any failure of the two sole crops a national catastrophe. Irrigation had not replaced rainfall, which is always liable to fail on the borders of the steppes, and the unhappy peasants, serfs on their masters' lands, blamed heaven for those ills that were really due to the lack of foresight of the men on whom their lives depended. The little rural schools, few in number and unpractical, inculcated the rural population with no doctrines concerning its own rights and wrongs or its own strength; and this population was in consequence unable to find means to raise itself from its state of abject misery.

Various attempts had been made to increase production and remedy the poverty of the Rumanian peasantry; but in all there appeared to lurk the idea that though the peasant must be assisted in his extreme poverty, there was no necessity to make him, either for his own sake or for that of the country in which he was the most numerous and most important factor, self-supporting and independent by means of his work and savings.

THE AGRARIAN RISINGS

By the Land Act of 1889, the state domains, which amounted to almost one-third of the total area of Rumania, had been distributed among the peasantry, the land having been divided into lots of 12½, 25 and 37½ acres. Landless peasants could purchase the smaller lots on very easy terms, while all lots had been declared inalienable for thirty years. But the sale of the larger lots had given rise to so many abuses that in 1896 a law had been passed forbidding further sales. As a result of these measures the majority of Rumanian agriculturists had become peasant proprietors; but the small size of their holdings rendered scientific farming extremely difficult except by methods of coöperation, and many proprietors could only exist at all by working for the owners of large estates. Thus, notwithstanding the fact that the average value of agricultural land had increased by 60 per cent between 1870 and 1900, the position of the peasantry was very unsatisfactory and the discontent ensuing therefrom, combined with the harsh treatment of those peasants working on the state and communal lands leased by Jewish middlemen, were the immediate causes of their revolt.

Accordingly, first in Moldavia against the Jewish farmers, and then in Wallachia against even the Christian landed proprietors and farmers, there broke out destructive insurrections of peasants. They were carried away, as in mediæval days, by legends, and believed themselves to be following the commands of Queen Elizabeth of Rumania. They also had an idea that they were led by the students, these last having recently demonstrated against the representation of a French comedy at the Théâtre National. The outbreak served to prove the urgent necessity for the new reforms.

In 1907 the Conservatives resigned and the Liberals returned to power. They were far less supporters of Sturdza than followers of young Brătianu, on whom his own penetrating intelligence, his connections and the necessity of the hour imposed the programme of his generation. The repression of these revolts was violent, but Parliament immediately took in hand reforms guaranteed by a Royal proclamation, for the King had no desire to terminate

his reign amidst the desolation of a prolonged revolution. The new Government abolished the system by which public lands were leased to middlemen, reduced the land tax on small holdings and granted new facilities for obtaining credit to the peasants.

In June of the same year (1907) there was an election, but Sturdza remained in office, having been returned by an immense majority. He thereupon introduced several measures of financial reform in order to meet the cost of the foregoing agrarian measures of reform and of the reorganisation of the army, which was taken in hand in 1908.

CHANGES IN THE BALKAN PENINSULA

From 1908 to 1910 immense changes took place in the Balkan Peninsula. A revolution broke out in Turkey, Bosnia and Herzegovina were annexed by Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria was proclaimed independent and a kingdom was established in Montenegro. Rumania, however, was but slightly affected by these events, and it was not until the outbreak of war between Turkey on the one hand and Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece on the other, that any declaration of policy was demanded of her.

THE BALKAN WAR

The outbreak of the Balkan War found J. Brătianu in power. The official attitude of Rumania was one of strict neutrality. But the remarkable successes of the Allies, and more especially the Bulgarian victories at Kirk Kilisseh and Lule Burgas, warned neutrals of the danger of the birth of a new imperialism in the Balkan states. Austria-Hungary went so far as to make formal proposals of united action for the purpose of preventing the victorious Allies from reaping the expected rewards of their amazing successes, and General Conrad von Hötzendorff arrived in Bucharest charged with the discussion of this plan. But the idea of Rumanian soldiers fighting side by side with those of Hungary evoked almost general indignation, and whatever may have been the Government's early intentions, it soon perceived that coöperation with the Dual Monarchy was impossible.

Soon afterwards the Bulgarian Minister, Danev, arrived in Rumania and offered Bulgarian renunciation of all claims to the Dobrudja, combined with modifications of the frontier to the advantage of Rumania. His proposals, however, were refused. "Compensation" for the immense territorial gains of the Balkan Confederation became the Rumanian demand, for which a formidable agitation broke out all over the country.

RUMANIAN PARTICIPATION IN THE BALKAN WAR

So strong was this agitation that in the summer of 1913 the Government was called upon either to declare war on Bulgaria, which had openly proclaimed her projects of Bulgarian hegemony, or to resign. Accordingly, in June a Rumanian army, 500,000 strong, crossed the frontier. But as it approached the Bulgarian capital, Tsar Ferdinand of Bulgaria telegraphed to King Charles suing for peace. Negotiations were at once opened at Bucharest between Rumanians, Serbians, Greeks and Bulgarians. Peace was concluded in August, Rumania obtaining that part of the Dobrudja she already occupied, and her rights over Rumanians settled in Macedonia were fully recognised. Her prestige was greatly increased, but her support of Serbia was tantamount to an open defiance of Austria-Hungary.

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The Coronation of King Ferdinand I and Queen Marie of Rumania, in the little town of Alba Iulia on October 15, 1922. Owing to the war the ceremonies had been postponed from 1914.



© *Keystone View Co.*

The occupation of Rumania by the Germans brought starvation in its train. Much relief was given by the American Red Cross, one of whose stations is shown above.

RUMANIA AND THE WORLD WAR

Already the World War was brewing, but according to the programme of this work, we shall here content ourselves with only the barest outline of Rumania's participation in it.

When war broke out in 1914, J. Brătianu was at the head of affairs. In Vienna it was felt certain that the Rumanian army would march at the orders of the Dual Monarchy, for an interview that had taken place between King Charles of Rumania and the Tsar of Russia at Constanza, though it had caused a deep sensation in the country and had raised hopes of a change of orientation, had produced no diplomatic results.

Nevertheless, public opinion remained violently hostile to the Austrian adventure, and when the Germans failed to reach Paris, Rumanian statesmen were forced to reconsider the position of armed neutrality that they had adopted. In September, 1914, J. Brătianu obtained a declaration from the Allies to the effect that in exchange for a benevolent neutrality, Rumania was to have the right to occupy those Austro-Hungarian territories which were hers by virtue of the nationality of their populations. At the same time Count Czernin, the Austro-Hungarian representative in the Rumanian capital, in conversation with the Crown Prince Ferdinand, declared that Rumania would be guilty of "miserable treachery" if she abandoned the Triple Alliance. In reply, the trend of public opinion was pointed out to him. The sudden death of the King on October 10 facilitated the task of those who desired a change of policy. Italy's entry into the war raised popular excitement to the utmost pitch, and when Brussilov's offensive once more reached Galicia and the Bukovina, further delay was impossible.

On August 27, 1916, Rumania declared war on Austria-Hungary. It was her intention first to conquer Transylvania, and for this purpose strong forces were to push forward from the east and advance westwards, through the valleys of the Kuküllo, the North Kuküllo and the Maros. The calculations included a simultaneous push forward of the Russian front adjoining on the north. In conformity with the plan of operation the Rumanians crossed the frontier on the night of August 27–28 through all the passes into Transylvania, driving back the weak Austro-Hungarian defence troops in numerous small engagements. In the meantime, the first troops sent by the Central Powers were massing towards Transylvania, while events of far-reaching importance had taken place in the Dobrudja. On September 1, the Bulgarian army crossed the Rumanian-Bulgarian frontier with the object of conquering the Dobrudja. Turtucaia was attacked on September 3 and on September 4 and 5, the bridge-head was stormed and 21,000 men and 400 officers were captured.

While the 3rd Bulgarian army was pressing forward successfully on the whole front, the retreating Rumanians were reënforced by a Russian Expeditionary Corps. On September 15 the Rumanian-Russian fighting forces were attacked by the Bulgars and compelled to retreat along the whole line. After some further attacks and counter-attacks, operations in the Dobrudja generally for the time being came to a standstill.

On September 17, General von Falkenhayn with the staff of the newly formed 9th German army, arrived at Deva in Transylvania — a point to which the 4th Rumanian army had already penetrated — with the intention of driving the Rumanians out of Transylvania. On September 26 the attack opened with the battle of Hermannstadt and raged until the evening of September 28. The bulk of the Rumanian army was destroyed, 3,000 prisoners, and the whole of the artillery falling into the hands of the victors.

The Rumanians now abandoned the idea of continuing the offensive. Impressed by the annihilating defeat at Hermannstadt and recognising the impossibility of attacking in a tactically unfavourable position, they decided to withdraw in order to defend the frontier passes. Accordingly, they retired on the whole eastern front, pursued by the Austro-Hungarians and German forces, and six weeks after the Rumanians first entered Transylvania the enemy had forced them back into Rumania.

In November, Rumanian troops were withdrawn from the Dobrudja into Wallachia, and the enemy, now in position at Sistova, thought this a favourable moment to push forward to Bucharest with the object, in conjunction with the approaching 9th army, of effecting the conquest of Wallachia. The Rumanians recognised the opportunity offered them of falling on the rashly advanced Danube army, and made violent frontal attacks across the Argesu on the isolated enemy forces, which were soon in an extremely critical position.

The right wing of Mackensen's army was brought up with the utmost haste. Before long the Rumanians found themselves enveloped, and turned back with heavy losses to Bucharest. The 9th army was now north of Bucharest in the Prahova Valley, while the Danube army was south-west of the capital and east of the Argesu. The capital was evacuated by the Rumanians, and on the night of December 6 the troops of the Danube army and part of the 9th army entered Bucharest.

Mackensen now received orders to push forward with his army group to the shortest line of communication between the sea and the Carpathian front. By January, 1917, the Rumanian army had practically ceased to be a factor in the fighting for a long time to come. The remnant of the Rumanian army that had been saved was transferred to the district between Jassy and Târgu Frumos to recuperate, and a French military mission undertook to reorganise it and to give it a thorough education based on the principles of the conduct of modern warfare. By the summer of 1917 this task was finished.

During the second half of July the reorganised Rumanian army, in conjunction with Russian forces, attacked at Soveja and succeeded in throwing back the enemy forces for some distance, but by September, 1917, further attacks proved futile, the ten-day battle of Marasesti, the most famous exploit of the Rumanian army in the World War, having exhausted the Rumanian capacity for continued resistance. On December 7 armistice negotiations were opened at Focsani and were concluded three days later.

Throughout the campaign, the figure of the new King, Ferdinand, who sacrificed his deepest instincts in order to place himself at the head of his country in a war of life and death against the Central Powers, stands out in bold relief, as does that of Queen Marie, by birth an English princess, whose keen intelligence and valiant strength of mind will not easily be forgotten. Rumania's losses were heavy in the war, but she eventually emerged from it re-united to the three irredentist provinces of Bessarabia (where the population itself demanded the reunion), Austrian Bukovina and Hungarian Transylvania.

FURTHER AGRARIAN REFORMS

After December, 1916, Parliament met at Jassy, where it remained until the end of 1918. In April, 1917, the agrarian question once more became insistent, partly this time on account of the reactions of the public mind of the triumph of the Bolshevist Revolution in Russia. Acting under the influence of the Crown, the Conservative party at [illegible]

of expropriation of land, which was to be applied to an area of 2,000,000 hectares.

For two months the project was discussed in Parliament, and in July, 1917, a law was passed which left the original proprietors 500 hectares at the outside for each separate estate — all absentee landlords were completely expropriated — and assigning them a compensation in state bonds, the amount of which was not to exceed twenty times the annual value of the property. Details of the distribution of this expropriated land were to be fixed by law.

RUMANIA AND HUNGARY

The Bolshevist Government in power in Hungary in 1919 was eager from the first to attempt to regain possession of Transylvania, where 3,000,000 of the population were Rumanians, and which, as a result of Rumanian participation in the World War, had now passed to Rumania. An armed attack on Rumanian territory by the Red army in August, 1919, led to a Rumanian counter-offensive, which, in spite of the interdiction of the Allies, arrived at Budapest in a few days, the Rumanians remaining there until Admiral Horthy was appointed regent. The Treaties of Versailles and St. Germain recognised as Rumanian the territories which had formerly belonged to Austria-Hungary, and although Austria at once gave her signature to those agreements which concerned her, Hungary resisted until 1921, and then expressed her ratification in terms which left no doubt as to the sentiments animating a large part of the Hungarian population.

FIRST PARLIAMENT OF UNITED RUMANIA

In November, 1919, a democratic Government of advanced tendencies was returned to power under the presidency of the Transylvanian, Alexander Vaida Voëva. Measures were taken in hand to provide a final solution of the agrarian question; for the reorganisation of education and administration; and for remedying the shortage of housing accommodation.

In March, 1920, however, owing to the alarm among the upper classes caused by the spread of Bolshevist propaganda, General Averescu was returned to power. In the autumn of the same year a committee of agrarian reform worked on a plan for the better distribution of the land among the peasantry, the budget appropriating a very considerable sum for this purpose. This new law provided for the expropriation of all landed estates of more than 500 hectares held by private owners in Old Rumania, and in all estates similarly owned, of over 100 hectares in Bessarabia, Transylvania and Bukovina. The cost of this project was to be defrayed to the extent of 65 per cent by the peasants and 35 per cent by the State, and 45 years were allowed for payment.

GREAT FINANCIAL IMPROVEMENTS UNDER THE BRĂTIANU MINISTRY

On January 19, 1922, J. Brătianu at the head of a new Ministry was returned to office. The Government took in hand vigorous measures of economic reform, and by the autumn of the same year an improvement in the public finances became apparent. For more than six months no Treasury notes or paper currency were issued, and taxation, indeed, was reported as having exceeded estimates, the budget showing a surplus.

The policy of the Government was directed against th

tion of Rumanian oil. In March, 1922, the oil production of the country reached 115,000 tons, this being the largest monthly output since the collapse of Rumania in the World War. During the same year both France and Belgium were said to have had in hand negotiations which, if carried through, would have given these countries control of 20,000 acres of the best oil districts in Rumania.

Resolute efforts were made in other directions. Reconstruction in Jewish communities devastated by the war was begun and considerable progress was made. Coöperative bodies were established in Bessarabia, where the problem of housing accommodation also received attention.

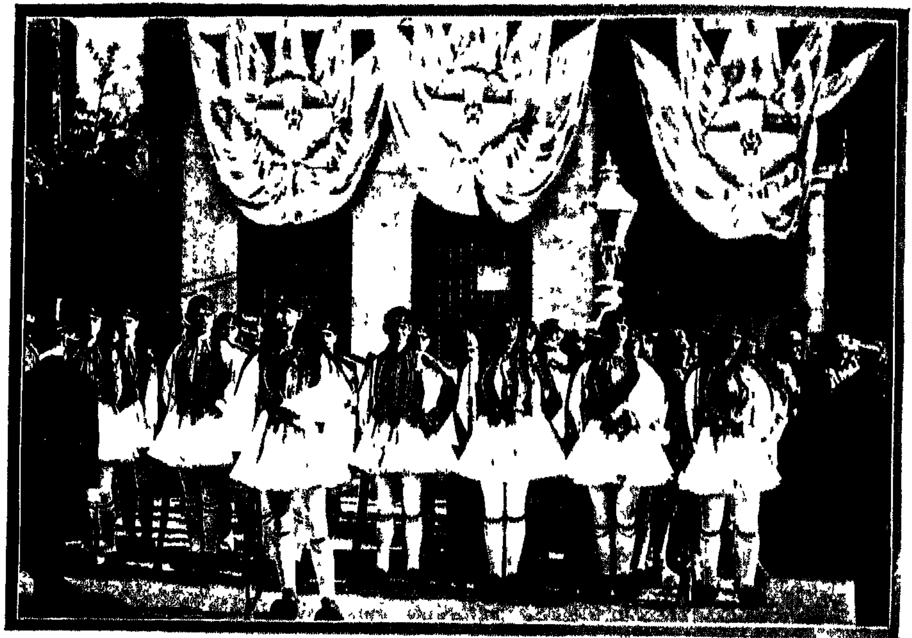
CORONATION OF THE KING AND QUEEN

On October 15, 1922, the long-deferred coronation of King Ferdinand and Queen Marie took place at Alba Iulia, a little town of some 6,000 population in Transylvania, the site of the historic shrine where Michael the Brave received the oath of allegiance from the Diet of Transylvania. The ceremony, extremely picturesque in all its details, took place in the great public square in front of the cathedral, the normal population of the little town being swelled to 200,000 for the occasion.

FOREIGN POLICY — THE LITTLE ENTENTE

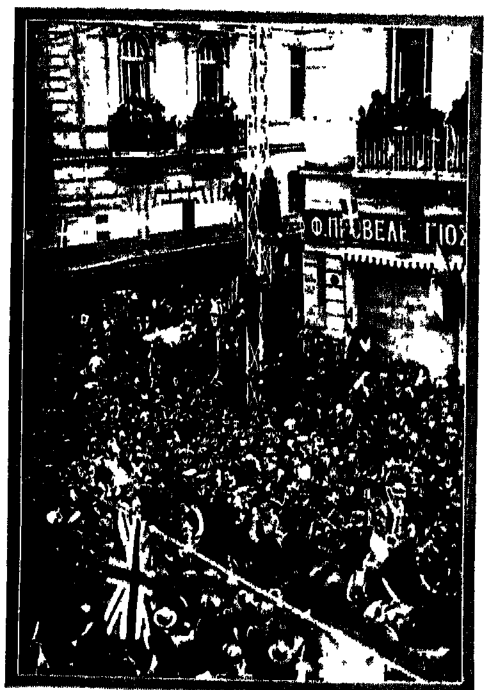
The outstanding fact of the recent foreign policy of Rumania is the formation of the Little *Entente* by her close alliance with Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. Matrimonial alliances have also been entered into with Greece, Prince Carol of Rumania, the heir to the throne, having married Princess Helen of Greece on March 10, 1921, and Princess Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the Rumanian sovereigns, having married King George II of Greece on February 27, 1921. The *entente* with Yugoslavia was further cemented in June, 1922, by the marriage of the ruler of that country with the second daughter of the King and Queen of Rumania.

The policy towards Soviet Russia was on the whole friendly, but Rumania was firm in maintaining the security of the Bessarabian frontier, and in demanding the return of Rumanian investments in Russia. She further insisted on a complete cessation of Communist propaganda in Rumania on the part of Russian Bolshevists. In December, 1922, Soviet Russia was prepared to admit the Rumanian right to Bessarabia if in return Rumania would recognise the Soviet Government, and would establish economic and political relations with that Government.



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The picturesque evzones, the crack corps of the Greek Army. Every man must be of proved valour and over six feet tall. The quaint uniform is a survival from another age.



© *Kadel & Herbert*

The triumphant return of King Constantine to Athens in 1920, following the death of his second son, King Alexander, in whose favour he was forced to abdicate in 1917. Three years later he was compelled to abdica[illegible] and tim[illegible]

CHAPTER LI

GREECE: A RECORD OF TRIUMPH AND DISASTER

By J. N. Mavrogordato, M.A.

Author of *England in the Balkans; Cassandra in Troy; The World in Chains;* etc.

Among the men who fought for Greek independence in 1821 and eleven ears later helped to establish the Greek Kingdom, only a few perceived the ardinal error of making the new member of the European community so eak that she could never be dangerous yet so small that she could never contented.

They had hoped she might be a centre to spread culture among the Greeks Thessaly, Macedonia, Crete, Anatolia and the islands of the Aegean. They rtainly never dreamed that at the end of the century the new Greece would ill be humiliated and discontented, withheld from any progress at home political faction, and prevented by the passions of unsatisfied nationalism om taking any part in European culture.

At the beginning of the twentieth century such was in fact the position Greece, the result not only of the unfortunate war with Turkey of 1897, it of the corrupt indolence of Theotokes and the magniloquent obstruction Delegiannes, her political leaders, who never tired of promising less taxes id more army, only to leave the country bankrupt and defenceless.

CRETE RESCUED FROM TURKISH RULE

The thirty days' war with Turkey in 1897 had not indeed been wholly sastrous; for it had attracted the attention of the Powers to the problem Crete and thus led to the painless extinction of the Turkish *régime* in that and; this had been replaced by autonomy, subject to the nominal suzerainty the Sultan, under a High Commissioner. The first High Commissioner, ince George of Greece, was succeeded in 1906 by Alexander Zaimes; and der that unique statesman, who made neither speeches nor enemies, such anquillity was restored that the Powers began to withdraw their troops 908), leaving only four ships of war to protect the Moslem inhabitants d the Sultan's flagstaff. From this self-sufficient island was to come the atesman who tried to introduce the same spirit into Greek life.

BRIGANDAGE AND MURDER IN MACEDONIA

But if Crete was in a fair way to good government and to union with eece the same could not be said for Macedonia, the struggle for which was adddening Greek nationalists with new obsessions of hatred and fear. In middle of the century, before anyone had thought of preaching to them

the blessings of Nationalism, the Macedonians had been a peaceful and homogeneous population, knowing only agricultural discontents, calling themselves Christians in opposition to their Turkish landlords, and quite untroubled by their differences of language and descent, which were predominantly either Greek or Slavonic with rare villages of Albanians or Koutso Vlachs. The race-conscious Greeks of Constantinople and t[illegible] still influenced by the eighteenth-century view that all the B[illegible] were Greeks (or *Romaioi*) because they were survivors of the Eastern Roman Empire, regarded Macedonia as their natural reversion. But in 1894 a committee was founded at Sofia with the professed object of making Macedonia Bulgarian, and for the next ten years carried on an admirably organised campaign of terrorism. Village after village was compelled by fire and sword to contribute to the funds of the committee, to proclaim Bulgarian nationality, and to rebel against the Sultan.

The Turks gladly played off one nationality against another; and were soon provoked by bomb outrages to searching for arms and massacre. After ten years of this, in 1904, Greek nationalists organised bands on the Bulgarian model and carried on a vigorous counter-campaign of brigandage and murder. This " forward policy " was enthusiastically supported by the ablest young Athenians, who thought it nobler to cross the frontier with a rifle than to stew in the political corruption of the capital. Meanwhile the Bulgarian nationalists were able to exhibit a Macedonian peasantry starving, embittered and fanatical, divided and cross-divided by mutual hatreds of race, religion and language, and thereby to procure the intervention of the Great Powers as a first step to Macedonian autonomy. England was in fact strongly pressing the claims of an autonomous Bulgaria, which would " erect a permanent barrier against Russian aggression," as against the schemes of reform negotiated by Austria and Russia and already partially accepted by the Sultan. But then the Revolution at Constantinople (1908) awakened Turkish nationalism, with a policy of equality which, though celebrated with rejoicing at Salonika was soon found to imply that no separate nationalities would be recognised at all within the Ottoman Empire.

THE RÉGIME OF THE YOUNG TURKS

The Liberals of Europe, deceived by the deposition of the Sultan Abdul Hamid, broke into effusive applause; the diplomatists were fully occupied in averting the danger of a war between Austria and Russia, consequent on Bulgaria's proclamation of independence and Austria's annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina; and the Young Turks, having consolidated their power at Constantinople and held a massacre of Armenians at Adana, proceeded to deal with the Greeks. The Cretans had taken advantage of the upheaval to proclaim their union with the kingdom. But Greece under the leadership of Theotokes and Ralli could only appeal to the distracted Powers and submit to a Turkish ultimatum requiring them to renounce for ever all claims to Crete, Epirus, Macedonia and the islands of the Aegean. Thus a second time within ten years Greece was humiliated by her secular oppressor. But the Greek people were now disgusted with the futilities of the political game; a League of Military Officers, with the full support of the people and the prudent acquiescence of King George I, seized power at Athens with the general idea of securing a reorganisation of the army by altogether abolishing the influence of Court and the political chiefs; the League of Military Officers also summoned to Athens as their political adviser the Cretan leader Eleutherios Venizelos.

VENIZELOS AND REFORM

Venizelos began by prescribing a National Assembly to revise the Constitution, in which, having resigned his official position in Crete, he sat as an ordinary member: but by the end of the year 1910 he had been forced by the opposition of the party chiefs to take the premiership himself, appeal once more to the electorate and take up office with an overwhelming majority that practically extinguished the old parties.

There followed eighteen months of such honest, inspiring and intensive work that not only was the internal administration of the country thoroughly overhauled, but the army and navy were remodelled and trained by French and British missions, and, most important and most difficult task of all, the Macedonian feud was forgotten and cordial diplomatic relations were restored with all her Balkan neighbours. In May, 1912, a treaty was signed with Bulgaria, which had already signed a treaty with Serbia for the partition of Macedonia. So that when in October Turkish troops shot down a few Bulgarian peasants at Kochana, Turkey was suddenly confronted with an ultimatum from a Quadruple Alliance of Balkan states. It was almost as good as a Balkan Federation.

THE BALKAN WAR

The Great Powers were not less astounded than the Turks. But it was too late to appeal, as they did, to the Treaty of Berlin. King Nicholas of Montenegro declared war on Turkey, Turkey on Bulgaria and Serbia, and Greece, refusing a generous bribe for neutrality, on Turkey. (October 18, 1912.)

While the Great Powers were still wondering whether to be pleased by the unexpected solution of the Macedonian problem or shocked by so violent a disturbance of the *status quo*, the Balkan Allies almost swept the Turks out of Europe. The Bulgarians drove through Thrace and invested Adrianople; the Serbians descending occupied Monastir and joined forces with the Greek army, which had cleared the Turks out of Macedonia and occupied Salonika under the command of the Crown Prince Constantine. The Greek fleet had established a blockade of the Dardanelles and maintained it till the end of the war. For Greece refused to sign the armistice obtained from the other Allies on December 3, but joined the Conference which met a fortnight later in London, when the Allies demanded from Turkey the surrender of all the territory their armies actually held in Europe together with the fortresses invested (Adrianople by Bulgarians and Serbs, Scutari by Montenegrins and Yannina by Greeks). The Grand Council at Constantinople had actually decided to accept these terms when the extreme Nationalists under Enver Bey drove out the Grand Vizier, murdered the Commander-in-Chief and on February 3, 1913, resumed hostilities.

Yannina was stormed by the Greek army on March 6, and twelve days later, on the assassination of his father, the victorious Prince Constantine succeeded to the Greek throne. Negotiations were reopened in May and by the end of the month Turkey signed away collectively to the Balkan Allies all her territories in Europe west of a line drawn from Enos on the Aegean to Media on the Black Sea--leaving the Powers to settle the problems of Albania and the Aegean islands.

Unfortunately Liberal opinion in England, somewhat elated perhaps by the success of Sir Edward Grey in presiding at diplomatic conferences, and still deluded by the passion for Nationalism, had [illegible]

Austrian proposal to erect an independent Kingdom of Albania. Serbia was thus excluded from any access to the Adriatic and, seeking compensation for this loss in the east, it requested Bulgaria to modify the provisional partition of Macedonia as provided in the treaty which had been signed between Serbia and Bulgaria early in 1912.

THE SECOND BALKAN WAR

Bulgaria, however, fresh from her victories over the Turks, was a little apt to despise her allies, who had hitherto not failed in loyalty, and was already trying to jockey the Greeks out of Salonika. Her attitude indeed had become so menacing that at the beginning of June Greeks and Serbians had signed a defensive alliance, intended primarily to prevent a Bulgarian hegemony in the Balkans, but consciously drafted so as to cover the contingency of attack by any third Power. Bulgaria, hoping to snatch Salonika and surprise both her allies, attacked them without warning on June 29 but was herself heavily defeated. Rumania intervened to claim from the now defenceless Bulgarians territorial compensation for her neutrality. The Bulgarians were compelled to sign the Treaty of Bucharest (August 10, 1913). Venizelos attempted to moderate the victorious fury of his countrymen, led by their new King Constantine, and of his Serbian allies, who were anxious to penalise the Bulgarian people for the treachery of their King Ferdinand and the greed of their generals; but he was compelled to give up hope of reconstructing the Balkan Alliance and to base his policy on a balance of power; hoping to immobilise Bulgarian ambitions by the threat of the alliance with Serbia and the new friendship with Rumania. Greece had realised her national programme almost in its entirety and required a long period of peace. The problem of the Greeks of Asia Minor might, it was hoped, be postponed for a whole generation. The Serbian treaty was a genuine security for peace, as long as it lasted. For the Greco-Serbian group was strong enough to prevent any Bulgarian aggression, yet could not be used for selfish ends. Meanwhile the Turks without opposition reoccupied Adrianople — neither the Great Powers nor either of the other signatories making any protest against Turkey's thus violating the Treaty of London at Bulgaria's expense.

The Turks signed a sort of provisional peace with Greece (Treaty of Athens, November 14, 1913) but refused to accept the ruling of the Powers, who, in February, 1914, assigned to Greece all the islands of the Aegean actually occupied by the Greek fleet during the war, with the exception of Tenedos and Imbros, which were fallaciously supposed to command the Dardanelles; and of the twelve islands (or *Dodecanese*) of the southern Sporades which Italy had occupied in 1912, as security for the Turkish fulfilment of the Treaty of Lausanne, pledging her good faith that her occupation was only conditional and temporary. Turkey, confident in her ability to defy the Powers in the matter of the islands as easily as she had disregarded the Treaty of London by the reoccupation of Adrianople, was preparing to reopen the war against Greece; and having ordered two battleships building in England, began by a boycott of Greek shipping (first tried without success by the Young Turks four years earlier) and an organised persecution of Greeks in Asia Minor. These movements were clear symptoms that Asia, following Europe, had now been attacked by the poison of Nationalism. It was at this moment that the eruption of the World War, begun by the Austrian attack on Serbia, posed a more serious problem for all the Balkan Government than conflict on a merely B[illegible]

GREECE AND THE WORLD WAR

The attitude of the Greek Government was never in doubt. Venizelos owed his grasp of foreign policy largely to the fact that he could envisage Europe as a whole, and, perhaps alone and perhaps first of his countrymen, did not regard Greece as the centre of the world. His attitude as stated immediately in answer to the Serbian Premier, as developed later after his return to Athens and consultation with his Government, and as freely declared to the British and French Governments just before the battle of the Marne, was both constant and consistent. Greece was bound to Serbia by her defensive alliance, but the purposes of that alliance, the preservation and security of Serbia, would best be served if Greece did not plunge immediately into the war, but stood watchfully by to prevent Bulgaria from making any hostile move and to guard Serbian communications with the Aegean Sea. Above and beyond this treaty obligation and Balkan interest, Greece was bound by interest and tradition to support the cause of England and France; and this obligation was of such supreme importance that if an occasion arose in which her relatively small forces might be of any assistance, she would not hesitate to put her army and navy at the disposal of the Western Powers. In defending this policy Venizelos, it should be added, had the advantage of never doubting who was going to win. England, he is reported to have said, always wins at least one battle — the last.

CONSTANTINE DISMISSES VENIZELOS

King Constantine, on the other hand, though he could cut a bold figure in uniform and express an opinion of the moment in very forcible language, was of a timorous and mutable disposition. His familiarity with the German army in which he had been trained, his daily association with the officers of his staff, educated in Germany, and his friendly relations with the German Emperor, his brother-in-law, all inclined him quite naturally to regard Germany as invincible: but when confronted with the reasoned convictions and the then overwhelming popularity of his Prime Minister he never quite had the courage to declare openly his honourable, if mistaken, opinion that Germany was going to win, or his equally honourable and perhaps justifiable opinion that in a war of Great Powers it was expedient for small states to remain neutral at all costs. He preferred to let it be understood that he was only waiting on military advice for the most favourable moment in order to join the Western Powers. He made difficulties when England tried to initiate negotiations, either in view of a joint declaration of war on Turkey, or in an attempt to reconstruct, by concessions to Bulgaria, the Balkan Alliance of 1912. But the time came, in February, 1915, when England definitely required Greek help for attacking the then unfortified Dardanelles at a moment when the Turks were already preparing to evacuate Constantinople.

The proposals of Venizelos for specific Greek forces to coöperate with the British fleet were unanimously approved not only by his own supporters, then an overwhelming majority in the Chamber, but by a Crown Council of all the political leaders in the kingdom. King Constantine, however, refused to accept their advice, dismissed Venizelos and dissolved the Chamber (April 10, 1915). New elections were not held till the middle of June, and during the interval the new Premier, Gounares, naturally coöperated with the German press propaganda now established in Athens to blacken the

character and the policy of his predecessor; and the easiest way to do this was to represent Venizelos as a traitor to his country inspired only by a love of war and a personal hatred of his King. King Constantine was thus brought into the political arena as a personal opponent of Venizelos, and as leader of the German policy of neutrality. In spite of these temptations to vote for peace and King Constantine (whose popularity had been increased by a serious illness), the electors returned the Liberal party with a majority of 58 in a Chamber of 310: yet even then Gounares remained in office till the end of August, while the elements hostile to Venizelos or in favour of Germany and neutrality, which were now definitely controlled from the palace, were strengthened and organised.

Consequently when Venizelos was at last allowed to take office his diplomatic efforts to preserve peace on the Greek frontiers by threatening Bulgaria with Greek action were useless, because Germany had already been secretly informed that Greek neutrality would be guaranteed by King Constantine even in the event of a Bulgarian attack on Serbia. Bulgaria accordingly mobilised on September 23, and King Constantine allowed his Prime Minister to order a counter mobilisation and even to suggest to England and France that they should assist the Greco-Serbian coöperation with some of their own troops, a suggestion which led to the Allied landing at Salonika. But as soon as Venizelos, on the eve of the Bulgarian attack, explained once more his well-known policy of defending Serbia and received a vote of confidence in the Chamber, he was abruptly dismissed, and M. Zaimes was put up to explain that the Greco-Serbian Treaty had "a purely Balkan character"; and it was seriously argued that Greece was quite ready, as required by the treaty, to go to the defence of Serbia; but on the understanding that Serbia was only attacked by one enemy at a time! As Venizelos still commanded a majority in the Chamber it was again dissolved and fresh elections were held in December, when the Liberals made the mistake of abstaining from the polls, in protest against this second and unconstitutional dissolution.

A government was formed which declared "very benevolent neutrality" towards the *Entente* and inspired the most complete distrust. In their numerous statements to the Press or to allied diplomatists neither King Constantine nor any of his nominees ever declared an honourable neutrality but always pretended that they were anxious to arrange terms for joining the *Entente*. Yet it is clear that from this time forward King Constantine, embittered by the not unnatural attacks of British and French journalists and annoyed by importunate diplomatists and all sorts of officious adventurers who were anxious to glorify Venizelos and "bring Greece into the war," began not only to expect but eagerly to desire a German victory. The violence of the King's partisans and propagandists encouraged the hordes of spies and paid bullies who infested the capital; and their activities were only aggravated when the three Protecting Powers, England, France and Russia, by an ultimatum presented on June 21, 1916, demanded certain administrative changes which might sever the connivance between the Government and the German espionage. The Greek army, which owing to the known sentiments of the General Staff had become a danger to the Allied base at Salonika, was at last demobilised; but the Bulgarians invaded Macedonia and seized Kavalla, whose garrison of 8,000 men surrendered and were deported to Germany. Their long internment at Görlitz at least enabled a German scholar (Heisenberg) to write a valuable study of Greek dialects.

Meanwhile King Constantine would from time to time change his Premier and discuss with the French or British Minister the terms on which it would suit him to abandon his "neutrality." But when in August Rumania joined the Allies and the King still remained aloof, Venizelos made a second mistake.

Fearing that Greece was losing her last chance of joining the Allies, he seceded to Salonika (September, 1916), set up a Provisional Government, a movement which was to withdraw the Greek nation from the influence of the Athenian court, and with the half of the kingdom which declared its allegiance to him, began to organise a belligerent state. The Allies, anxious to do no violence to a "neutral" sovereign, refused their official recognition to the Salonika Government, although Venizelist troops were already fighting for them in the trenches. The French admiral suggested to King Constantine that one way of proving his "benevolent neutrality" and disarming the suspicions of the French general at Salonika, would be to surrender some of his war material, especially his mountain artillery. The King, with his usual cordiality, was understood to consent; but when French and British marines landed by a given route to take delivery, they were shot down with machine-guns by Greek troops posted in prepared positions.

ABDICATION OF CONSTANTINE

The Allies now broke off relations with the King; but for another six months Allied diplomacy, owing to the hesitations of Russia and Italy, who were both for different reasons unwilling to welcome Greece as an Ally, could not decide whether he was a respected neutral or a dangerous enemy. Not till June, 1917, did they demand his abdication. He retired to Switzerland. His second son, Alexander, was put on the throne. Venizelos returned to Athens as Prime Minister of a united Greece, summoned the Chamber which had been unconstitutionally dissolved in November, 1915, and formally declared war against Germany, Turkey and Bulgaria. By April, 1918, the Greek army, in spite of the intensive agitation of King Constantine's agents, and in spite of the difficulties of supply in a country which, having been blockaded by both belligerents, was drained of food and every sort of material, had been completely mobilised and reëquipped. In July 250,000 Greek troops assured the Allies a definite superiority on the Macedonian front, and enabled them to open the great offensive which culminated in the capitulation of Bulgaria (September 30, 1918), the first breach in the defences of the Central Powers.

AFTER THE WAR

Venizelos appeared to have saved Greece in spite of herself. At the Peace Conference he was the only statesman who got all he asked for, perhaps because his moderation and honesty distinguished him from his environment. He even conciliated the Italians, signing an agreement (July 29, 1919) by which all outstanding questions were compromised, and all the islands of the Dodecanese were to revert to Greece (with the exception of Rhodes, the cession of which was to be dependent on a plebiscite to be held within fifteen years of England's cession of Cyprus). Needless to say, the Italians repudiated this treaty as soon as Greece lost her only moral asset, the support of European public opinion. Venizelos even obtained a mandate for the administration by the Greek crown, under a strictly controlled *régime*, of the richest province of Asia Minor, the basin and hinterland of Smyrna, where Greek troops landed on May 14, 1919. The Anatolian policy of Venizelos was not "imperialistic." He had realised as early as the time of the Balkan War, that as Greek stock, the million Asiatic or Anatolian Greeks, extending in scattered villages as far as the Caucasus, survivors and direct descendants of the Eastern Roman Empire, were more valuable than the Greeks of Thrace

or Constantinople. It was, moreover, apparent that the policy of the Young Turks, or "Nationalist Turks," embodied in Enver or in Kemal, aimed at the assimilation or extermination of these Greeks. There was only one way to save them. Venizelos decided to establish an enclave round Smyrna which should be not only an island of refuge whenever these Asiatic Greeks cared to cross the frontier, but also a stronghold the presence of which might deter the Turks from taking violent measures to "assimilate" the Greeks in the interior. For if the Turks began to persecute, massacre, or otherwise forcibly convert them, a large Greek population would immediately fly over the frontier into the Smyrna enclave, and forming a compact population there, would only serve to strengthen the Greek hold on Smyrna, which under the Treaty of Sèvres (August 10, 1920) was only provisional, subject to the League of Nations.

In order to secure, not oil or concessions, but only the survival in a biological sense of a million of his countrymen, Venizelos obtained the lease of a patch round Smyrna about as big as the counties of Devonshire and Cornwall; for this he was reviled in the British Liberal press as the founder of a "great Greek Empire."

FALL OF VENIZELOS

But Venizelos now made his third mistake. In his long absences abroad he had not only, like President Wilson, lost touch with his people (which was to some extent inevitable), but he had also allowed the home Government to be carried on by a band of incompetent subordinates of whom the best were weak and violent men; the worst were the sort of bullies and adventurers who may be useful in war and revolution, but cannot be adapted to the purposes of honest administration. The resulting discontents were assiduously exploited by King Constantine's agents, not without the help of American and Italian money. Not the Greek peasants only, but many of the urban population as well, still lived mentally in the middle ages and bore a grudge against Venizelos for dragging them out of the sentimental disorder of a feudal monarchy into the sparsely furnished workshop of a modern state. All the political bosses and the spoils-hunters and the incompetents hated Venizelos because he had tried to rob them of their occupation. And many quite honest Greeks were tired of hearing Venizelos praised by English and French journalists, who wanted to use him for their own ends and took no interest in his country or his countrymen.

At last, in August, 1920, the treaties were signed and Venizelos returned to Athens tired out; and rather angrily refused to make any electioneering compromise with any of the sixteen leaders of opposition. Just at this moment King Alexander, playing with a pet monkey belonging to one of his equerries, was bitten and died of blood-poisoning. It thus suddenly became inevitable that the electors would be asked to choose between the exiled King Constantine and Venizelos. On November 14, 1920, Venizelos was heavily defeated. He left the country vowing never to return as long as his presence was an obstacle to that internal peace which the country required.

CONSTANTINE RESTORED

At the end of the year King Constantine returned triumphantly to Athens and was received with an ovation from which very few Venizelists dared to abstain. England and France refused to recognise him, withdrew all financial and moral support, and called a conference to revise the Treaty of Sèvres, which had already been repudiated by the Turkish Nationalists. The Turkish

army, indeed, reorganised by Mustapha Kemal at Angora, was now so formidable that it was obviously impossible for Greece to hold a long frontier in Asia Minor without Allied support. Yet of the three Allies, Italy had always been secretly supporting the Turks; France immediately transferred her financial and diplomatic support to the Turks as soon as it became apparent that their army was the strongest in Asia Minor; while the English Government, whatever its inclinations, was forbidden by considerations of internal politics to spend "a penny, a man, or a gun" on any Eastern adventure, much less on the support of a Christian Power against Islam. Greece was thus completely isolated; but the Greek Premier, Gounares, and his colleagues, who had no policy but to hate Venizelos and advertise Constantine, kept the truth from the people, persecuted their opponents, and carried on a propaganda of incredible mendacity which hailed the King as the darling of England, which was secretly helping him with money, munitions and even with army and fleet! They rejected the proposals of the Allied Conference, held in London in March, 1921, for the revision of the Treaty of Sèvres; and having removed all the experienced Venizelist officers from the front, ordered an immediate offensive which was disastrously defeated with 4,000 killed and wounded. But the Turks were not yet strong enough to follow up their victory, and in June, while the drachma continued to fall and the cost of living to rise, King Constantine took up his quarters in Smyrna, hailed by the Government press as emperor-designate of Constantinople and Commander of the Anglo-Greek forces in the Near East!

COMPLETE DEFEAT OF THE GREEKS

Again the Powers offered joint intervention in June, and again the offer was magniloquently rejected by King Constantine and his Ministers. In July they launched another great attack which advanced far into the interior towards Angora, was checked by the Turks at the end of August, and culminated in another disastrous retreat, costing the Greek army more casualties than had been incurred in the previous three years of the war. At the end of the year 1921 the Greek Ministers, Gounares and Baltazzi, who had rejected all the Allied offers of intervention in March and June, as well as informal offers of mediation from the British Minister, Lord Granville, came to London and put the interests of Greece, without any reserve whatever, in the hands of Lord Curzon. But Lord Curzon could not act without his Allies, and it was not till the following March that another Allied conference met in Paris and made proposals for an armistice, which were duly submitted to the two Turkish Governments at Constantinople and Angora. The Turks made it plain that they would now consider nothing but the immediate and unconditional evacuation of Asia Minor. So these two desperate and incompetent men, Gounares and Baltazzi, after following Mr. Lloyd George to Cannes and to Genoa, were obliged to return to Athens, where they still refused to tell the truth. Instead, a Coalition Government was formed with the other Royalist groups, on the basis of doing anything rather than admit the coöperation of the Venizelists, who were still the largest single group in the Chamber. The new Government (Gounares-Stratos-Protopapadakes) dismissed the Commander-in-Chief Papoulas (who had privately advocated strengthening the front by the enrollment of Venizelist officers in exile at Constantinople) and appointed in his stead General Hadjanestes, a courtier of notorious eccentricity. Under his wild supervision the unfortunate Greek army, already in a state of complete demoralisation, was rapidly broken up. His last act was to transfer large bodies of troops from Asia Minor to

Thrace. The object of this move, which left a large gap in the already crumbling front, was apparently to justify the report, issued for consumption in Athens, that the Allies would shortly allow the Greek army to occupy Constantinople!

The Turks attacked on August 26, and entered Smyrna on September 9, 1922; five days later, all the city, with the exception of the Turkish quarter, was burned to the ground.

REVOLUTION

The Greek Government had resigned on September 8, after ordering the demobilisation of the troops who were leaving Smyrna. But the attempt to scatter the remnants of the army as they were evacuated from Asia Minor, failed. Many units landed on the island of Chios; and there a revolution, organised by Colonel Plasteras, broke out on September 26. King Constantine left the country and died in the following January at Palermo. Eight of his principal Ministers and advisers, indicted by a special Commission of Enquiry (appointed by the Revolutionary Committee to enquire into the responsibility for the national disaster), were tried before a Special Military Tribunal. The trial lasted fourteen days, and six of the accused (Gounares, Stratos, Baltazzi, Hadjanestes, Theotokes and Protopapadakes) were shot immediately after the verdict. The indictment was clumsily drawn. But it is clear that these men were led by party passion wilfully to persist in a policy of criminal incompetence. They all knew — it was proved at the trial beyond the possibility of a shadow of doubt — that the presence of Constantine on the throne was mortally injuring the interests of the country, yet they devoted all their powers to keep him on the throne because their own tenure of office depended on it.

The British Minister had refused to take the responsibility of guaranteeing that the accused, if reprieved, should never again take part in Greek politics. But when they were executed, he immediately left Athens and had not returned by January, 1924. The Greek Revolutionary Government was left without the moral support of British recognition and advice, to struggle with the problem of the million destitute Greek and Armenian refugees, all women, children and old men, who were expelled by the Turks from Asia Minor.

CONFERENCE OF LAUSANNE

The executions undoubtedly shocked Europe. But they had a salutary effect on the Greek army. Thousands of deserters returned to the colours, and a small but efficient Greek army, reëquipped, and reformed on the Thracian frontier, had a decisive effect in strengthening the hands not only of the Greek representative (Venizelos, who, while persisting in his refusal to return to Athens, had consented to represent his country abroad), but of all the Allies, at the second Conference at Lausanne, which met on April 23 and finally succeeded in signing peace with the Turks on July 24, 1923. (The first conference had met at Lausanne on November 14, 1922, and had broken up, after all the territorial demands of the Turks had been conceded, on the question of the status of foreigners in Turkey.)

Meanwhile the Revolutionary Government, of which Colonel Gonatas was Premier, was fully occupied with the settlement of the refugees on a productive basis: for some months they had the assistance of American charitable organisations, but later had to depend entirely on their own resources, while waiting for a loan the administration of which was to be guaranteed by the League of Nations. An amnesty for all political offences

was proclaimed on January 22, 1923. Not the least of the numerous reforms carried through, and one which, in a country so hag-ridden by a mediæval church, required delicate treatment, was the adoption of the Western Calendar. But the best evidence of the regenerative effect of the Revolution was given to Europe in a series of startling events resulting from the political difficulties of the Fascist dictator in Italy.

ITALIAN OCCUPATION OF CORFU

On August 26, 1923, the Italian member of an International Commission delimiting the Greco-Albanian boundary was brutally murdered, with all his staff, on Greek territory about a mile from the Albanian frontier. The Greek Government immediately expressed its profound regrets and instituted an enquiry with every appearance of sincerity. But on August 29 the Italian Government suddenly presented an ultimatum of such fantastic severity that it recalled the famous Austrian ultimatum to Serbia of July, 1914. On the following day Greece presented an extremely moderate but not abject reply, rejecting only those demands which no sovereign state could possibly have accepted. Yet on August 31 an Italian squadron appeared off Corfu, bombarded the old Venetian fortress, the defences of which had been dismantled in 1864 in accordance with the treaty which guaranteed the neutrality of the island, killing 16 Armenian refugees who were housed in the old buildings, and formally took possession of the whole island. On the following days more troops were landed, and all the other islands of the Corfiote archipelago were occupied, 10,000 troops in all taking part in the occupation which, it was explained, was only "a peaceful and temporary measure" and not an act of war.

Greece immediately appealed to the League of Nations, the Council of which was sitting at Geneva; and although the Italian Premier, Mussolini, publicly refused the "intervention" of the League, the public opinion of Europe, and especially of the smaller nations, to which the League gave a medium of expression, was so overwhelming, that Italy was forced to evacuate Corfu on September 27. Italy's face was saved by the Ambassadors' Conference, meeting under French auspices in Paris, which ordered the £500,000 which Greece had paid into Court, to be handed over to Italy without waiting for the verdict of the International Court of Justice at The Hague. Nevertheless, the incident was undoubtedly a moral victory for the League of Nations and a severe humiliation for the Italian dictator, who, although the outcry confirmed his popularity in his own country, would hardly have undertaken the expense of occupying the island if he had not expected to be able to retain it. At the same time, the moderate, correct and conciliatory spirit displayed by the Greek Government and by the Greek delegate to the League of Nations, M. Polites, showed that revolution had taught the Greeks a self-control and dignity in misfortune which brought greater credit to the country than any amount of military display.

HOPES OF A REPUBLIC

At home the Revolutionary Government, led by Colonel Gonatas and Colonel Plasteras, with M. Alexandres as Foreign Minister, had been trying to persuade the ever-retiring M. Zaimes, as leader of a Centre party which might unite the moderates of both Royalist and Venizelist groups, and so effect a national reconciliation, to take part in the Elections, which were to restore the country to constitutional government. Zaimes at first consented,

but at the end of September, owing, it is said, to the uncompromising demands of the extreme Venizelists, once more withdrew into private life. A month later the extreme Royalists, under the lead of General Metaxas, having induced several garrisons in southern Greece to mutiny, attempted to raise a counter-revolution. The conspiracy was easily suppressed, and General Metaxas fled to Paris. There was proof that he had been in communication with the Palace; and the knowledge of the King's complicity gave greater impetus to the Republican movement in Greece, which had hitherto been confined to a few intellectuals. King George II was, like many other kings, a quite inoffensive and rather attractive schoolboy. Unfortunately he could not reconcile himself to abstaining from politics. "Constitutional Monarchy," he explained to a journalist who had held up to him the pattern of the English King, "is not a man's job." On the other hand, he was married to one of the daughters of the beautiful Queen of Rumania, and another daughter was married to the King of Serbia: and Greece could ill afford to hazard her friendly relations with Serbia and Rumania. Thus the Republican movement in Greece first became articulate at the only time in the last twenty-five years when a monarchy was positively beneficial to the state. Meanwhile the Royalists, alarmed at the hostility with which they were regarded since the failure of General Metaxas, decided to abstain from the polls. When at last the Elections were held on December 16, the Republicans were defeated, securing only 120 seats as opposed to 250 Venizelists and six Agrarians. The Republicans, however, owing to the activity of Colonel Pangalos, one of the Revolutionary triumvirate, had secured the almost unanimous support of the army and navy. And the Government, not feeling strong enough to repress their demands without disorder, requested the King to absent himself from the country during the coming meetings of the National Assembly.

On the afternoon of Wednesday, December 19, King George II and his Queen left for Rumania, the last, it may be hoped, of the Danish Dynasty which had brought no good and incalculable disaster to its adopted country. A delegation representing every element in the elected Assembly immediately left for Paris and invited Venizelos to return to Greece. In view of the apparent unanimity of the appeal he found it impossible to refuse. He returned to Greece (January 4, 1924) only, he was careful to announce, temporarily, until he could "put an end to civil war." An immediate and impartial plebiscite was to decide whether the monarchy should be retained. Then a National Assembly should revise the Constitution, chiefly, he proposed, by the addition of a Senate.

The Revolutionary Committee resigned, and Colonel Plasteras, to his infinite credit, retired into private life. Venizelos hoped to remain only as adviser and arbitrator among the conflicting parties. But on January 11, the Liberal chiefs refusing to work together except under his leadership, he was forced to become Premier himself, with M. Roussos, formerly Minister in Washington, as his Minister for Foreign Affairs. The new administration was immediately recognised by the British Government.

Greece is still a long way from peace and prosperity, for the passion of Nationalism has been succeeded by the passions of futile retaliation and party hatred. It is, however, not impossible to hope that some sound form of Republican government may soon be established; and a stable republic in Greece would be the first step towards that Balkan federation which will demonstrate the unimportance of frontiers and set an example to Europe.

CHAPTER LII

FIRST AND SECOND BALKAN WARS: THE PROLOGUE TO THE WORLD WAR

By H. CHARLES WOODS

Special Correspondent of *The Times*, London, in the Balkans, 1911. War Expert of the *Evening News* during the Balkan Wars, 1912-1913. Military and Diplomatic Correspondent for the *Evening News*, 1914-1915. Lecturer before the Lowell Institute, Boston, 1917-1918. Author of *The Danger Zone of Europe* (Changes and Problems in the Near East); *War and Diplomacy in the Balkans; The Cradle of the War;* etc.

IN order to arrive at a proper understanding of the causes of the Balkan campaigns of 1912 1913, it is necessary to refer to some of the events by which they were preceded. The Russo-Turkish War of 1877–1878 was really the first struggle for the independence of Macedonia and Armenia; but those objects were not achieved, and the Great Powers allowed Turkey to ignore her obligations for reform. A reign of terror continued in European Turkey, and therefore, although the existence of the Anglo-French and the Anglo-Russian *Ententes* and the consequent fear of real European intervention accelerated the Young Turkish Revolution of July, 1908, that event resulted from the misgovernment of Abdul Hamid, which was resented not only by the subject races of the empire but also by the more enlightened Turks themselves.

To summarise the local meaning of the Young Turkish Revolution, which took place in July, 1908, and to describe the manner in which that event led up to the formation of the Balkan League, are matters of great difficulty. The so-called Constitution did away with the absolutism of Abdul Hamid, but that absolutism passed into the hands of the Committee of Union and Progress. For about a year that body did something to improve the every-day conditions of life of the various nationals domiciled in Turkey, but as time wore on it became clear that the proclaimed "Ottomanisation" of the population really meant the "Turcification" of the entire people. Attempts were made to withdraw the privileges possessed by the Christian communities, Turkish bands were formed for the purpose of exterminating those not in sympathy with the Committee, and measures were undertaken with the object of forcing the Albanians into a state of subserviency to the Constantinople Government. Things went from bad to worse and the outbreak of the Turco-Italian War in September, 1911, placed Serbia, Bulgaria, Greece and Montenegro in most uncomfortable positions, for they were compelled either to lose what might have been a favourable opportunity to come to the assistance of their Christian brothers in Turkey or to risk the undoubted danger of a war without adequate preparations. Whilst fortunately the Governments of Belgrade, Sofia, Athens and Cettinje were able to withstrain their more chauvinistic leaders of public opinion, who were anxious to adopt a forward policy, there is no doubt that the difficulties in which Turkey found herself with Italy, added to the ever increasing misrule in the

former country, encouraged the Balkan States for a moment to forget their differences and to prepare for a struggle which by this time had become inevitable.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A BALKAN ALLIANCE

Whilst the idea of a Balkan League was not new, the rivalry existing between the several states had delayed its realisation for many years. After the Young Turkish Revolution, the fact that the negotiations for its formation did not take shape for a period of nearly two years depended partly upon the European attitude towards that revolution and partly upon the international crisis which arose as a result of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the independence of Bulgaria. In the spring of 1910, however, King Ferdinand of Bulgaria and King Peter of Serbia paid successive visits to the Tsar and to the Sultan and these visits gave rise to a suspicion that a Turco-Slavonic agreement was in process of negotiation. Nothing of the kind occurred, and no definite conversations took place until after the advent to power of M. Gueshov as Bulgarian Premier in March, 1911. Two months later, Mr. Bourchier, the famous correspondent of *The Times*, who was then in Athens and who had already been in touch with M. Venizelos, was entrusted by that statesman to transmit a proposal to King Ferdinand, and during May he wrote to M. Gueshov stating that Greece was anxious to arrive at an arrangement with Bulgaria. Great privacy was observed in regard to these overtures, but subsequently M. Panas, the Greek Minister at Sofia, paid several visits to M. Gueshov. The relations between the two countries at once improved, and in October M. Panas informed M. Gueshov that Greece would be willing to come to the assistance of Bulgaria in case she were attacked by Turkey, provided Bulgaria was prepared to enter into a reciprocal undertaking. These proposals were accepted, but nothing was done at that time to put them in treaty form.

On October 11, directly after the outbreak of the Turco-Italian War, M. Gueshov held a three hours, conference with M. Milovanovich, then Premier of Serbia. That conversation, which took place in the train, laid the foundation for the subsequent negotiations between Bulgaria and Serbia. These negotiations were exceedingly complicated, because of the rival interests of the two countries, and particularly because, whilst the Bulgarians favoured Macedonian autonomy, Serbia was desirous of dividing that area into an uncontested Serbian zone, an uncontested Bulgarian zone and a contested zone, the future of which should be left to the arbitration of the Tsar of Russia. Discussions continued in Sofia, Belgrade and Paris, until the two countries finally signed a definite Treaty of Alliance and a secret Annex on March 13, 1912.[1] That treaty, which was defensive in its nature, provided for mutual support in case either of the parties were attacked by one or more states, or in the event of a Great Power attempting to invade or annex any part of the then Turkey in Europe in a way detrimental to Serbia or Bulgaria. In addition, neither State was to sign an independent peace.

The then Secret Annex, which was very comprehensive in its nature, defined the terms upon which steps might be taken. Either of the Allies was to be permitted to make proposals for military action, questions upon which agreement could not be secured were to be referred to Russia, and all the territory gained was to form common property, its future allocation

[1] For the texts of the various agreements between the Balkan States and for a great deal of information on kindred subjects, see *Nationalism and War in the Near East*, by a Diplomatist, or *The Balkan League*, by M. Gueshov. The former book also contains the texts of the several Treaties of Peace which followed the Balkan Wars.

taking place upon a basis then defined. Serbia admitted Bulgarian claims east of the Rhodopes and of the River Struma, and Bulgaria recognised Serbian rights north and west of the Schar Mountain. If the Governments concerned found that the establishment of an autonomous Macedonia was out of the question, then Serbia guaranteed to make no demands to the south-east of a line drawn from Mount Golem on the north-east to Lake Ochrida on the south-west. Bulgaria agreed to stand by this boundary, provided the Emperor of Russia, who was to act as supreme arbitrator, upheld it. As autonomy for Macedonia was out of the question once the war had begun, the long and short of this agreement was that the ownership of the district lying between the two lines, namely Mount Golem–Lake Ochrida and the Schar Mountain, and known as the "Contested Zone" was left open for further discussion and, failing agreement, for distribution by the Tsar. The treaty was followed by a Military Convention signed at Varna on April 28, 1912. It indicated the liabilities of the two countries, and specified their mutual obligations should the parties be attacked by outsiders.

The conversations which had begun between the Bulgarians and the Greeks during the summer of 1911 did not lead to any concrete result until after the signature of the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty because the Greeks were unwilling to accept the maxim of Macedonian autonomy favoured by Bulgaria or to recognise the privileges guaranteed to the Christian population of European Turkey by various international arrangements and particularly by Article 23 of the Treaty of Berlin. Nevertheless, M. Panas, having presented a draft for an alliance at the end of April, 1912, a treaty was finally signed between the two countries on May 29. That document, which was more in the nature of an offensive arrangement than the one between Serbia and Bulgaria, assured each of the signatories in the event of a war with Turkey. On the other hand, no arrangement was made as to the distribution of the territories acquired and, unlike the position as between Serbia and Bulgaria, their allocation was left to the chance of a future agreement. This treaty was followed, at the end of September, by a military convention under which Greece and Bulgaria gave mutual undertakings in regard to the strength of their respective forces in the event of war.

As Serbia and Greece had not then entered into a treaty, the understandings between Serbia, Bulgaria and Greece were governed by a dual arrangement in which Bulgaria was the connecting link. With regard to Montenegro, the relations of that country with Serbia, which had been very strained for some years, were materially improved by the visit paid by the Crown Prince Alexander to his grandfather, King Nicholas of Montenegro, on the occasion of the latter's jubilee in August, 1910, and particularly by the work of M. Gavrilovich, who arrived in Cettinje as the representative of Serbia in April, 1911, and who became the Minister of the Serbo-Croat-Slovene State in London after the World War. The very efficient work of this diplomatist was largely responsible for a treaty negotiated in Switzerland and signed between Serbia and Montenegro in the late summer of 1912. The text of that document does not seem to have been published, but it contained provisions for a division of the spoils which fell into the hands of the two countries and it foresaw the arbitration of the Tsar in case of a dispute arising upon that subject. In the direction of Bulgaria things were also improved by the visit paid by King Ferdinand in person to King Nicholas in August, 1910; but nothing definite was done to further an agreement until June, 1912, when conversations took place in Vienna between the representatives of the two countries. Shortly afterwards, King Nicholas made a proposal for common action through M. Koloushev, the able Bulgarian Minister at Cettinje. This proposal was carefully examined, but,

when the Balkan War broke out, the agreement, which is possessed of no far-reaching political importance, consisted of an oral undertaking between M. Koloushev and the Montenegrin ruler, who concluded it during September, 1919.

So far little has been said about the attitude of the European Powers towards the Near East and towards the formation of the Balkan Alliance. Whilst France was not seriously interested from the political standpoint and whilst Great Britain and Russia were content to temporise, we have it from Prince Lichnowsky that from 1878 "the goal of our (German) political ambition was to dominate in the Bospórus" and that "instead of encouraging a powerful development in the Balkan States, we (Germany) placed ourselves on the side of the Turkish and Magyar oppressors." The Young Turkish Revolution and the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina constituted diplomatic successes for the Central Powers and particularly for Germany. The first of these events caused the Constantinople Government temporarily to turn towards Great Britain instead of towards Germany, but in spite of British support extended to Turkey at the time of the declaration of independence by Bulgaria and of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, a reaction, fostered by Baron Marschall von Bieberstein, the German Ambassador at the Sublime Porte, soon set in. Later on, even the war between Italy and Turkey, which greatly complicated the position of Germany owing to her relations with the former country, did not materially affect the relations between Berlin and Constantinople, which were daily becoming more and more friendly, for whereas from the first Austria prevented Italy from extending her operations into Europe and especially into Albania, Germany subsequently removed her representative from Constantinople and this because his prestige had declined on account of the Italian annexation of Tripoli which he could not prevent. Whilst Baron Marschall von Bieberstein came to London and died on leave shortly afterwards, his place in Constantinople was taken by Baron Wangenheim, who was responsible for the German support given to Turkey during the Balkan Campaigns and for bringing that country into the World War, and who remained at his post until his death in October, 1916.

ATTITUDE OF THE GREAT POWERS

Partly as a set-off to the German support of Turkey, but largely because of her racial connection and because of her own aspirations in that direction, Russia favoured the independent development of the Little Slav States, Bulgaria, Serbia and Montenegro. This accounted for her attitude from the time of the Russo-Turkish War and particularly for her policy at the moment of the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and of the independence of Bulgaria. With regard to the first of these questions, whilst the Muscovite Government lost a great deal of prestige as a result of its inability to come to the assistance of Serbia and Montenegro, the earlier diplomatic support given by Russia and more indirectly by Great Britain to those countries upset the programme of Count Aehrenthal. Thus, by compelling Austria to turn to Germany for assistance, the former country was once more forced to become the mere puppet of her northern neighbour and to revert to a position of subservience which proved disastrous to her during the events which immediately preceded the outbreak of the World War. On the other hand, and this was important at the time and also during the negotiations leading to the formation of the Balkan League, the Government of St. Petersburg gained international reputation by stepping into the breach between

Bulgaria and Turkey and by making a financial arrangement which prevented an outbreak of war between these countries as a result of the former's declaration of independence. These circumstances, coupled with the close relations between Rumania and the Triple Alliance and with the cordial terms existing between that country and Turkey, were responsible for the fact that during the years preceding the Balkan Wars the Tsar and his advisers worked for the reconciliation of Serbia and Bulgaria. Hence, whereas Russia was in no way responsible for the agreement between Bulgaria and Greece, Mr. Hartwig, her very able representative at Belgrade, was largely instrumental in furthering the idea of an arrangement between the two Slav States. In a word, whilst the Central Powers, voiced by Germany, desired to maintain the integrity of, and their influence in, Turkey, Russia was intent upon the creation of a Balkan situation which would frustrate this programme and which would further the welfare of her southern *protégés*, all of whom had an interest in the partition of the Ottoman Empire.

OUTBREAK OF WAR

Reverting to the internal situation in Turkey, from the moment of the outbreak of the Italian War, things moved apace. There were widespread disorders in Macedonia, and Young Turkish excesses at the elections of April, 1912, and the Albanians, taking the initiative as in previous years, once more broke out into open insurrection. The Constantinople authorities temporised, and on August 14 the Austrian Government, wishing to safeguard the interests of Turkey, put forward its proposals in favour of administrative decentralisation for her European provinces. These proposals were followed by an Ottoman threat of manœuvres to be held near Adrianople, by an Allied mobilisation, accompanied by a like precaution on the part of Turkey, and by a European warning to the effect that, should war break out, the Powers would not tolerate any modification in the then territorial *status quo*. In the end, Montenegro, by an act of undoubted collusion, declared war on Turkey on October 8, this declaration being succeeded five days later by a Note in which Bulgaria, Greece and Serbia demanded radical reforms in the European vilayets of the empire. No reply was received to this communication, and Turkey having declared war on Bulgaria and Serbia on October 17, Greece countered by a corresponding declaration on the following day.

Before entering into the details of the First Balkan War it seems advisable to remind the reader of the strategical positions of the several parties and to allude to the strength of the forces available on each side. Strategically as well as politically, Turkey was on the defensive because her European provinces were divided into two distinct theatres of war—Macedonia and Thrace—and because, with the major part of her reserves dispersed in the Asiatic sections of the empire, she was not in a position to effect a concentration enabling her to push home an attack against her enemies. Moreover, ignoring the question that the Turk fights better with his back to the wall, the position was further complicated by the facts that Thrace and Macedonia were, and are, linked together only by the coastal railway from Dédé Agatch to Salonika, which was open to Bulgarian attacks from the mountains and to Hellenic raids from the sea, and that, Greece having the command of the Aegean, reserves could not be brought directly by sea from Anatolia to Macedonia. These conditions, which were obvious in advance, were largely responsible for the decision of Von der Goltz Pasha, taken two or three years before the outbreak of the war, that Macedonia must rely for

protection upon an army concentrated upon Uskub, and that Thrace, with the advanced and well-fortified town of Adrianople, would be the most desirable area for the collection of the principal army, reinforced by troops brought from Anatolia under cover of the Dardanelles and Bosporus forts — an army to be used either upon the defensive or offensive as the case might be. It was partly for these reasons, and partly because Bulgaria was the strongest and best organised of the Allies, that Thrace became the principal theatre of war. With regard to the forces employed and to their distribution, no reliable or comprehensive figures have ever been published. Sufficient therefore be it to say here that whereas the Turks perhaps put approximately 500,000 men into the field during the first war, the Allies must actually have mobilised more than twice that number.

Thus, whereas the following figures are based upon careful inquiry, they can only be very approximate and no guarantee can be given as to their accuracy. Moreover, so far as the Balkan Allies are concerned they are probably exaggerated, and the troops engaged certainly include every old man and young boy who performed the smallest military service.

Turkey. Probable number of troops actually ever engaged: 500,000. Losses impossible to estimate.

Bulgaria. Number of troops engaged in first war: about 500,000. Casualties about 86,000. Number of troops engaged in second war: about 350,000. Casualties about 70,000.

Serbia. Number of troops engaged in first war: about 400,000. Casualties about 50,000. Number of troops engaged in second war: about 300,000. Casualties about 30,000.

Montenegro. Number of troops engaged in first war: at most 30,000. Casualties about 9,500. Number of troops engaged in second war: about 10,000. Casualties about 900.

Greece. Number of troops engaged in first war: about 120,000. Casualties about 20,000. Number of troops engaged in second war: about 180,000. Casualties about 25,000.

VICTORIES OF THE SERBS

The military operations of the First Balkan War must be considered as having been divided into three more or less independent campaigns. The first of these, which embraced central and northern Macedonia and part of the Sanjak of Novibazar, was fought by the Serbs, who had for their object the annexation of large parts of these areas and also an advance to the Adriatic by way of northern Albania. Here, in the neighbouring areas, the Montenegrins played their part. The second theatre of operations lay in southern Macedonia and Epirus, where Greece was intent upon the conquest of large districts including Salonika. And the third and most important campaign, which included the siege of Adrianople, took place in Eastern Thrace, whither Bulgaria dispatched almost her entire army, and this in spite of the fact, that her principal aspirations lay in the direction of central and southern Macedonia and of the strip of territory which separated her from the Aegean. Here they (the Bulgarians) were compelled to seek the assistance of the Serbians, who contributed very material help during the siege of Adrianople.

In the first of these campaigns the Serbians met with rapid success. Advancing parallel to, and following, the valleys of the Morava and Vardar, their initial objective was Uskub — a former capital and a centre of importance for future military operations. Prishtina, in Old Serbia, was captured on October 22, and on the following morning the main army came into

contact with the Turkish forces at Kumanovo, where after approximately two days' fighting, a great battle which took its name from that place, was won. This victory, which cost the Serbs some 4,500 killed and wounded, and inflicted casualties of more than twice that magnitude upon the Turks, restored Serbian confidence, which had been so seriously shaken by the events of the previous decades. This advantage was not, however, followed by an immediate pursuit; and although the Serbians entered Uskub, which now became Skoplje once more, on October 26, several days were spent in the redistribution of their forces, the second army together with an extra division being dispatched to the assistance of the Bulgarians at Adrianople, where it arrived on November 5. Instead of retreating straight down the Vardar valley towards Salonika as was anticipated, the Turks, turning westward, fell back upon Monastir. To meet this development, the Serbs advanced in three columns. With the weakest contingent on the east of the Vardar and a flanking force moving almost due westwards from Skoplje, the main body followed the valley as far as Veles. Turning south-westwards from there, determined resistance was encountered, and it was only after a fierce battle that Monastir was captured on November 18. That success finally decided the campaign in favour of the Allies, for the remnants of the Turkish army withdrew into southern and central Albania and the Serbians, who by this time had made far-reaching conquests in the north, pushed forward towards the Adriatic.

MONTENEGRO FAILS TO CAPTURE SCUTARI

With regard to Montenegro, although she entered the war with the principal purpose of capturing Scutari, a material proportion of her forces were despatched into the Sanjak of Novibazar and Albania, where they made considerable conquests. Scutari itself, dominated by an ancient and picturesque fortress, was attacked by two columns separated by the lake of that name. At first the more northerly of these, under the nominal command of the Crown Prince, made a rapid advance, but at the end of October it met with a reverse and thenceforward remained inactive until after the failure of the first London Conference. To the south-west, where Mount Tarabosch stood in the way, the country is even more difficult and the Montenegrins failed to make any appreciable impression upon defences which were far too strong to be stormed without better artillery than that in their possession. Consequently, after the Serbs, who crossed northern Albania by two routes, had reached the coast, the whole of north-western Turkey, except Scutari and its immediate surroundings, was in the hands of Serbia and Montenegro, and on December 3 those countries joined Bulgaria in the armistice signed with Turkey on that day.

THE GREEKS CAPTURE THE GREAT PRIZE

Although each of the countries was fighting in order to realise her own political and military objects, and although there was little in the way of a combined and unified military plan, the Greek operations played their part in bringing Turkish resistance to an end in the west. The value of these operations was that on land they bound a material number of Ottoman troops and prevented their employment elsewhere and that by sea, where the Greek fleet had the command, they intercepted reserves coming from Anatolia to Macedonia. The Hellenic campaign, which began on October 18, was divided into two parts, for the forces which moved through Thessaly were

kept practically distinct from those dispatched to Epirus. The former of these contingents, making up the main army under the command of the Crown Prince Constantine, advanced from Trikkala, at first taking an almost due northerly route, and subsequently turning in an easterly direction with the obvious intention of endeavouring to reach Salonika before the arrival of the Bulgarians. Little serious difficulty was encountered in the earlier stages of the campaign, but in the opening days of November Constantine made an unsuccessful attack upon the Turkish position to the west and north-west of that port. The position was, however, retrieved by the arrival of a contingent which had followed the coast and which threatened the Ottoman communications. This, coupled with a renewed frontal attack, placed Salonika in Greek hands on November 9 — that it to say, about twenty-four hours before the arrival of the Bulgarian Division, which had come by way of the Struma valley and which claimed the city on the 10th. The Greek army was then regrouped, three divisions being retained for political reasons to the east of the Vardar, with the remainder concentrated for the subsequent advance towards the north, which advance was made, in conjunction with the Serbian attack upon Monastir. In Epirus, the Hellenic forces, mostly composed of reservists and volunteers, met with serious obstacles, but after difficult fighting they reached Yannina, where they established a blockade on November 10. Here the Turks maintained a prolonged resistance, but, with the exception of that city, the advent of the armistice, to which Greece did not become a party, on December 3, found that country in possession of all, and in some directions more than all, the territory which she set out to conquer.

THE BULGARIAN ADVANCE IN THRACE

For reasons already given, and because of the severity of the fighting, of the number of troops engaged, and of the threat to Constantinople, Thrace was undoubtedly the most interesting theatre of operations. Even now, however, whilst the strategical plans of the respective parties are far from clear, it seems obvious that the Bulgarians, who detached only one division instead of three to Macedonia, met with more rapid and more far-reaching successes than they anticipated. These unforeseen successes probably prompted the High Command to undertake the subsequent advance upon Constantinople, at the same time masking Adrianople, instead of postponing such an advance until after the capture of that city. On the Turkish side, too, whereas a defensive concentration on the line of the Ergene, with Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh as advanced and fortified posts, seems to have been intended, later on, as in Macedonia, this scheme was abandoned, a general offensive taking its place. However this may be, the Bulgarians formed three armies, one concentrated between Philippopolis and Haskovo and the other two located on its left and towards the Black Sea. When the war began the first of these, except a division which operated in the Rhodopes, advanced in a south-easterly direction and along the main line of railway, and the other two pursued a southerly course across the frontier. Mustapha Pasha was captured at once and, after four days, serious engagements began in front of Adrianople, but its defences proved too strong and its investment was decided upon. Meanwhile the two Bulgarian armies, operating to the north-east of that city and in the direction of the Black Sea, were advancing and when the war had been in progress for only about five days, they came into contact with the Turks who, instead of remaining on the defensive, had by this time moved up into northern Thrace. Two more or less independent battles took place, the one between Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh and the

other in the immediate neighbourhood of the latter town. As a result, and after heavy fighting, lasting about three days, Mahmud Muktar Pasha was defeated and General Radko Dimitriev, who did such valiant service in the Russian army during the World War, had won the first victory and captured Kirk Kilisseh, which fell into his hands with immense booty on October 24.

We now come to the second phase of the campaign. The Bulgarians, exhausted by the fighting and by many days of strenuous marching, and at first mystified as to the whereabouts of the Turkish army, soon discovered that the country was clear for miles ahead and that no serious resistance would be encountered until they reached the neighbourhood of Lüle Burgas. This information necessitated a change of front and an advance in a south-easterly instead of a southerly direction. Nevertheless, in spite of the difficulties they reëstablished contact on October 28, and after fighting, which lasted just over three days, the Turks had lost the battle of Lüle Burgas and begun their retreat towards Chatalja. Owing to the heavy casualties suffered in the attack, to the worn-out conditions of the troops, and to the torrential rains which had then set in, the contest was not however decisive and the Bulgarians were unable to inaugurate an immediate pursuit. Once more, therefore, as in the case of Kirk Kilisseh, the Turks, at first in a state of absolute panic and disorder, were enabled to make good their flight and to take up their position along the already well defined Chatalja line, the strength of which was increased during the delay which occurred before the Bulgarians were in the position to inaugurate their attack, which began on November 17. On that day the Turkish outposts were driven in, and part of the army of King Ferdinand succeeded in reaching a point distant only about 800 yards from its goal. The great strength of the position, which extends from the Black Sea to the Sea of Marmora, the power of the Turkish artillery, and cholera in the ranks of the attackers, however, proved deciding factors, and, after two days' desultory fighting, the Bulgarians were obliged to withdraw, thus giving up all hopes of a triumphal entry into Constantinople. Meanwhile, during the operations above outlined, other forces had moved across the Rhodopes, cutting the railway which runs parallel with the Aegean, and the investment of Adrianople, where the Turks made a determined sortie at the end of October, had been carefully pushed forward. But whilst the events of October and November proved the heroism and power of endurance of the Bulgarian soldier and the fighting qualities of the Turk when on the defensive, and whilst the general situation was entirely favourable to the Allies, the armistice of December 3 came at a moment when the war had achieved no final result, for not only had the attack upon Constantinople been attended with failure, but Yannina, Scutari and Adrianople were still in Turkish hands.

FAILURE OF THE ARMISTICE

The armistice, which laid down that the various military forces were to remain in their positions and that the three besieged towns were not to be re-victualled, led to the first London Conference, which met on December 13 and at which Greece was represented in spite of the fact that she was not a party to the truce. The Allies immediately claimed the whole of European Turkey, except the territory bordering upon the Dardanelles and closely surrounding Constantinople, Bulgaria insisting upon the possession of Adrianople and of Rodosto on the northern shore of the Sea of Marmora. The Turks met these somewhat extreme demands by their usual methods of prevarication and, after a month had been spent in almost useless discussions, the Powers, for once united, presented a joint Note to the Porte, advising the

cession of Adrianople to Bulgaria and hinting that renewed hostilities might lead to the loss of Constantinople. The veteran Kiamil Pasha, strengthened by a Council of Notables, was prepared to agree to these terms, but on January 23 a revolt took place in Constantinople. This revolt, which carried with it the enforced resignation of that statesman and the murder of Nazim Pasha, placed the Committee of Union and Progress once more in the ascendency and put an end to the hope of peace. The Turkish Government, under the presidency of Mahmud Shevket Pasha, offered further concessions; but the Allies, distrusting the sincerity of the new rulers, broke off the negotiations, which had failed partly because of the impossibility of arranging a frontier satisfactory to Bulgaria in Thrace and, to a lesser degree, because the Ottoman Government was loth to agree to a fair settlement in regard to the future of the Aegean Islands and of Crete.

RENEWAL OF THE WAR

The second phase of the first Balkan War, which began with the renewal of fighting on February 3, 1913, was for the most part concerned with the sieges of Yannina, Scutari and Adrianople. With regard to the first of these places, the non-participation of Greece in the armistice had enabled that country to transfer troops from Macedonia to Epirus as well as to occupy many of the Aegean Islands, and therefore the Crown Prince, who had assumed the western command on January 23, was in a position to organise an attack which, in spite of bad weather, placed Yannina in his hands on March 6. This success, carrying with it the surrender of about 30,000 prisoners, practically put an end to the fighting in this area. In the north-west, where there were encounters during the armistice, which the Turkish commandant had refused to recognise, the Montenegrin operations against Scutari were renewed with vigour from the moment of the official resumption of the war and, with the arrival of Serbian assistance, the city was completely invested. But at the end of March, when further Serbian reinforcements had been brought up and when the assault took place under Serbian supervision, the attempt to storm the fortress again failed, and about a fortnight later the Government of Belgrade, fearing the consequences of continued support for Montenegro, withdrew its troops from the coast of the Adriatic. Contemporaneously with these developments and with the European naval demonstration inaugurated to impress upon King Nicholas the fact that Scutari should never be his, negotiations took place between that Sovereign and Essad Pasha, who had assumed the command of the fortress after the assassination of Hassan Riza Pasha, who had always refused to surrender in spite of his shortness of food. The result of these mysterious transactions was that Scutari formally capitulated on April 23 and that the garrison, headed by its important chieftain, Essad Pasha, was permitted to march out with the honours of war. But the triumph was short-lived, for little more than a fortnight later the town was taken over by naval contingents representing the Great Powers, and the Montenegrin army was forced to evacuate a city for the possession of which it had really gone to war.

Turning to Adrianople, as already stated the fortress was masked and contained by the second Bulgarian army, which crossed the Turkish frontier directly after the outbreak of the war. But although a strong Serbian force, dispatched from Macedonia, reached the precincts in the early days of November, the besiegers were not able to make serious progress owing to the necessity of Bulgaria's devoting every available man to the advance upon Chatalja. The stronghold was, however, effectively invested, and therefore,

as it could not be re-victualled during the two months' armistice, the renewal of hostilities found its garrison in a greatly weakened condition. This condition coupled with the arrival of a Serbian siege train and with the bringing up of Bulgarian reinforcements, which were no longer any use at Chatalja, made it evident that the city could not hold out indefinitely. Nevertheless, want of transport and severe weather delayed the preparations until the third week in March, by which time some 90,000 Bulgarians and 30,000 Serbian infantry, besides a large number of guns, were available for the attack. The final phase of the operations, which began on the 24th of that month, consisted of a Bulgarian assault on the east and of a Serbian onslaught on the north-west. After a bombardment and attacks lasting for between two and three days, entrances were gained by the Bulgarians and the Serbians in their respective zones and Shukri Pasha surrendered about midday on the 26th. This most important single achievement of the war gave the Allies about 60,000 prisoners and led to the conclusion of the second armistice, which came into force in April. But the capture of Adrianople cost the Bulgarians and the Serbians, particularly the former, heavy losses; and the necessity for Serbian assistance, coupled with a dispute as to which of these people Shukri Pasha had surrendered to, went a long way towards aggravating the already strained relations between the two countries.

THE VICTORS QUARREL OVER THE SPOILS

During the first Balkan War there were two developments which greatly modified the situation. The first concerned the creation of Albania and the international crisis arising out of that creation; and the second depended upon the differences which gradually developed between Bulgaria and Serbia and between the former country and Greece. At the end of November, 1912, Ismail Kemal Bey, a former member of the Ottoman Chamber and a prominent Albanian, proclaimed an independent Government at Avlona. About three weeks later the London Ambassadorial Conference, assembled for the purpose of endeavouring to overcome the numerous international difficulties arising out of the war, decided to accept that proclamation and to establish an autonomous Albanian state. This decision, which was entirely justified by the distinct nature of the Albanian nationality, was taken principally as a result of the Austrian determination that her policy of penetration in the western Balkans should not be frustrated and of her resolution that Serbia should not be allowed to establish herself upon the Adriatic. Before, as after, the assembly of that Conference, the key to the position, however, lay in the fact that whereas Russia, Great Britain and France were prepared, within certain limits, to welcome the victory of the Balkan states, the Central Powers were strongly opposed to the success of a group the existence of which they did not approve. From December until March, therefore, the danger of a European War was acute, for whilst the Triple *Entente* and the Triple Alliance each had their respective broad policies and local *protégés*, the actual negotiations centred round the question of the status and frontiers of the new and autonomous Albania. After extended discussions, a compromise between the small Albania favoured by the Balkan Allies and the much larger state, claimed by its people and advocated by the Central Powers, was arranged. Serbia and Greece agreed to the necessary sacrifices, but, as has been already shown, King Nicholas was only persuaded to give up Scutari when that town had been occupied by European forces.

Largely owing to the sincerity of Sir Edward Grey and to the withstraining influence extended over Austria by Germany, general hostilities were

thus averted. Nevertheless, the European decisions taken in regard to the creation of Albania and to the enforced withdrawal of the Serbians from the territory allotted to that country, carried with them a great disappointment for that people and aggravated their desire to secure concessions from Bulgaria. The question of a Serbian port upon the Adriatic was not mentioned in the pre-war Serbo-Bulgarian agreement and Bulgaria was only bound to support Serbia in case she was actually *attacked* by Austria. In spite of this, when the Dual Monarchy vetoed the aspirations of Serbia in the west, that country turned her attention in the direction of Macedonia and the Vardar valley and so early as January, 1913 — that is to say, about the time of the failure of the first London Conference — Serbia claimed the revision of her treaty with Bulgaria. This claim, which was constantly repeated during the ensuing months, rested upon the contentions that she (Serbia) had furnished her ally with military support in excess of the bargain, that she had liberated Bulgaria from her military obligations in regard to the campaign in Macedonia, that she had continued the war for three months after her own task was complete, and that the Bulgarian acquisition of Adrianople materially modified the situation as foreseen before the war.

The Bulgarians, who had fought the longest, the most difficult and the most arduous campaign, argued that the taking of Adrianople was necessary to the Allied Cause as a whole and insisted upon the maintenance of the treaty. Between these series of arguments there was probably a happy medium, for conditions had certainly arisen to justify Serbia in suggesting modifications in her treaty with Bulgaria. But even if the spirit of that document had not been fully acted up to by the latter country, even if Serbia had performed more than her legal obligations, and even if she had been compelled to accept a European decision which constituted a great setback to her national aspirations, it would seem that the Government of King Peter was still bound by the letter of a document to which it had agreed. With regard to the position of Greece, where the moderating influence of King George was removed by his assassination at Salonika in March, her relations with Serbia improved as those with Bulgaria grew worse. There were meetings of Prince Nicholas of Greece and Prince Alexander of Serbia, at the second of which, held on March 10, serious negotiations took place; and there were continued difficulties as to the fixing of the future frontier between Bulgaria and Greece and particularly as to the ownership of Salonika. At the time of the second Peace Congress, there is no wonder, therefore, that the atmosphere was bristling with uncertainty and that the achievement of even a nominal peace strained the diplomacy of Europe and of the Balkan states almost to the breaking point.

THE TREATY OF LONDON

The plenipotentiaries of the belligerents arrived in London during the second week in May, to find a great part of their task accomplished, for the Ambassadorial Conference had already framed the terms upon which the Powers were prepared to sanction peace. Turkey in Europe was to be bounded by the Enos-Midia line, which secured the capital and the Straits, Crete was to be ceded to Greece, and the frontiers of Albania and the ownership of the Aegean Islands were to be decided by the European Concert. These arrangements were acceptable to Turkey and Bulgaria, who at one moment were prepared to sign an independent treaty; but they were less gratifying to Serbia and to Greece, who had everything to gain by retarding matters. Finally, and in a communication from Sir Edward Grey, the

delegates were informed that unless they were able to come to terms, they must be prepared to leave London. This blunt intimation produced the desired effect and, though never ratified, the document, known as the Treaty of London, was signed on May 30, 1913.

By this time the relations between the Allies had become extremely critical and the peace concluded with Turkey lacked all the elements of reality. Both Serbia and Greece were pegging out their claims, and the already arranged agreement between those countries, which has been published by M. Gueshov in his book entitled *La Genèse de la Guerre Mondiale*, had been put into official form by a treaty signed at Salonika on June 1. That document, which recognised the respective claims of the countries concerned and which was to remain in force for ten years, provided a reciprocal guarantee in case of attack by a third party and laid down that neither of the signatories should enter into an *Entente* with Bulgaria. Consequently, in order to prepare for the eventuality which was by then well-nigh certain, the Bulgarians were transferring the whole of their forces not required for the defence of Thrace to Macedonia, the Serbs were withdrawing from Adrianople and from the west into the areas under dispute, and the Greeks were transporting the greater part of their army from Epirus to Salonika. During all this time Russia was making every effort to avoid a conflict, but the three countries were unable to come to an agreement, for whilst prior to the resignation of M. Gueshov, the Bulgarian Premier, on May 30, that statesman had repeatedly offered to submit the ownership of the "Contested Zone" to the arbitration of the Tsar, as was foreseen in the Serbo-Bulgarian Treaty, Serbia either refused to agree to any form of arbitration, or contended that such arbitration should embrace the whole treaty and not merely its clauses bearing upon the "Contested Zone." After that resignation, things went from bad to worse, for whereas M. Pashich, the Serbian Prime Minister, had openly insisted on the revision of the treaty, Dr. Danev, the new Bulgarian Premier, was known to be much less moderate, especially in his attitude towards Greece, than his predecessor. In the middle of June the Powers made a joint *démarche* at Sofia and at Belgrade, but the effect of this step and of the slightly later proposal for a conference of Balkan Premiers in St. Petersburg was neutralised by a speech in which Count Tisza, the Hungarian Premier, stated that the Balkan states should be free to settle their own differences. On June 29, when both parties had at last agreed to arbitration, an attack was made, contrary to the decision of the Sofia Government and without the consent of the Cabinet, by part of the Bulgarian army, acting under orders signed by General Savov, who had undoubtedly received secret and personal instructions from King Ferdinand. Although no condemnation of those responsible for the attack can be too severe, the facts that the Serbian Commander-in-Chief had given secret orders ten days before, that King Peter issued an obviously pre-arranged proclamation on July 1, and that Serbia, supported by Greece, refused to listen to the calming telegrams dispatched by M. Sazonov, then Russian Foreign Minister, and declared war in spite of General Savov's order to cease hostilities, clearly indicate that the two new Allies, who received minor support from Montenegro, were not averse to accepting a challenge for which they were by this time prepared.

THE SECOND BALKAN WAR

When the second Balkan War broke out, Serbia and Greece, who held practically all the territories they coveted, were politically and strategically

on the defensive; and Bulgaria, compelled to try to conquer part of those territories, was on the offensive. At the beginning of the operations, therefore, the Bulgarians, now under the command of General Radko Dimitriev, who had succeeded General Savov, endeavoured to strike three blows, the first at Salonika, the second at Gevgeli, the approximate point of union between the Serbian and Greek forces, and the third, more to the north and near the meeting place of the pre-war frontiers of Bulgaria, Serbia and Turkey. At first these attempts succeeded, but the Serbs and the Greeks were disposed at considerable depth, and the Bulgarians, once they saw that war was really intended, soon became disheartened. Consequently, when the Serbian army counter-attacked on July 3 and 4, it was not long before the Bulgarians were driven back and before they were well on the way to losing the battle of the Bregalnitza, which raged almost continuously for about a week. Almost at the same time and as soon as King Constantine had been able to bring up his reserves, the army of King Ferdinand was routed in the south, whence it was compelled to retreat up the narrow valley of the Struma. Once more, however, the Bulgarians seized the initiative; but whilst they attacked with vigour at several points, they were soon forced back towards their own frontier. The operations which occurred from the middle of July onwards, therefore, took the form of endeavours by the Bulgarian staff to extricate its rear-guards, and of Allied movements destined to prevent the achievement of this object and to establish strategic connection between the Serbian and Greek armies in Central Macedonia.

RUMANIA ENTERS THE WAR

Meanwhile Rumania, who during the first Balkan War had contented herself by claiming and securing compensation at the expense of Bulgaria, and who was now no longer withheld by Russia, mobilised her forces and crossed the Danube into Bulgarian territory on July 10. This step, nominally taken with the object of maintaining the balance of power in the Balkans, was really decided upon in order to wrest from Bulgaria a further area on the south of the Dobrudja, which area Rumania had coveted for years. It (this Rumanian action) was followed by a practically unopposed march towards Sofia, by the early collapse of Bulgaria, and by the bad relations which existed between the countries during the World War. Rumania, which had gained what she desired by a step, the morality of which requires no comment, proposed an armistice, and after discussions lasting about a fortnight, the second Balkan War was terminated by the Treaty of Bucharest signed on August 10, 1913. That treaty took from Bulgaria a large part of Macedonia, and left to her practically only the upper valley of the Struma and the Aegean coastal strip lying between the Maritza and the Mesta. The rest of the territories conquered from Turkey were allotted to Serbia, Greece and Montenegro, the first two mentioned countries securing the contiguous frontier which was one of the objects of their new treaty signed on June 1. Moreover, on the north, Bulgaria lost not only Silistria and the district allotted to Rumania under the Protocol of Petrograd, which was signed under the auspices of Russia in the previous May, but also a further area on the south of the Dobrudja and bounded on the south by a line drawn from the more or less immediate neighbourhood of Rustchuk on the Danube to that of Varna on the Black Sea. These divisions, coupled with the distribution of the Aegean Islands, decided upon by the Ambassadorial Conference, made the Treaty of Bucharest and the dependent arrangements instruments not of peace but of future war.

During the second Balkan War, the Treaty of London, signed between the former Allies and Turkey, was torn up. In spite of assurances that this document would be observed, Enver Pasha, recognising the impotence of the Bulgarians, crossed the Enos-Midia line and re-occupied Adrianople and the remainder of Eastern Thrace without serious opposition. This Ottoman success created an entirely new situation, and left Turkey and Bulgaria to arrange an independent peace after the conclusion of the second war. This peace, known as the Treaty of Constantinople and signed on September 29, 1913, gave Eastern Thrace, including Adrianople and Kirk Kilisseh, to Turkey. Moreover, Dédé Agatch, the only Aegean port possessed by Bulgaria, was left unprovided with railway connection with the remainder of that country except by way of a line which ran for some miles through Turkish territory. From the broader standpoint, the "reconquest" of Adrianople broke the then time-honoured rule that territory once taken from Turkey by a Christian state should never again pass under Ottoman rule, and it alienated the sympathies of Bulgaria from the Triple *Entente*, who had first imposed the Treaty of London and then refrained from taking measures for its maintenance. Again, this success regained for the Committee of Union and Progress a great deal of the prestige which it would otherwise have lost as a result of the disasters suffered in the first Balkan War, and placed the Government of Turkey completely in the hands of the army, which always had sympathies for Germany. And lastly, the fact that Russia urged the coercion of Turkey, which coercion might have been accepted by Great Britain and France, and that it (this coercion) was opposed by the Central Powers, increased the influence of Germany, which by this time was strongly behind her future ally.

A SETTLEMENT THAT WAS NO SETTLEMENT

To summarise and to recapitulate, it may be said that the Balkan Wars would probably never have occurred had the Young Turks made any attempts to inaugurate even some of the reforms which they promised, and had the European Concert been united in its endeavours to insist upon the introduction of those reforms and upon the maintenance of peace. The Ambassadorial Conference succeeded in localising the hostilities; but whereas at one time the conflict seemed destined to terminate in a manner entirely disadvantageous to Germany and her Allies, the disruption of the Balkan Confederation brought about a situation in which, during the World War, the Triple Alliance was able to manipulate or to defeat Turkey and her neighbours almost as if the events of 1912–1913 had never taken place. From the more local standpoint, it was certain that Bulgaria would seize the first opportunity of trying to redeem her position in Macedonia and in the Dobrudja, that war between Serbia and Austria could not be indefinitely postponed, and that Turkey would attempt to regain possession of the Aegean Islands. In short, the Treaty of Bucharest and the so-called settlement of the Near Eastern Question, which accompanied it, left the Central Powers in an advantageous position and created local conditions almost more unfair, more unnatural and more dangerous than those existing prior to the reëstablishment of the Ottoman Constitution in the year 1908.

CHAPTER LIII

THE BALKANS TO-DAY AND TO-MORROW

By H. Charles Woods

Special Correspondent of *The Times* (London) in the Balkans, 1911. War Expert of the *Evening News* during the Balkan Wars, 1912–1913 Military and Diplomatic Correspondent for the *Evening News*, 1914–1915. Lecturer before the Lowell Institute, Boston, 1917–1918. Author of *The Danger Zone of Europe* (Changes and Problems in the Near East); *War and Diplomacy in the Balkans; The Cradle of the War;* etc.

In the chapter entitled "The First and Second Balkan Wars" the present writer has suggested that the results of those campaigns were unsatisfactory alike from the local and from the international standpoints. Locally speaking, the arrangements then made constituted a mere compromise between the rival claims of the respective parties — a compromise which delayed a final settlement and which was responsible for many subsequent developments. Internationally, although, as Prince Lichnowsky said in his famous Memorandum, "The First Balkan War led to the collapse of Turkey and with it the defeat of our policy," the partial rehabilitation of that country and the disagreement between the Balkan Allies made themselves apparent almost immediately. Thus, the pro-German Enver Pasha became Minister of War soon after the Balkan Campaigns, and Liman von Sanders, a German, was appointed Inspector-General of the Ottoman army in December, 1913. With regard to Bulgaria, the interest displayed in that country by Austria-Hungary, coupled with her resentment concerning the Treaty of Bucharest and the loss of Adrianople, led King Ferdinand to lean towards the Central Powers, and this leaning was accentuated by a visit paid by the Tsar to the King of Rumania in June, 1914 — a visit never forgiven by the Bulgarian Ruler.

Rumania, for years actuated by a desire to secure both Transylvania and Bessarabia and bound to the Triple Alliance by a secret treaty since 1883, began to cultivate better relations with Russia in the hope thereby of safeguarding herself against Bulgaria. Greece, whose Sovereign became a German Marshal and whose claims to Kavala were supported by the Kaiser, was once more divided within herself, for whereas King Constantine and his friends were influenced by German flattery, M. Venizelos recognised that Hellenic aspirations would never be viewed with favour by the Central Powers, who had Turkey as their principal Balkan *protégé*. Lastly, whilst it had been apparent for years that Austria-Hungary had desired to bring Serbia to her knees, it is now known that on August 9, 1913 (the day before the Treaty of Bucharest), the Government of the Emperor Francis Joseph informed Italy and Germany of its intention to take action against Serbia. That action was prevented largely by the restraining influence of these two countries, but that it should have been definitely threatened clearly proves the delicate nature of the international situation.

AUSTRIA-HUNGARY DECIDES TO ANNIHILATE SERBIA

The murder of the Archduke Francis Ferdinand and his wife at Serajevo on June 28 was the occasion rather than the actual cause of the World War, since for years an outbreak of hostilities between Serbia and the Dual Monarchy had been but a matter of time. After the Balkan Wars the idea of a Greater Serbia with access to the Adriatic by way of San Giovanni di Medua was gradually being superseded by the more far-reaching Yugoslav scheme with a Serbian port in Austro-Hungarian territory, and for this reason the Government of the Emperor Francis Joseph was intent upon the isolation of Serbia and upon her disappearance as a factor in Central European and Near Eastern politics. It opposed the desire of the Belgrade Government to take over certain railways in the new Serbian territory and it endeavoured to put a spoke in the way of the conclusion of a concordat arranged between Serbia and the Vatican on June 24, 1914.

Whether or no, therefore, the Vienna Government was primarily responsible for the terms of the ultimatum delivered at Belgrade on July 23, it is abundantly clear that this ultimatum was never intended for acceptance and that Austria-Hungary and Germany had decided to seize the opportunity to annihilate Serbia if not to promote a European conflict from which Germany expected to profit. If any proof of this be required, it is contained in the facts that the two countries in question refused to listen to the offers of British mediation and that, so long as possible, Italy was kept in the dark as to what was about to take place. This attitude towards the third member of the Triple Alliance, and Austria's formal declaration of war upon Serbia — a declaration immediately countered by one from Montenegro — were of material importance later on. Thus ignoring the effect upon Rumania and whereas such secrecy itself undoubtedly created hostility in Rome, the condition that Austria and not Serbia was the aggressor enabled the Government of King Victor Emmanuel to assume the attitude that the conditions of the Triple Alliance, which was defensive, had not been brought into operation.

THE CENTRAL POWERS SECURE TURKEY

As the military operations in Serbia are discussed by another author and as the policy of Italy forms no part of the present subject, we now come to Turkey. On August 1 that country signed a treaty with Germany which was to become operative if Russia entered the war, as she did on the same day. Austria consented to the arrangement, but even the majority of the Ottoman Ministers were unaware of its existence, and therefore, after the outbreak of the war, Constantinople became the most important neutral capital in Europe. Here, for three months, a great diplomatic struggle was in progress between the representatives of the rival groups, the cause of the Central Powers being furthered because of the favourable position of Germany, while that of the Allies was complicated by the fact that, as the fear of Russia was largely responsible for the Revolution of 1908, so anxiety as to the aims of that country had a predominating influence in 1914. Moreover, whilst Turkey was completely under the domination of the Committee of Union and Progress, most of the leaders of which were pro-German, and whilst the German propaganda was highly efficient, no adequate Allied steps were taken to explain the justifiable confiscation of the two Turkish Dreadnoughts almost ready for delivery in England.

About the middle of August the pretended purchase of the "Goeben" and

the "Breslau" by Turkey from Germany gave to the latter country an absolute control at Constantinople, and this control was in no way counterbalanced by the promises made to the Ottoman Government in the case of its continued neutrality. Finally, on October 28, Germany succeeded in launching a Turkish attack upon Odessa and upon other Black Sea ports and this without the knowledge of several of the members of the Government. That attack, followed by an Allied declaration of war, was hailed with delight in Russia, which saw in it the opportunity of opening the question of the Straits.

Ignoring the deeper and broader consequences of Turkey's entrance into the war, which was one of the most far-reaching successes attained by the Central Powers, and confining the present discussion to diplomatic developments connected with the Balkan Peninsula, that event had two immediate results. Firstly, it enabled the Muscovite Government to raise the problem of Constantinople and, in March, 1915, Great Britain and France agreed to the annexation of that city and of certain neighbouring areas by Russia, which agreement was adhered to by Italy after she threw in her lot with the Allies. Thus matters stood until the advent of the Bolshevik *régime,* when all idea of territorial aggrandisement was temporarily abandoned, but there is no doubt that the existence of these arrangements had its material effect in prolonging the resistance of Turkey and in delaying the adhesion of Rumania to the Allied cause. And secondly, the acquisition by Germany of an outpost in the East enormously enlarged the scope of the struggle and increased the significance of the still neutrals, Bulgaria, Rumania and Greece, since in the case of a determined attack upon Serbia it was those states and they alone who could facilitate or prevent the establishment of through communication between Central Europe, the Bosporus and the Middle East.

INSUFFICIENT ALLIED DIPLOMACY CAUSES LOSS OF BULGARIA

Bulgaria was the most important of these neutrals because, in addition to the fact that she commanded the main routes from West to East, her central position enabled her to support or to menace not only Serbia but also Rumania and Greece should they decide to enter the war. Here the situation was governed by the facts that King Ferdinand and his Government had leanings towards Turkey and Austria and that, in the case of the abandonment of their neutrality, the people as a whole were determined to utilise the occasion to gain possession of some of the territories for which they had fought during the Balkan Wars. Although in the opinion of the present writer Bulgaria might have been won by more efficient Allied diplomacy, especially Russian diplomacy, the task was a very difficult one since, whereas in case of victory part of Eastern Thrace was available as a prize, it was not easy to secure for Bulgaria the cession of any territories held by the still neutral countries, Rumania and Greece, and a change of possession in Macedonia could only be brought about with the consent of Serbia — a consent very unlikely to be forthcoming.

Early in 1915, however, M. Venizelos recognised the advantages of securing the support of Bulgaria, and with this object in view he explained to the King the advisability of sacrificing Kavala, which was so deeply coveted by that country. The negotiations, together with others which took place after the opening of the Dardanelles Campaign, however, came to nothing and, whilst it is difficult to say at what date King Ferdinand entered into an agreement with the Central Powers, the most favourable moment for obtaining Bulgarian support had passed after the Allied failure to force the Straits in March. Nevertheless at the end of May the *Entente* offered the

part of Eastern Thrace not already pledged to Russia and the "Uncontested Zone" in Macedonia, provided at the end of the war Serbia was able to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina. This tentative offer, which was met by one in which the Central Powers promised all the territories claimed by Bulgaria in Macedonia besides the Dobrudja, provoked a request for further particulars from the Sofia Government. Both parties to the diplomatic struggle were represented by special Missions, but a fatal hitch then occurred, for whereas negotiations between Turkey and Bulgaria continued it was not until early in August, and therefore when the British position at Gallipoli had become critical and when Russia was hard pressed, that the Allies agreed to the immediate occupation of part of the "Uncontested Zone" and part of Greek Macedonia, promising at the same time that, in case of her active support, Bulgaria should receive the Enos-Midia Line and Kavala at the advent of peace.

Neither Greece nor Serbia was willing to agree to the necessary concessions, and General Fichev, the Minister of War, who was opposed to further Bulgarian adventures, having retired on August 19, the Allied overtures had become doomed to failure. The Kaiser sent a special representative to Sofia and at the same time pressed the Turks to cede the Maritza enclave and thereby to facilitate Bulgarian communications with Dédé Agatch. On September 6 a Convention for that cession was signed at Sofia and, as a result and on the same day, a Treaty was entered into between the Central Powers and their new ally. The British attack upon the Straits was at its last ebb and, mobilisation having been ordered on September 22, Bulgaria was at war with all the Allied countries on or before October 17. Thus, whereas the diplomacy of the *Entente* had again failed, that of Germany and Austria-Hungary had won a prize equal if not greater than that secured when Turkey threw in her lot on their side.

RUMANIAN ENTRY INTO THE WAR AIDS CENTRAL POWERS

The entry of Bulgaria sounded the death-knell to the Dardanelles Campaign, decided Great Britain, France and Italy to reinforce the contingent already landed at Salonika, and led to the complete conquest of Serbia and Montenegro by the Central Powers and their new ally. Moreover, as the last mentioned development was responsible for the establishment of through railway communication between Berlin and Constantinople, the importance of Rumania was at once increased, and this because, whereas her support for the Allies might have meant a threat to that communication, her adoption of a contrary policy would have entailed an increase of the transit facilities already possessed by Austria and Germany. Immediately after the outbreak of the war a Crown Council decided in favour of neutrality, and during September, 1914, Rumania and Italy signed a treaty for common action.

The death of King Charles, who had always been pro-German, during the following month, carried with it a decided reaction in favour of the Allies, but when Italy entered the war in May, 1915, Rumania put up her price to a level to which Russia very unwisely refused to consent. The policy of Bulgaria and the downfall of Serbia resulted in further delays and, as continued neutrality was no doubt profitable, no fresh steps took place until the following year. Even then, whilst Germany pressed Austria-Hungary to make concessions to her eastern neighbour, Russia was still adamant upon territorial questions in which she or Serbia had a direct interest. Finally, when things were going badly in France, Russia gave way, and on August 28, 1916, an agreement having been signed under which Rumania

secured far-reaching territorial advantages at the expense of the Dual Monarchy, she declared war, that declaration being followed by counter-measures on the parts of Germany, Turkey and Bulgaria.

Whether or no the Government of the Kaiser actually preferred the hostility of Rumania to her continued neutrality, subsequent events proved that this hostility was entirely to the advantage of the Central Powers. By the end of the year the country had been almost completely overrun by the Austro-German and Bulgarian forces, the shattered remnants of her army had taken refuge behind the Russian contingent at last arrived in Moldavia, and the Central Powers had acquired the unhindered and unlimited use of the Rumanian lines of communication and of the River Danube, which were of such vital importance to them. With the King, his Government and the foreign Legations installed at Jassy, an offensive was attempted in July, 1917. But renewed disasters occurred, and with the advent of the Bolshevik *régime* no alternative lay before Rumania other than to accept the terms imposed upon her by the Fourth Treaty of Bucharest, which was signed on May 7, 1918.

THE STRUGGLE FOR GREECE

Coming to Greece, it is necessary to remember that on August 4, 1914, the Kaiser invited his brother-in-law, King Constantine, to support the Germanic cause. This invitation was declined, and about three weeks later M. Venizelos stated his friendly feelings towards the Allies. By the beginning of the Dardanelles Campaign that statesman was working for the reconstruction of the Balkan League and the active participation of Greece in exchange for an Allied promise of territorial compensation in Asia Minor. King Constantine, however, vetoed this idea and, the Premier having been forced to resign, the ensuing months were occupied by the Allied suggestions for concessions to Bulgaria.

After the return of M. Venizelos to power in August, 1915, he declared himself in favour of the protection of Serbia against a Bulgarian attack, and when the Opposition claimed that Serbia was not in a position to provide the 150,000 men promised in the treaty with Greece, he invited the Allies to furnish a contingent to take the place of that force. This invitation, which led to the inauguration of the Salonika Campaign, was afterwards repudiated, and on October 5, 1915, M. Venizelos was again compelled to retire by men who now claimed that the Graeco-Serbian Treaty was applicable only to a purely Balkan and not to a world war.

After the disembarkation had taken place in Greece, the attitude of that country became all-important in its relation to the actual safety of the Salonika army. Whilst King Constantine and his supporters did everything in their power to complicate the task of the Allies, Great Britain and France, as two of the Protecting Powers, endeavoured to utilise their special position in order to further the Western cause in Macedonia. Countless developments and counter-developments occurred and when difficulties had been placed in the way of the transport of Serbian troops across Hellenic territory and when considerable areas had been surrendered to the Bulgarians, M. Venizelos left Athens, and, early in October, 1916, formed an independent Government at Salonika. This Government received the support of the Allies, who later on demanded the cession of the Greek fleet and the handing over of certain war materials in the possession of the Athenian Government.

The attitude of King Constantine towards the Allied landing at the Piraeus in December, 1916, provoked further Allied determination, especially in France, and M. Jonnart reached Greece as the High Commissioner of the

Protecting Powers on June 7, 1917. King Constantine left the country on the 12th, M. Venizelos returned to the capital on the 26th, and three days later Greece broke off relations with the Central Powers. The Allied rear was thus assured, but whereas the new Hellenic army was tested in the spring of 1918, it played no active rôle in the Salonika Campaign until the events connected with the final breakdown of the enemy's resistance in the following September.

FOR A TIME MITTEL EUROPA A FACT

As Albania was not able to take an active part in the hostilities, it should now be remarked that the policies adopted by the various States, coupled with the very able diplomacy of the Central Powers, led to the prolongation of the World War and to the temporary success of the enemy in the Near East. The British Empire was obliged to dissipate its forces in Turkey, and the Allied failure to penetrate the Straits interfered with the communication between Western Europe and Russia and contributed to the revolution and to subsequent developments in that country. The hostility of Bulgaria, the collapse of Rumania, and the long-delayed entry of Greece gave to Germany and Austria the control of areas which could not otherwise have been theirs, and with the signatures of the Treaties of Brest-Litovsk, between the Central Powers and Russia on March 3, 1918, and of Bucharest, between the enemy and Rumania two months later, the Kaiser had secured a definite success. The whole of the Balkan Peninsula (except Southern Albania and the greater part of Greece) besides a very large part of Asiatic Turkey, were under German domination, and this, together with the control of Southern Russia, opened up an Asiatic horizon to the Central Powers. Thus, the military and diplomatic victories of the enemy had not only brought about the temporary realisation of a great part of his Mittel Europa scheme, but they had laid the foundation for an even more grandiose idea of German domination from the Atlantic to the Pacific.

TURNING OF THE TIDE

Nevertheless, during the last year of the war, and when the situation in Eastern Europe was progressing badly, two series of developments occurred which were responsible for making the Balkan States and Turkey the scene of the termination as they had been the occasion of the outbreak of the world struggle. Firstly, the position was materially changed once the confidence of the lesser enemy countries became severely shaken by the capture of Jerusalem on December 9, 1917, by the subsequent British successes in Palestine and Mesopotamia, and by the fact that Germany, who was straining every nerve in the West, was unable to furnish Bulgaria and Turkey with the supplies and war material, not to say the men, expected from her. And secondly, the statements of war aims or peace terms made by Mr. Lloyd George and by Mr. Wilson in January, 1918, and the final exit of Russia were of great significance in their relations to Bulgaria, Turkey and Austria, each of which countries was in urgent need of peace and each of which now hoped to avoid the extreme consequences of her war policy.

The earliest overt sign of the approaching collapse came with the Austrian appeal for an exchange of views on September 15 — an appeal which was not encouraged by Mr. Wilson, who replied that he had already stated his point of view. This appeal was immediately followed by the capitulation of Bulgaria, whose people had lost heart in the struggle, whose army was not in disciplinary condition to enable it to withstand the Allied offensive

inaugurated from Salonika in the middle of September, and whose Government thought that, by a hasty peace, it might secure the good-will of the Western Powers. The Armistice signed by that country on September 28 had its direct and far-reaching consequences, for Turkey, now cut off from the Central Powers and hard pressed by the British in Asia, agreed to the Mudros Armistice on October 30. By that time, and further to the northwest, things were moving apace for the rehabilitation of Serbia, the correspondence in progress between the Central Powers and President Wilson on the subject of a general peace, and the Italian advance on the Piave were only some of the events which contributed to the *débâcle* in Austria-Hungary.

Thus, when many of the Slavs of that empire were in open revolt, when the Emperor Charles had endeavoured to stave off the evil day by the creation of a Federal State, and when Hungary had broken away from her Austrian sister, the Armistice which took a once great empire out of the war was arranged on November 3. Rumania, for obvious reasons desiring once more to be engaged on the side of the victors, declared war upon Germany on November 10, and on the following day the Great Armistice terminated the active stage of the world conflagration.

THE BALKANS AFTER THE TREATY

As it is neither possible nor opportune here to enter into the countless events which have occurred in connection with the Balkan Peninsula since that time, it only remains to give a general idea of the situation created by the international documents relevant to the area in question. Ignoring the bearing of the Treaty of Versailles, the Treaties of St. Germain with Austria on September 10, 1919, and of Trianon with Hungary on June 4, 1920, broke up the former Dual Monarchy and gave to Rumania and to the new Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes extensive sections of that empire. These documents, coupled with the arrangements for the incorporation of Bessarabia in Rumania and for the inclusion of Montenegro, the greater part of the littoral of the northern Adriatic and of a small area of Bulgarian territory in Yugoslavia, made the former country the largest and the most populous and the latter the second largest and the second most populous of the states under discussion. By the Treaty of Neuilly of November 27, 1919, which is discussed in greater detail by the present writer in Chapter XLIX, Bulgaria was cut off from the Aegean and her area was so reduced as to make her the smallest and the weakest Balkan State except Albania.

Rather less than a year later, under the Treaty of Sèvres signed with Turkey on August 10, 1920, and under various subordinated documents agreed to at the same time, the frontiers of Greece were extended to the Black Sea and to the Marmora and she secured the practical though not the absolute sovereignty over a considerable section of Asia Minor. These agreements were never ratified and, as result of the Turco-Greek Campaign in Anatolia, which lasted for three years, and of international rivalries, the whole of the questions covered by the Treaty of Sèvres came up for renewed discussion at the Conference of Lausanne, which sat intermittently from November, 1922, until July, 1923. The Treaty signed at that place on the 24th of the latter month made no territorial modifications which directly concerned Bulgaria, but it entirely revised the positions of Greece and of Turkey, relegating the former country to the position of a secondary State and reëstablishing the latter as a factor of material world importance. Ignoring the Aegean Islands, which with certain exceptions passed definitely

to Greece, she lost Western Anatolia and Eastern Thrace and secured a boundary much the same as that existing prior to the war.

Turkey, whose European territory under the Treaty of Sèvres was limited to Constantinople and its immediate surroundings, re-acquired possession of nearly the whole of the European area which was hers in 1914, she secured Kara Agatch (the suburb of Adrianople situated on the west of the Maritza), and she obtained much more favourable treatment in regard to the Straits and to numerous other questions into the details of which it is impossible to enter here. In short, as the Committee of Union and Progress rehabilitated the Ottoman Empire by its triumph at Adrianople in 1913, so did the Nationalists restore life and importance to their country by the second conquest of Constantinople in 1922–1923.

POSSIBILITIES OF THE FUTURE

The above-outlined arrangements constitute a sort of adjustment between the peace terms possible of imposition upon beaten enemies by a victorious group of powers and those enunciated by Mr. Wilson in his Fourteen Points and in other of his earlier communications. The creation of Yugoslavia and of the larger Rumania, together with the coming into being of the Little *Entente*, made up of those countries together with Czechoslovakia, should do a great deal to rid Europe of the danger of Pan-German domination in the Near East. But the measures taken for that purpose necessitated the widespread infringement of the principle of nationalities and, as no Balkan Government is sufficiently far-sighted to grant fair treatment to its minority populations, this infringement has created ever-recurring future dangers.

Moreover, whilst Greece is allied to Serbia, as neither the former country nor Bulgaria are members of the Little *Entente* and as these two States remain on strained terms, here, as in the reëntry of Turkey into Europe, there are the foundations for strife. And then, although the sovereignty of Rumania over Bessarabia has been recognised, it is unlikely that Russia will remain permanently tranquil in the face of such an arrangement, and Rumania may thus in the future be involved in complications in regard to a question in which she has been interested for years. Furthermore, the knotty problem of Macedonia is left without a settlement — a settlement unlikely to be achieved until the question is viewed with greater moderation in Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria. And lastly, whereas the relations between Turkey and Greece are unlikely to be cordial in the immediate future, Bulgaria can hardly afford peacefully and permanently to accept her new position until or unless she secures at least the commercial outlet to the Aegean promised to her under the Treaty of Neuilly. In spite of these countless other available criticisms the post-war situation calls for the maintenance and observance of provisions now impossible of far-reaching modification. The Covenant of the League of Nations may be possessed of many shortcomings, but it at least provides machinery capable of ameliorating conditions in a zone where rivalry has been fatal in the past and where reconciliation is so necessary in the future.

CHAPTER LIV

THE STORY OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

By The Rt. Hon. William M. Hughes, P.C., K.C., LL.D.

Prime Minister of Australia, 1915–1923. Member of the Imperial War Cabinet. Australian Representative at the Paris Peace Conference. Joint author of *Federation of Australian States.*

I

Australia

Alike in domestic, Imperial and international developments, the last 25 years have been without parallel in the history of Australia. The century opened to the din of battle, for many Australian troops were then fighting for the empire in the South African War. If from that circumstance readers of the omens were inclined to foretell a century of turbulence, later events have so far done little to falsify the prophecy. While the guns were still roaring in South Africa the Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland was debating the bill which on July 9, 1900, became the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act. This measure, the greatest legislative event in the history of Australia, embodied at once the fruits of past experience and the united aspirations of the people of the continent for their future. It is the legislative symbol of their community of origin, their community of interest, their community of destiny. The paramount aim of the Constitution Act was to endow Australia with a Federal form of Government: that is to say, a central legislature was set up to administer what may be called the great national activities such as Naval and Military Defence, External Affairs, Customs, Postal Services, etc. The existing local legislatures of the six constituent States were continued, their original powers undiminished save by the withdrawal, specific or implied, of the powers invested in the Commonwealth. The result is a distribution of powers between central and local legislatures very similar to that effected by the Constitution of the United States of America and differing from the strong central authority created by the Constitution of Canada and that of South Africa. The Australian Constitution has been subjected to considerable tension in the brief period that has elapsed since its creation; economic, industrial, and political developments of a character quite unforeseen have tested it severely; the World War imposed upon it that same crucial ordeal by battle to which the political foundations of the other belligerent countries were subjected. The experience of merely a quarter of a century has shown that although it may be said to have achieved substantially the aims of its creators, the Constitution needs amendment. The distribution of powers is illogical; the spheres of the Federal and State authorities overlap, and there are important spheres of action which, as things are, cannot be dealt with effectively by either. Proposed amendments have been submitted to the people for ratification on two occasions, but have failed to secure the necessary majority.

AUSTRALIA IMMENSELY LARGE AND RICH

No survey of the period under review will be completely intelligible to non-Australian readers unless they know the outstanding physical characteristics of the Australian continent and of its history prior to 1900. This knowledge may be gained in detail from the appropriate books. Suffice it here to say that Australia is an immense land, as large as the United States of America, abundantly rich in resources and capable of supporting a great population; and that, prior to 1901, it was governed by the legislatures of the six separate colonies (New South Wales, Victoria, Tasmania, Queensland, South Australia and Western Australia), each with a Parliament of two Houses fashioned closely on the British pattern and each enjoying almost perfect autonomy. In an attempt to trace concisely the developments of the last 23 years, it is deemed appropriate to commence with a reference to Federal Politics during this period.

HOME POLITICS

The two Houses of the Commonwealth Parliament are chosen on different principles. The Senate is constituted by the election of six members by each of the six States. This gives a total of 36 members and secures equality of State representation. The House of Representatives normally contains about 75 members chosen from the six States in proportion to their population, thereby securing in that House equality of representation of individual voters. Perhaps the most interesting feature of Federal politics during the period under review has been the accession to power of the Labour party, particularly between 1910 and 1917. Labour Ministries have occupied the Government benches for a total period of about six and a half years since Federation. For some portion of this period Labour was in office in the Commonwealth and in five out of six of the States. As a political force it has waned latterly, partly because of suspicion of lukewarmness in the prosecution of the World War, partly because of its adoption of what are regarded as Communistic doctrines. There is no reason however to believe that the great majority of Labour supporters approve these or would tolerate their application.

An interesting development in Federal politics has been the formation of the Country party, recruited chiefly from those members of the Liberal or Nationalist parties who represent country constituencies. The extraordinary drift of the Australian population to the cities (referred to later) and the consequent emphasis of urban as opposed to rural interests, explains, if it does not justify, the formation of a Country party. All Australians are anxious that the great country interests should receive adequate parliamentary representation and be advanced by every reasonable and legitimate means; but the creation of a new political party, which is avowedly sectional in its aims and outlook, seems likely to have a de-stabilising influence on Commonwealth politics and to lead to embarrassing situations and a partial paralysis of the working of the legislative machinery. The Nationalist War Government, headed by Mr. W. M. Hughes, after guiding the destinies of Australia during the last three years of the war and four subsequent years of difficult *post-bellum* reconstruction, came to an end, early in 1923. The Nationalist party contained many members of considerably divergent political views, who had sunk their lesser differences in order to unite under one leadership for the supreme end of waging war as efficiently as possible. As the pressure [illegible] difficulti[illegible] gradually diminished some disintegration of

the National group was inevitable, and the Country party went to the polls in the general election of December, 1922, for the first time as a definitely constituted and separate political entity. The Nationalist party was the strongest party returned, but Labour pressed it closely and the Country party, with about 15 members, thus held the balance of power. After considerable negotiation a composite Nationalist and Country party Ministry was formed, and Mr. Hughes, not being acceptable to the Country party as leader of the combined forces, voluntarily retired from the office of Prime Minister, and Mr. S. M. Bruce, who had been Treasurer in the last Hughes Administration, became Prime Minister.

The chief legislative enactments of the period 1900 to 1923 are noticed under their appropriate headings. Considerations of space render it impossible to do more than pay passing tribute to the great figures of Australian democracy — men like Sir Edmund Barton, Alfred Deakin, C. C. Kingston, Sir John Forrest, Sir William Lyne, Sir George Reid, Andrew Fisher and others — who in the early years of the new Commonwealth consecrated their entire energies, and in many cases their very lives, to its service, and designed and truly laid its broad foundations.

GROWTH IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

During the period under review the vital statistics have been most satisfactory. On December 31, 1900, the population of the Commonwealth — excluding aborigines — was 3,765,339. On the same date in 1921 it had increased to 5,510,229. On January 1, 1924, it was very near 6,000,000. Males outnumber females by about 200,000. There are approximately 50,000 full-blooded aboriginals and about 50,000 other persons of non-European race, the majority of whom are of Asiatic origin. The rate of increase of population for the last 50 years has been about two per cent per annum, a rate that has seldom or never been exceeded by any country in the world.

In practice the immigration laws of the Commonwealth prohibit the settlement in Australia of coloured races, and thus gives effect to the "White Australia" policy which is part of the national creed. Despite the substantial increase since 1900, it is generally recognised that the great need of Australia is population, and Commonwealth and States are coöperating with the British Government to secure large numbers of immigrants of a good type to assist in defending and developing the wonderful resources of the country.

The population shows a marked tendency to flock to the great cities. And although this is a world-wide phenomenon, in an undeveloped country it cannot be regarded as satisfactory. Sydney, the capital of New South Wales, has a population of nearly 1,000,000, or more than 40 per cent of that of the whole State. And this distribution of population is general throughout the Commonwealth.

Production, in both primary and secondary industries, has increased very rapidly during the period under review. The steady tendency towards closer settlement has had the effect of reducing the size of pastoral holdings devoted to sheep rearing within reasonable distance of railways. In 1901 the number of sheep in Australia was 70,000,000; on January 1, 1924, it was about 80,000,000. Australia is by far the greatest wool-producing country in the world, and her merino wools are the finest and fetch the highest prices in the markets. The average annual wool clip is over 600,000,000 pounds, valued at more than £40,000,000.

Horse and cattle breeding have progressed steadily during the l[illegible]

years. Frozen beef and mutton are exported in large quantities, and a very large oversea trade is done in hides and tallow. Pastoral production is necessarily subject to fluctuation through the vagaries of the seasons, but the recuperative powers of both soil and stock are amazing. The progress of artesian boring, and water conservation schemes in the drier districts, have robbed droughts of much of their terror.

No more striking proof of the progress of Australia is to be found than the steady progress of land cultivation. In 1900 the area under crop totalled less than 10 million acres, and the crop 48,000,000 bushels; in 1920 the acreage had grown to over 15 million acres, and the yield to nearly 146,000,000. The importance of wheat growing is shown by the fact that about two-thirds of the cultivated lands are devoted to this cereal. Oats, maize and barley are also grown in large quantities. The States advance money to farmers on liberal terms, and by agricultural colleges and otherwise do much to stimulate the industry. Great progress is being made in farm and dairy production, the value of which in 1920 was over £50,000,000.

RICH MINERAL RESOURCES

Australia's mineral resources are rich and varied. Every kind of metal is produced in abundance. The discovery of gold some 70 years ago marked a new era in Australian history attracting hundreds of thousands of hardy and enterprising men and laying the foundations of its national character and economic progress. Of late years gold production has declined; on the other hand the production of silver, lead, zinc, copper, molybdenite and other non-ferrous metals, though suffering from the disorganisation of the world's markets consequent upon the war, has greatly increased. Australia is the largest lead exporting country in the world, and her output of electrolytic spelter and zinc concentrates is on a grand scale. The country possesses huge deposits of iron, and the Federal and State Legislatures have spared no pains to encourage their development. Considerable quantities of iron are produced, and great smelters and rolling-mills have been erected, but the industry is as yet only in its infancy. The production of coal has increased very rapidly during the last 20 years, the output having doubled since 1900, and the State of Victoria is now utilising her immense deposits of brown coal as the basis of a vast electric-power scheme.

Other industries have progressed very rapidly. The removal of Interstate Customs Tariffs has had a stimulating influence on manufactures, and they have gone ahead by leaps and bounds. The total value of manufactured goods, which in 1900 was £27,191,000, had increased in 1921 to £120,751,000, while the number of factory employees had doubled.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INDUSTRIES

The policy of the Commonwealth Government has been to encourage the development of local industries by imposing substantial protective tariffs. A reduction in the case of goods of British manufacture gives effect to the policy of Imperial Preference. The value of exports has increased from £46,000,000 in 1900 to £132,000,000 in 1921. The total trade of the Commonwealth in 1921 was £230,912,971. The United Kingdom is both the largest buyer of Australian goods and the largest supplier of goods to Australia, the United States of America being easily second. The marked development of Australian trade with Japan, China, India and other Eastern countries

is a feature of recent years, and its capacity for increase is practically unlimited. This is very fortunate, for the great distance of Australia from her customers in the Western world is an undoubted handicap to her in disposing of her produce.

The shipping, oversea and coastwise, of the Commonwealth has kept pace with the growth of trade. The tonnage which in 1900 was 5,894,173 has increased to 9,080,873 in 1921. The Commonwealth Government during the war purchased a fleet of steamers and engaged in shipbuilding on a large scale, in order to secure sufficient tonnage to cope with the abnormal conditions created by the withdrawal of shipping from the Australian service to other routes. With the gradual return to normal conditions followed by a world-wide slump in the shipping industry, the Government has decided to close down its shipyards. It will, however, continue to run its line of steamers, which it has placed under the control of a Board independent of political influence.

The principle of collective bargaining and the settlement of industrial disputes by legal tribunals has long been recognised in Australia. The wages, hours and conditions of labour of all classes of employees are regulated throughout the Commonwealth. Elaborate factory laws have been enacted by all the States to protect the health and well-being of the workers. Wage Boards and Industrial Courts have been established in every State, and the Commonwealth Court of Australia and Conciliation has very wide jurisdiction. These courts and boards deal with a great number of industrial cases yearly, and though strikes still happen, there can be no doubt that the principles followed in the fixation of wages and hours and conditions of labour by legal tribunals have been justified by results, and have led to a better mutual understanding between employer and employee.

In a land of wide spaces like Australia, roads and railways are of vital importance. Great progress has been made with these necessary means of communications during the period under review. The railways are, with the exception of a few miles, all owned and controlled by the Governments, State and Federal. The mileage which in 1900 was 13,000, had increased to 26,000 in 1920. The Commonwealth has constructed several lines, the most important being the Transcontinental railway which connects Port Augusta in South Australia with Kalgoorlie in Western Australia. The Commonwealth is now engaged in constructing portions of what will eventually link Adelaide in the south with Darwin in the far north.

Postal, telegraphic, and telephonic communications are all in the hands of the Commonwealth, and every effort is being made to keep pace with the rapid progress and development of the country. The present system of wireless is being replaced by a most modern high-power plant capable of transmitting messages direct to Britain and to the most distant parts of the world.

FINANCES

Public finance though naturally affected by the war is in a sound condition. The debts of the Commonwealth and States are large, but are secured by ample assets. The currency rests upon a most substantial gold basis. The note issue is £52,017,119 and the gold reserve £24,780,209, or more than 47 per cent.

The total debt of the Commonwealth (as distinct from that of the States) is over £400,000,000, of which £367,000,000 was contracted to meet war expenditure. Of this amount all but £90,000,000 (which was borrowed from Britain and has been funded) was raised by internal loans. The total debts

of the States amount to over £450,000,000, making the total indebtedness of Australia nearly £900,000,000.

The revenue of the Commonwealth is about £60,000,000, of which in 1921–1922 £27,000,000 was derived from Customs and Excise, £16,000,000 from Income Tax, and £10,000,000 from Post-Office revenue. The total revenue of the six States during 1920–1921 was over £80,000,000.

The banks of Australia are well conducted and, generally speaking, follow along the same lines as the British. The Commonwealth established a Government Bank in 1911, and this has been most successful and is now one of the principal banks of the country. All the banks are in a flourishing condition. The amount of deposits which in 1900 was £90,521,681 had increased in 1921 to £282,556,351. The Commonwealth and each of the States conduct Savings Banks. Perhaps there is no better index to the general prosperity of Australia and to the wide distribution of wealth than is afforded by the statistics of these institutions. In 1900 the amount deposited in these banks was £28,508,256; at the end of 1923 it was £153,000,000. The number of depositors is over 3,000,000, and in addition nearly 1,000,000 own their own homes.

EDUCATION

The standard of education is generally high throughout Australia. Education is administered by the States' Governments. Over 800,000 scholars were enrolled in State Schools in 1920, and there is a large number of private educational institutions. Secondary education in the State Schools has developed greatly during the last 20 years with a great resulting increase in the number of students attending the University in each State. All of the Universities are substantially helped by Government subsidies. Technical and agricultural education have received more attention than formerly, and business education has grown rapidly in favour.

A High Court of Australia was constituted soon after Federation pursuant to the provisions of the Constitution. Its work proved greater than was anticipated, and the number of Judges has been increased to seven. Its most important work has been the interpretation of the Constitution with respect to the limits between the jurisdictions of the Commonwealth and State legislative powers.

For some years the repatriation of soldiers serving abroad constituted an important governmental responsibility. Elaborate provision was made by the Commonwealth Government for their absorption into civilian occupations. A liberal gratuity was given, and a special department of Government was constituted which endeavoured to provide suitable employment for those equipped to take it, to give vocational training to those requiring it; and to provide hospital treatment, maintenance and education in all appropriate cases. The people of Australia and the Government spared no expense to do what could be done for their returned soldiers, and the State Governments coöperated cordially, particularly by means of land-settlement schemes whereby many thousands of soldiers were established in agricultural, pastoral and fruit-growing pursuits.

THE COMMONWEALTH AND ITS RESPONSIBILITIES

Land administration is for the most part confined to the States, but the Commonwealth has in various ways acquired very substantial territorial responsibilities. In 1911 the Commonwealth took over from the State of

South Australia the administration of the Northern Territory. This huge province which runs from the South Australian borders right to the extreme north of the central portion of the continent, has an area of over half a million square miles. Its development has been very slow. The whole population numbers less than 4,000. These are represented by one member in the Federal House of Representatives who is allowed to speak but not to vote.

In the Federal capital territory, the area in the south-east of New South Wales set apart for the Federal Capital, the necessary works are progressing slowly, but the seat of Government has not yet been moved from Melbourne: Norfolk Island, the small Pacific island about 1,000 miles east of Sydney, was taken over by the Commonwealth Government from the State of New South Wales in 1914. The population is less than 1,000. In 1906 Papua, the south-eastern portion of New Guinea, was placed under the authority of the Commonwealth, and is now administered by the Federal Government. The white population of this large province is about 1,500.

The Mandated Territories are a still greater responsibility. Under the Treaty of Versailles the late German territories in and around New Guinea (including the Bismarck Archipelago and the Solomon Islands), a total area of over 90,000 square miles, came under the administration of the Commonwealth as a Mandated Territory of the "C" Class. An Administrator has been appointed with the necessary staff, and every endeavour is being made to promote the interests of the native population, and to develop the Territories generally. The present white population is about 1,200, and the native population is estimated at about 250,000. Nauru, an island on the edge of the equator containing immense deposits of phosphate, is now held under Mandate of the League of Nations by the British Empire. By agreement, the British, Australian and New Zealand Governments exercise the Mandate jointly; the first Administrator being appointed by the Australian Government.

AUSTRALIA AND THE EMPIRE

The Treaty of Versailles has had other important consequences. Under it Australia is a member of the League of Nations, and enjoys all the privileges, and has been accorded the status of a sovereign state. Logically her position in the League is difficult to reconcile with the traditional relations that have always existed between the Dominions and Britain.. But logic and the British Constitution are hardly on speaking terms. What matters to the British people is not whether a departure is logical, but whether it will work. This wonderful elasticity of what is known as the "Constitution" permits of the most radical changes and rapid development in the arrangement of the parts, without impairing the vital principle of unity that binds all together. The difficulties arising out of the altered status of the Dominions in the League of Nations are part of a greater problem. The right of the Dominions to an effective share in shaping and directing foreign policy has been freely conceded by Britain. Imperial Conferences, at which representatives of all parts of the empire are present, now decide the broad principles which determined the attitude of Britain towards outside nations. The rapid development of the means of communications, wireless telegraphy and telephony, and air-craft will before very long strengthen Australia's influence in applying these to the numerous questions relating to foreign affairs that arise almost daily.

Broadly speaking it may be said that Australia attached to Great Britain by ties of blood, sentiment and self-interest is most desirous of retaining

her place as a partner in the empire. Her scheme of defence rests upon this basis; her navy, though a distinct unit, fits in with the general scheme of Imperial naval defence; and, coöperating with the British navy, rendered notable service during the war. A system of compulsory military training has been in force since 1910. Since the war, both military and naval activities have been partially suspended; this was made necessary by the great burden of war debt, and also by the desire to mark time pending the general acceptance of a satisfactory scheme of naval defence embracing the whole empire.

A WHITE MAN'S COUNTRY

The preceding paragraphs constitute nothing more than a brief outline of the main activities of the people of Australia since 1900. No reference has been made to the World War — which was, of course, incomparably the outstanding event of the period — because the subject is dealt with elsewhere in these volumes. Australia may now be presumed to have passed through the critical period of transition from war to peace. In common with the rest of the world she hopes that the peace may long continue, and that the immediate task which lies before her, the development for the service of humanity of the great and fertile land she has acquired, may proceed without interruption. She desires that the empty spaces of the continent should be filled not anyhow, or by any class of people, but with men and women suited to their new environment. Without desiring to reflect in the slightest degree upon other races, Australia is convinced that she should hold her heritage in trust for the white race, and she invites coloured peoples to recognise frankly the barriers created by race and by widely differing ideals, standards of living and economic conditions. The outstanding aspiration of Australians generally is to fashion a democracy so admirably adjusted in all its parts that all men may enjoy not only all the necessities, but also a reasonable measure of the comforts and amenities that make life worth living.

THE FUTURE

The future of Australia is not less obscure than that of any other country, but the reasons for optimism are many and convincing. Her heritage is passing rich, her opportunities wide and varied, and many of the difficulties that confront other nations do not exist for her. A people of one race speaking one language, she holds a continent, and is united under one Government. Great as is Australia's material wealth, its richest asset is the physique and character of its people. Remoteness from Europe has deterred weaklings from undertaking an adventure which involves the burning of one's boats. She has bred from the hardy, the enterprising and the resolute. A healthy climate and generous dietary have developed the physique, and the conditions of life in this great land of wide spaces have encouraged the priceless qualities of initiative and resource. She has evolved what is beginning to be recognised as a new type. Here traditions and environment combine to create ideal conditions for a free people. With her, democracy is more than a mere name — it is a living reality. Through the mists of the future the Australian sees the promise of a splendid destiny, and with resolute and determined tread he presses forward towards the goal he has set in the realisation of a democracy that may bring to each citizen a full measure of prosperity.

II

New Zealand

The story of the first twenty years of the present century is dominated by the episode of the World War which is dealt with elsewhere. Apart from that, New Zealand's history is chiefly concerned with domestic matters, and her record is one of steady progress in almost every direction. Constitutionally there have been no fundamental alternatives in this period. The two Houses of Parliament, the Legislative Council and the House of Representatives, exist in substantially the same form as they have maintained for many years. The Upper House is still "appointed," for the Legislative Council Act 1914, which was intended to make provision for an elective Council, has never been brought into operation. The number of members of the Council is at present about 40; in the House of Representatives there are about 80 members, four of whom are Maoris. The style and designation of the "Colony of New Zealand" was changed in 1907 by Order in Council of His Majesty to that of "The Dominion of New Zealand." In 1906 Mr. R. J. Seddon, Premier of New Zealand for 13 consecutive years and one of her greatest statesmen, passed away. Mr. W. F. Massey, Prime Minister now for over 10 years, has rendered still more notable services. At the General Elections in December, 1922, he was again returned to power with a following of 38, Liberals and Independent Liberals winning 25 seats and Labour 17. The parties last mentioned showed substantial gains at the Government expense, but in New Zealand as elsewhere, the three-party system is proving embarrassing, and it may be that ultimately the substantial cleavage will exist as between Labour and non-Labour forces.

RESULTS OF THE WORLD WAR

Defence, both naval and military, has occupied a great deal of public attention during the period under review. A system of compulsory military training was introduced in 1909, and Lord Kitchener visited the Dominion in the following year and reported on its defence. Almost 10% of the total population of New Zealand in 1914 served in the World War, and large numbers of troops also served in South Africa in the war at the beginning of the century. The New Zealand subsidy to the cost of maintenance, etc., of the British fleet, fixed at £20,000 per annum in 1887, was increased in 1903 to £40,000 and in 1908 to £100,000. In 1909 a battle-cruiser, the "New Zealand," was presented to the Imperial Government. Legislation passed in 1913 and in 1922 provides for the establishment by voluntary enlistment of a naval force and a naval reserve. No Dominion is more insistent than New Zealand on the value of the Imperial relationship.

Pursuant to the Treaty of Versailles, a Mandate (of the "C" Class) was conferred upon His Britannic Majesty to be exercised by the Government of the Dominion in respect of western Samoa, which was captured from the Germans in 1914 by a New Zealand Expeditionary Force. The Samoa Act of 1921 settled the constitution and legal system of the Territory. There is an Administrator and a Legislative Council appointed by the Governor-General. The Administrator, with the advice and consent of the Council, may make ordinances subject to disallowance by the Governor-General. The natives are permitted a large measure of self-government, and a native Parliament, constituted of chiefs, meets twice yearly to draft native ordinances for submission to the Government. The population of

Samoa is about 37,000, of which about 2,000 are European. There are about 1,600 indentured labourers (mostly Chinese); the remainder of the population consists of native Samoans. New Zealand also exercises jointly with the Imperial Government and the Government of Australia the Mandate for the small equatorial island of Nauru, so famous for its phosphate deposits.

HOME AFFAIRS

If the beginning of the century has been momentous and turbulent in matters pertaining to defence and external affairs, the domestic life of New Zealand has been characterised by a general steady prosperity. The white population, which in 1901 was only 772,719, in April, 1921, had grown to 1,218,913. Maori population is over 50,000. During the last 20 years the increase due to immigration was only about 150,000, the natural increase accounting for more than twice that number. The Immigration Restriction Act controls the admission of aliens to New Zealand; "race aliens" are required to pass an education test. One extraordinary feature of the growth of population during the period under review is that it has been almost four times as great in the North Island as in the South.

Changing views as to education resulted in a complete reorganisation of the whole educational system—primary, secondary and technical—in 1914 and 1915. The effect was to centralise the administration under a Director of Education, while the various inspectors, hitherto officers of the several Education Boards, were transferred to the central department. The thirteen "education districts" were reduced to nine, each of which is subdivided into an urban and a rural area. A Council of Education has been established to advise the Minister generally on educational matters, but it has no administrative or executive functions. All teachers are now required to take the oath of allegiance. The number of pupils receiving secondary and technical education shows a steady increase, and over 4,000 students are in attendance at University courses.

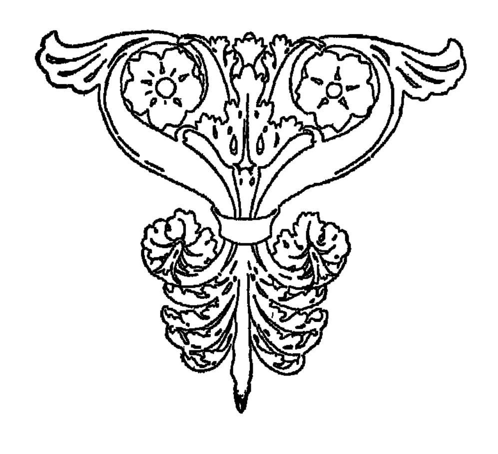
Commerce, despite inevitable fluctuations, has developed extraordinarily during the present century, both imports and exports having trebled in value since 1903. Wool, frozen meat, butter and cheese are the exports of greatest value, the average annual value of these products amounting to over £40,000,000 in recent years, as compared with £10,000,000 at the beginning of the century. Purely agricultural products are little exported. The Customs Tariff of New Zealand shows a generally protective tendency with preferences for goods of empire manufacture. Increasing population and commerce have led to a corresponding increase in oversea shipping, but locally owned vessels are fewer than formerly. Industrial activities are developing rapidly, the chief being timber-working, meat-freezing and clothing manufactures. Legislation has provided Boards of Conciliation and a Court of Arbitration to settle industrial disputes. The number of industrial employees in New Zealand increased from 58,000 in 1915 to 79,000 in 1921. Water-power for industrial operations has developed greatly. In 1903 it was less than 10,000 horse-power; it is now six times that amount.

The public debt which was £55,000,000 in 1903 has become quadrupled, largely by reason of war expenditure. Customs and income tax are the chief sources of revenue. Railways are not a substantial source of revenue, being regarded as an adjunct to settlement rather than a profitable investment for public funds. Railway construction, however, has made good progress, and train mileage has increased by over 50% since 1900. Land settlement is proceeding steadily. The greater part of the areas settled are

devoted to pastoral purposes. The areas used for agriculture have diminished somewhat in recent years, but dairying lands are in increasing request.

FUTURE PROSPECTS

Save for the one overshadowing tragedy of the war, the record of New Zealand for the twentieth century is bright and full of promise for the future. Perhaps no country in the world is so inherently free from the probability of great troubles. She is geographically remote from the great centres of population, but the war, the Peace Treaties and their aftermath have made it abundantly plain that mere geographical remoteness confers no general immunity from international complications. The people of New Zealand continue, therefore, to press on with the development of their country as heretofore, and to encourage its industrial activities; but their absorption in these proper and necessary undertakings is not likely to affect any constitution of the broad international horizon which opened to their view as a result of the war and the Peace Conferences.



CHAPTER LV

PALESTINE FREED FROM TURKISH RULE

By Albert Montefiore Hyamson, F.R.Hist.S.

Controller of Labour, Government of Palestine. Corresponding Member of the American Jewish Historical Society. Formerly joint-Editor of *Zionist Review*. Author of *Palestine: The Rebirth of an Ancient People*.

During the first thirteen years of the twentieth century the history of Palestine was practically without incident. The Turkish Revolution of 1908, most active at the centre, had its reverberations also in the outskirts of the Ottoman Empire. In Palestine as elsewhere, the principles of equality and fraternity were for the time universally expected. Neither race nor religion was considered a bar. Moslem, Jew and Christian were all equal, citizens of the newly recreated state, and all took their part in the choice of the representatives of Palestine in the newly elected Parliament at Constantinople. But in Palestine as elsewhere the first enthusiasm aroused by the Revolution died down and was followed by reaction, and when it was found that after all the new era was to be one of Ottomanisation, in which the constituent races of the empire, apart from the Turkish, were to have no opportunity for development, an anti-Turkish movement arose among the Arabs of Syria and to a less extent of Palestine, which might have progressed appreciably if the World War had not intervened. In Transjordania it reached the level of an armed outbreak which was ruthlessly suppressed.

JEWISH COLONISATION

The population of Palestine at the outbreak of the war amounted to about 750,000 souls, of whom about 100,000 were Jews, 80,000 Christians and the remainder Moslems. During the previous 35 years the numbers of the Jewish population had increased out of all proportion to the other elements. This was due to a colonisation movement that had set in about the year 1880 and had in the course of 33 years increased the Jewish population fivefold. This colonisation activity had commenced some years before the creation of the Zionist Organisation in 1897; but that organisation, under the influence of its inspired leader, Theodor Herzl, had given a great impetus to the movement for the return of the Jews to Palestine. By the year 1913 some 35 agricultural settlements had been established by the Jews in Palestine, and if it had not been for the interruption of the World War this small colonisation movement would have continued equably unnoticed on its way.

Apart from this modest and hardly noticed growth, the Zionist movement attracted little attention outside of its immediate circle. The only exception was in connection with the Jewish schools in Palestine. Concurrently with the colonisation movement the Zionist Organisation carried on a campaign for the revival of the Hebrew language in which the schools were among the most valuable instruments. These schools were mainly supported

by voluntary agencies domiciled in Europe, and at any rate, so far as those that were under German and Russian control were concerned, little if any hindrance was put in the way of the Hebrew revival. A few months before the outbreak of war, however, the society which controlled the German-Jewish schools in Palestine introduced a new policy in the encouragement of German in place of Hebrew. The Jewish population supported by the Zionist Organisation revolted against this change, and the outbreak of war saw a practical boycott of the German-Jewish schools in full force.

TURKEY ENTERS THE WORLD WAR

With the entry of Turkey into the World War in November, 1914, Palestine became involved in common with other parts of the empire. The population had already been weakened by the drain that the warfare of the previous years had made on its manhood and its means. By the new war this drain increased, and was intensified by the virtual expulsion from the Turkish dominions of a large portion of the Jewish population, which was of every nationality, and by removing from their homes others — Arabs as well as Jews — who were suspected of sympathy with the enemies of Turkey.

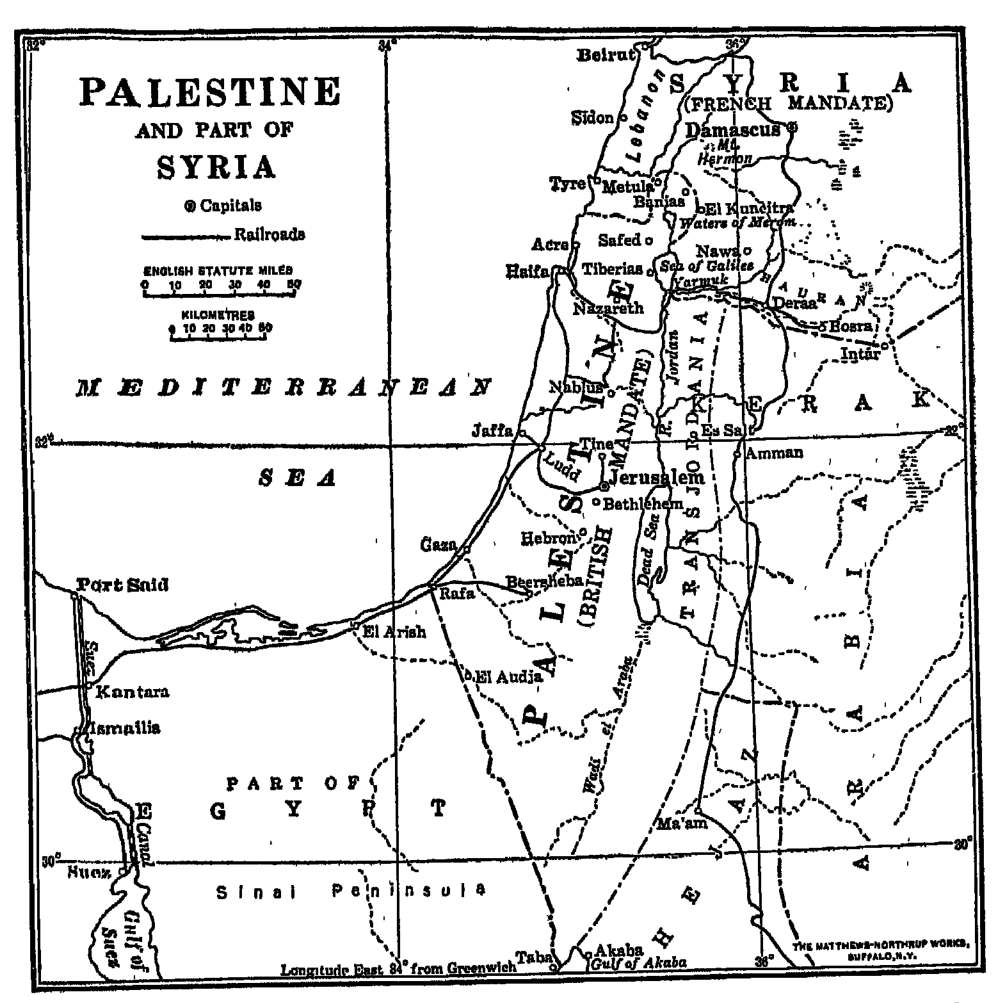
The Turks using Palestine as a base during the war made their first movement against the Suez Canal and Egypt as early as January, 1915. and although the hostile forces succeeded in reaching the Asiatic bank of the Canal, the movement was not of very great importance. Subsequent attacks also had no practical results, while on the other hand the British forces began to advance northward across the Sinai Peninsula. These crossed the frontier into Palestine in March, 1917, and made an unsuccessful attack on Gaza. A further attack on Gaza the following month also failed, and it was not until November 7 that the town was taken. A day or two previously Beersheba had fallen to the forces of Sir Edmund Allenby who had superseded Sir Archibald Murray. The Turkish armies once in retreat did not stop until they were north of Jaffa and Jerusalem, the port falling to General Allenby's armies on the 16th and the Holy City on December 9. The front remained a few miles north of a line running from Jaffa to Jerusalem and the Dead Sea until the following September.

THE FAMOUS BALFOUR DECLARATION

In the meanwhile events had been occurring in London which had a profound influence on the history of Palestine. The outbreak of war with Turkey had brought Zionism into the range of practical politics. The Zionist leaders and especially those who happened to be in England were not slow in seeing the possibilities. Negotiations were opened with the British Government with a view to the incorporation in the settlement by which the hostilities would be brought to a close, of provisions assuring to the Zionists their immediate object, and the creation for the Jewish people in Palestine of a home secured by public law.

These negotiations culminated, November, 1917, five weeks before the fall of Jerusalem, in the Balfour Declaration whereby the British Government undertook to use its best endeavours to facilitate the establishment in Palestine of a National Home for the Jewish people "while safeguarding the Civil and Religious rights of existing non-Jewish communities." The motives, as in all acts of statesmanship, were complex. Prominent among them were the sentimental and religious interests in the return of the Jews to Palestine,

which has always been present in British thought, and also a living sympathy with the sufferings of the Jews in eastern Europe and elsewhere. Another motive doubtless was the desire for the security of the Imperial communications with India and Australia which would certainly be enhanced by a trustworthy and friendly Palestine. The effect of the Declaration on the large Jewish populations of Russia and the United States, the former of which Powers was at the time hesitating whether or not to make peace with



the enemy and the latter whether or not to range herself by the side of the Allies, was also undoubtedly present. The Balfour Declaration was countersigned after brief intervals by the French and Italian Governments and by the President of the United States, and a few months later a commission of prominent Zionists under the chairmanship of Dr. Chaim Weizman, who was by now virtually the head of the Zionist Organisation, was sent to Palestine by the British Government to act as the *liaison* between the Jewish population of Palestine and the military administration.

TRIUMPH OF GENERAL ALLENBY

By the end of September, 1918, after a wonderful campaign of a week's duration, the Turks and Germans were swept out of Palestine by General Allenby's forces, assistance being rendered on the east of the Jordan by troops from the Hedjaz under the Emir Feisal, the son of the King of the newly constituted kingdom, and Col. T. E. Lawrence. A few weeks later the Turkish Government capitulated to the Allies, and while the terms of the Treaty of Peace were being considered in Paris the whole of Palestine was administered by British military authorities.

THE ZIONIST MOVEMENT

The military administration continued until July, 1920. It was marked by an increasing feeling of unrest due to the exaggerated meaning read into the Balfour Declaration by an unduly demonstrative section of the Jews in Palestine and even more so by a section of the Zionists in Europe and America, and to a corresponding alarm on the part of the politically active section of the Arabs as to the fate the British and the Jews between them had in store for the non-Jewish native-born population. The Balfour Declaration, perhaps necessarily vague at the time of its utterance, remained without any formal official interpretation for five years.

Throughout this period free play was given to Zionist extremists to read into it whatever they felt inclined to, and it is perhaps not surprising that those nationalists whose ambition had always been the creation of a Jewish state should have seized upon the pronouncement as the herald of the attainment of their goal. The impracticability, to say nothing less, of a scheme whereby a handful of farmers, shopkeepers, students, and workingmen should, even if increased by such limited immigration as the economic state of the country rendered possible, be able to secure the government of a state, seven-eighths of whose population were determinedly and ineradicably opposed to such a government, was brushed aside by those idealists. The absurd proposals for creating a majority of Jews in Palestine put forward by impractical Jewish men of letters, who fortunately had no influence in the Zionist Organisation or otherwise in Jewish politics, created more attention and alarm than the statesmanlike proposals of that party in the organisation which may be said to be inspired by the Hebrew philosopher "Achad Haam" (Asher Ginzberg), and certainly had the full sympathy of the official heads of the organisation, for the creation in Palestine not of a Jewish state or even a Jewish majority but a cultural centre for the Jewish people, a spiritual home, worthy materially as well as culturally and spiritually of the genius and history of the Jewish race. Achad Haam Zionism was, however, far less vocal than that of those of the other extreme, and every speech made in furtherance of the latter served to fan the anti-Zionist agitation that was daily gaining strength among the population of Palestine.

Behind this agitation was to some extent the wave of Arab nationalism which had been rising since the beginning of the century, encouraged also by a wrong interpretation read into a promise of Arab independence made by the British Government through Sir Henry McMahon to the Cherif of Mecca, afterwards the King of the Hedjaz, in 1915. By far the strongest incentive behind the anti-Zionist movement was, however, not resentment at what the Jews had effected but fear of what they might effect if given a free hand. Anticipation had far more terrors for the Palestinians than

realisation. The indefinite situation, due to the long delay in negotiating a treaty with Turkey which would *inter alia* record the renunciation by that Power of Palestine, also increased the uncertainty and consequent uneasiness. Affairs came to a head at Easter, 1920, when in the course of a riot in Jerusalem a number of Jews were killed and injured. The riot was suppressed and punishment meted out to those of the offenders who were convicted. This riot had, however, other consequences. It led almost direct to the substitution of a civil for a military Government, and on July 1 of the same year, Sir Herbert Samuel, an ex-Cabinet Minister and at the same time a moderate Zionist, entered into office as the first British High Commissioner for Palestine. One of the first acts of the new administration was to declare Hebrew, by now the vernacular of the great majority of the Jews of Palestine, an official language equally with Arabic and English.

SIR HERBERT SAMUEL, GOVERNOR-GENERAL

During the first three years of Sir Herbert Samuel's term of office, his administration was much hampered by the continued delay in the grant of the mandate to Britain for the government of Palestine, a step which had been agreed to by the Allied Powers early in 1920 and which had subsequently been formally approved by the League of Nations. The mandate was not finally granted until September, 1923, after the ratification by Turkey of the Treaty of Lausanne. In the meanwhile, the difficulty in reconciling the non-Jewish population to the Constitution, which had been promulgated in order that the country might be governed in accordance with the terms of the mandate, continued. This difficulty took the form in May, 1921, of anti-Jewish outbreaks, in the course of which a number of Jews were killed and injured and much property looted and destroyed. More constitutionally the movement took a non-coöperative form; representative Arabs refused to discuss the draft constitution on which their opinion was asked; a majority of the non-Jewish voters declined to participate in the elections whereby a Legislative Council was to have been brought into being; and selected representative Arabs refused to accept membership of the nominated Advisory Council which on the abandonment of the project for a Legislative Council it was intended to revive, or to take any part in a proposed Arab Agency which, as a counterpart of the Jewish Agency provided for under the mandate, would have represented the views of the non-Jewish part of the population to the Government. One good effect, which all this agitation undoubtedly had, was the clear definition made by the British Government in June, 1922, of what their policy with regard to the Jewish National Home really was: " It is not the imposition of a Jewish nationality upon the inhabitants of Palestine as a whole, but the further development of the existing Jewish community with the assistance of Jews in other parts of the world, in order that it may become a centre in which the Jewish people as a whole may take, on grounds of religion and race, an interest and a pride."

There was no intention whatever of creating a "wholly Jewish Palestine" or, quoting a phrase that had become current in extreme Zionist circles, to make Palestine " as Jewish as England is English."

IMPROVEMENTS EFFECTED

During the period of military occupation the administration of the country was much hampered by the limitations imposed by its temporary character. Apart from the preservation of order and the administration of justice, but

little could be done for the government of the country. The one principal exception was with regard to communications. These were essential to meet the needs of the military. In consequence, during the two and a half years of the military occupation, in respect of railways, roads, posts, telegraphs and telephones, Palestine advanced more than in the thousands of years of her previous history. The military administration conferred also on Jerusalem the inestimable boon of a piped water supply.

The institution of a civil administration gave greater opportunities for improvements. The excellent system of communications, which was taken over by Sir Herbert Samuel, was further developed under his direction. In addition the health and education services received much attention: the activities of the Health Department showed themselves not only in an obvious improvement in sanitation but also in an increase of the natural growth of the population. The ideal of the Education Department — at least one school in every town and village in Palestine — is rapidly approaching fruition. As for immigration, this was placed under careful control so that it should not reach such dimensions as the country would be unable to digest. The average number of immigrants per year since the institution of civil government has been about 10,000 — men, women and children, over nine-tenths of whom were Jews. To provide employment for them and otherwise to develop the country, a number of new agricultural settlements was established, and several industrial undertakings initiated almost entirely with Jewish capital and by Jewish enterprise. In the realm of finance certain vexatious taxes and monopolies were abolished, with benefit not only to the taxpayer and consumer but also to Palestinian industry as a whole. The administration of Palestine was throughout the period paid for out of local revenues. The maintenance only of the military and Air Force, including a small force of British Gendarmerie, has fallen on British funds. This charge diminished year by year during the period under review. One other step taken by the civil Administration immediately on its institution was the creation of a Department of Antiquities, with special charge over the very many buildings and other objects of archæological interest which are to be found in all parts of the country.

The region east of the Jordan had formed part of Feisal's short-lived Kingdom of Syria. With the expulsion of that monarch by the French in 1920, territory only as far south as a line running eastwards from the southern shore of Lake Tiberias was occupied by them. The remainder of Transjordania therefore lapsed into administrative chaos until, in February, 1921, Abdullah, one of the sons of the King of the Hedjaz, entered the district at the head of an armed force with the intention, it was thought, of invading Syria. However, he did not proceed further, but settled down as ruler of Transjordania under a somewhat ill-defined control by the High Commissioner for Palestine. It had originally been intended to include the region without qualification in the mandated state of Palestine; but in September, 1922, the League of Nations, at the instance of the British Government, excluded it so far as the Holy Places and Jewish clauses of the Mandate would have applied. Eight months later the government of Abdullah was formally recognised by the British as independent, although a British adviser remained at Amman. The subvention was continued, and British armed forces were still available whenever they might be required by the Emir.

CHAPTER LVI

MEDIAEVAL PERSIA IN A MODERN WORLD

By Brigadier-General Sir Percy Sykes, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.M.G.

British Consul-General in Persia. Late [illegible] South Persian Rifles. Author of *A His*[illegible] *Deserts and Oases of Central Asia; The* [illegible]

At the beginning of the twentieth century Persia, although far from being the great empire over which Cyrus and Darius had ruled, still loomed large on the stage of Asia. The Shah was an absolute ruler, who termed himself the "Pivot of the World," the "King of Kings" and the "Shadow of Allah," and he was literally the mainspring of the machinery of government.

During the latter years of Nasir-u-Din's long reign, Persia, whose Government and general state belonged to the middle ages, began slowly to awake. This was due to several causes, chief among them being the construction of the Indo-European Telegraph line, which brought the country into touch with the outside world. There was also missionary effort, mainly British and American, which, by affording striking examples of self-[illegible] and efficient hard work in the hospital and the class-room, [illegible] thousands of Persians of an impression [illegible] the upper classes. Foreign travel and the publication of [illegible] to tell, although the old Shah was hostile to both, so far as his subjects were concerned, and used to declare openly that he wished to be surrounded by courtiers who did not know whether "Brussels" was the name of a city or of a cabbage! At this period, there was some discontent at the way the Shah misspent the revenue, but there was no general feeling in favour of a change in the form of government.

A CONSTITUTION GRANTED

Upon the accession of Muzaffar-u-Din a change was gradually seen to be inevitable. The new Shah was ignorant and weak, both in character and health, and disorders began to break out. Popular discontent was increased by the creation of a national debt, the proceeds of which were devoted mainly to pay for long and costly journeys to Europe. Moreover, the Shah was entirely under the influence of a Vizier of the old school, who considered a day as lost unless he had made a large sum of money, usually by corrupt means. A movement was organised for the dismissal of the obnoxious Vizier, which took the time-honoured form of taking sanctuary in the chief mosque and closing the bazaars. The Vizier induced the *Imam Juma*, who is a Government official, to expel the agitators from the mosque, but they merely proceeded to a famous shrine, where their numbers and importance increased to such an extent that the Shah was obliged to yield. He dismissed the Vizier and promised various reforms, including a court of justice. However, upon the restoration of the normal life of the capital, the trouble was believed to [illegible] were taken to fulfil the royal promises, with the result

that thousands of people took sanctuary at the British Legation. Again the Shah was forced to yield and, on his death-bed, signed the grant of a Constitution for which the country was not ready.

PERSIA A BUFFER BETWEEN INDIA AND RUSSIA

The policy of Great Britain was and is to maintain the independence and integrity of Persia, which has served so long as a valuable buffer between the Indian Empire and the great military power of Russia. She, therefore, encouraged every scheme that was for the benefit of Persia and especially her commerce, in which the merchants of London and Bombay were alike interested. In the Persian Gulf, at considerable cost in blood and money, she crushed piracy and maintained order for the benefit of the trade of the world. Indeed, there is not the slightest doubt that if the British cruisers were to be withdrawn, piracy would immediately reappear and, as an impenitent old ruffian once remarked to me, the value of the loot would be far greater than in the old times.

The policy of the Russian Empire was different. The Ministers of the Tsar have never been able fully to control Russian officials, and their consuls in Persia were determined to annex the northern provinces of Persia. To give a single instance of their methods, in 1912 there was much unrest in north-eastern Persia in the interests of Mahommed Ali, who, after having been deposed and expelled, had, with Russian connivance, landed in Persia with a large quantity of arms and ammunition. The ex-Shah was among the Turkomans in the vicinity of Astrabad, and the Russian Consul-General at Meshed, who was in communication with him, sent an *agent provocateur* into the shrine, where he harangued the thousands of pilgrims who visited the tomb of the eighth *Imam*. This action naturally produced much excitement, whereupon the Russian representative demanded a Russian force to protect his subjects from the tumult he had himself organised. I was British Consul-General at the time and, realising the seriousness of the situation, warned the leading inhabitants to give no excuse to the Russian general to use his artillery. But the Russians were unwilling to allow that there was no real trouble and bombarded the golden-domed shrine and the beautiful mosque to eject rioters whom the Russian representative had himself placed there, and whom he conveyed safely away under cover of darkness! The old *régime* in Russia had much to answer for, but no crime deserves more severe condemnation than this wholly unjustifiable attack on the sacred city of a friendly neighbour.

RESULTS OF THE RUSSO-JAPANESE WAR

The defeat of Russia by Japan had far-reaching consequences. It certainly aroused the East to the fact that the Western Powers were not invincible. It also made Russia disposed to effect a settlement with Great Britain in Asia. In 1907, an Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed, which represented a comprehensive and final effort to remove all sources of friction between the two Powers in Asia. In the case of Persia, zones of commercial influence were defined, that of Russia including northern and central Persia, while Great Britain contented herself with a small and mainly desert area on the frontiers of the Indian Empire. This Agreement was naturally disliked in Persia, whose policy had been to maintain her position by playing off the representatives of the rival Powers against one another, and she was naturally aghast at seeing them working together. She believed that the delimitation of zones portended partition, and that her old friend, Gre t

Britain, had not only deserted her, but wished to divide the spoils with her former rival.

The Agreement secured its chief object of preventing Russia and Great Britain from fighting for the lordship of Asia, but Persia's old feelings of friendship for Great Britain were changed into an attitude of suspicion.

During the seven years that elapsed between the signing of the Anglo-Persian Agreement and the outbreak of the World War, Russian officials worked hard to annex the northern provinces. They went so far as to order Russian subjects and the hundreds of Persian subjects, to whom they had granted protection at a price, to pay their revenue to them and not to the Persian authorities. They also compelled Persian landowners to sell them land at a nominal rate and imported Russian colonists to settle on it. Throughout, the position of Great Britain was one of considerable difficulty. She repeatedly complained to the Russian Government of the illegal action of its officials, but with small results, and she certainly failed to satisfy public opinion in Persia, where it was thought, and not without some reason, that the interests of the country were being sacrificed on the altar of the Anglo-Russian *Entente*.

THE SHUSTER EPISODE

The financial difficulties of Persia are chronic. The country has been exploited for centuries by the Shahs and grandees, and is now utterly poverty-stricken. During the last generation loans have been made, the proceeds of which have, seldom or never, been applied to remunerative purposes. The Shah has generally taken the lion's share to spend on his pleasures, while the Ministers have scrambled for the balance, much of which has been spent in providing them with parks and palaces. In 1911, it was decided to appeal to America for a body of financial experts, mainly in the hope that a new country could be tapped for a fat loan. Mr. Morgan Shuster was appointed and, after a cursory examination of the position, realised that it was hopeless, unless he were invested with dictatorial powers. These were conferred upon him by the Parliament and he set to work with much energy on his task of cleansing the Augean stable of corruption. Unfortunately Mr. Shuster lacked knowledge of the East, and he had no idea of the extremely difficult and delicate position he occupied with respect to Russia, in spite of the efforts made by his own countrymen to enlighten him.

Russia soon determined to oust Shuster. The Persian Government, acting on his advice, confiscated the property of a rebel prince and Shuster sent his gendarmes to take possession of his palace. The Russian Consul-General, under the flimsy pretence that the prince owed money to Russian subjects, despatched a body of Russian Cossacks who arrested Shuster's men. The American official, instead of protesting against this unwarrantable proceeding, sent a large body of his men, who expelled the guard left by the Russian representative. This act gave Russia her chance. She issued an ultimatum and, although Persians shouted "Independence or Death" for a day or two, they were obliged to submit and Shuster was dismissed. As I wrote in my history, "Russia would never have allowed him to succeed, and he was justified in terming his *apologia* 'The Strangling of Persia.'"

REPERCUSSIONS OF THE WORLD WAR IN PERSIA

The outbreak of the World War found Persia impotent to play any part. She declared her neutrality and, like other neutral powers, was out to "spot the winner." Germany had laid her plans long beforehand and had decided,

as did Napoleon a century earlier, to strike the British a knockout blow by the conquest of India.

In northern Persia, Russia was able to hold her own, and the efforts of the German and Austrian Ministers to persuade the young and inexperienced Shah to quit Teheran with them, failed, but only just failed, and Russian troops soon dispersed the body of irregular Persians, commanded by escaped prisoners of war, that fought under the enemy flags. It is not sufficiently realised that the British campaigns in Iraq were mainly undertaken to prevent Germany from sending a Turkish army across Persia to the Indian frontier. It is considered by those who are best qualified to judge that if a brigade of Turkish troops had reached Herat, a wave of Moslem feeling would have forced the Amir of Afghanistan to abandon his neutrality and join his fellow-Moslems in an invasion of India, at a time when almost all her trained troops were fighting in distant fields.

In 1915, Germany commenced operations in Persia by the despatch of missions under officers, some of whom had previously travelled in the country. Furnished with plenty of money and munitions, they enlisted tribesmen and brigands, and, with this force, they entered Persia, mainly from Bagdad, murdered the consuls of the *Entente* Powers and drove out the little colonies of telegraph and bank officials; they took possession of the British telegraph offices and seized the treasuries of the Imperial Bank of Persia. Their agents gave out that the German people had been converted to Islam and that the Kaiser had made the pilgrimage to Mecca and was now termed "*Hadji* Wilhelm." So strong were these German missions that, by the end of 1915, they had driven all British and Russian subjects out of central and southern Persia. They won over the Swedish officers of the Persian gendarmerie to their side, and then the entire force, so that they dominated Kerman, Yezd and Shiraz, in none of which cities had the Persian officials made the slightest attempt to protect the subjects of the *Entente* Powers.

In 1916, the capture of Kut el Amara by the Turks struck the British a very heavy blow. Its fall, moreover, released a large body of Turkish troops for the attempt to reach Afghanistan across Persia. The Russians, on their side, who had driven the first body of Turkish troops before them, could not now withstand the superior force of the Turks, who were especially strong in artillery. They delayed the enemy as far as possible, but were driven out of Hamadan and finally took up a position covering their advanced base at Kazvin, which threatened a force advancing on Teheran. It was rumoured that the Germans ordered an advance on the capital, but the Russian losses were made good, while such large reinforcements reached the British in Iraq, that all pointed to much military activity in the autumn.

BRITISH SUCCESSES

The British Government was deeply concerned at the unsatisfactory position of affairs in south Persia and, in the spring of 1916, under agreement with the Persian Government, I was entrusted with the task of raising a Persian force with which to restore order. I began recruiting for the South Persia Rifles, as it was termed, at Bandar Abbas, the port for Kerman, at which latter city I had founded the British consulate. Before long I received letters and deputations from every part of the province, begging me to come to Kerman and drive out the Germans, who were robbing and ill-treating all classes. A small force of 600 Indian troops was placed at my disposal and, marching inland, we were hailed as deliverers from German tyranny. The enemy missions fled westwards towards Shiraz, where I was able to arrange



WHERE THE CANE RULES

The customs of the Middle Ages persist in Persia where public flogging is *still administered to offenders against law and violators of the marriage bond.* A snapshot taken in *Teheran, the capital.*

for them to be seized by a friendly chief and to be handed over to me in the autumn. At Kerman we received an ovation, and order was restored owing to the flight of the disturbing elements, to the intense satisfaction of all classes. The consulates, the telegraph office and the bank were all re-opened, and recruiting for a Kerman brigade of the South Persia Rifles was started under the most favourable auspices.

From Kerman we marched to Yezd, where the British colony had recently returned. We were about to continue the march to Shiraz when news was received that a Turkish column was marching from Hamadan on Isfahan, which was weakly held by 600 Russian Cossacks. In answer to an appeal from the Russian Commandant and the British Consul-General, we made a forced march to Isfahan, where, again, we were welcomed as deliverers, more especially by the Armenian population that would have been massacred had the Turks taken the city. Actually the enemy column halted at a village some 80 miles to the north-west and then retired. We remained at Isfahan, until it was evident that the Turks would not advance. We then moved off southwards and reached Shiraz in November, thereby completing a march of 1,000 miles across the heart of Persia.

A DESPERATE SITUATION

The capture of Bagdad, in March, 1917, reacted favourably on the position in Persia. The Turks were obliged to retire from Hamadan and Kermanshah pursued by the Russians, and were in some danger of being cut off by the British advance, but they evacuated Persia just in time, and joined the retreating Turkish army. Unfortunately, in the very month that witnessed the capture of Bagdad, Russian discipline was cut at its roots by an order which laid down that officers need no longer be saluted. The Russian army that had prevented a German advance across northern Persia or the Caucasus, began to disperse and, in the autumn of 1917-1918, the soldiers left the trenches and started off home in utter confusion

The collapse of Russia constituted a serious blow to the Indian Empire. The capture of Bagdad had closed that avenue of advance, but now a northern route was open *via* Batum, Baku, the Caspian Sea and the Central Asian railway to Turkestan and Northern Afghanistan. In view of the fact that there were more than 100,000 prisoners of war, both Germans and Austrians, in Turkestan, the peril was very grave. Baku, the great oil centre and the chief port on the Caspian, was the first objective of the Germans. Had it been taken in the spring or summer of 1918, German staff and equipment could have been despatched to Turkestan and at least two divisions of veterans equipped for an advance on India *via* Kabul. It is almost certain that, owing to the Turks being the allies of Germany, a wave of fanaticism would have swept the Afghans and the turbulent tribesmen on the north-west frontier, into joining a call to the sack of Delhi.

The situation was desperate, and desperate measures were taken to counter it. A British Military Mission was organised under General Dunsterville to proceed to the Caucasus across north-west Persia and organise resistance to the enemy. A glance at the map will show the audacity of the scheme, in view of the fact that the distance from Bagdad to Enzeli, the port on the Caspian Sea, was 700 miles, with a route along which motor-transport could only pass with extreme difficulty. Persia, too, was suffering from a severe famine at this period and, finally, the Germans had organised a rebellion against the Persian Government in the neighbourhood of Enzeli, and supported it with officers, money and munitions. In spite of these diffi-

culties, Dunsterville reached Baku, which was already invested by the Turks. With only 1,200 infantry, and some lukewarm Armenian support, he denied Baku to the enemy for a period of six weeks at a most critical period of the war. When it was finally captured, Turkey was already staggering under her defeats in Palestine and Iraq and was no longer in a position to carry out the orders of her German masters. An attempt at an advance in northern Persia indeed succeeded in sweeping aside the weak British detachments thrown out by Dunsterville, but here again it was too late for a serious advance.

The German successes in western Europe in the spring of 1918 were considered by the Persian Government to portend final victory and, as a result, the officers and men of the South Persia Rifles were incited to desert and to mutiny. Moreover, the efforts that had been made under my orders to stamp out highway robbery had naturally aroused the deep resentment of the fighting tribesmen, who were also constantly being excited by German agents and influential Persian Ministers. This movement came to a head in May, 1918, when the British force at Shiraz was attacked by a confederacy of tribesmen under the leadership of the Chief of the Kashgais, who could keep some 5,000 of his own men in the field. For six weeks there was almost constant fighting and our position was critical as, not only had we to meet the enemy in the field, but the South Persia Rifles required careful watching, and Shiraz itself was hostile. At last, the confederacy began to show signs of internal disunion, owing to the very heavy losses that had been suffered in men and horses, whereas an easy victory and plenty of loot had been promised by the leaders. The column sallied out and made a third attack on the enemy which ended in a decisive defeat. Had there been a disaster, it is probable that there would have been a rising in the Punjab, which was seething with sedition. As it was, this did not take place until the following year when the World War had been won.

There is a delightful French proverb, *voler au secours de la victoire* (*i.e.*, flying to the assistance of the victors when the fight is won). Persia proved to be a typical example of it, for she hastened to congratulate the victors and to magnify her services and sufferings. She then laid claim to huge tracts both of Turkish and Russian territory, which she could never have administered efficiently, had her claims been allowed, which they were not.

Great Britain, realising that, without help, Persia would become a derelict state, opened up negotiations to reform her finances and also provide her with a homogeneous army, in which the South Persia Rifles and the Cossack Division would be merged. Unfortunately these negotiations occupied nine months and allowed the forces of private interest and fanaticism to be organised. A cry was raised that the British were destroying the independence of Persia, and the Parliament, when it was assembled to ratify the Agreement, denounced it in no measured terms. The Persians, having thus turned their backs on the British, opened up negotiations with the Bolshevists, who had invaded the country and had been repulsed by the British, who were acting as the defenders of Persia. For a short time their relations were friendly, the Bolshevists surrendering various Russian concessions in Persia; but, even at the end of 1923 they had not given back the Persian port of Enzeli, which they have held for two or three years.

In their search for financial help, the Persian Government finally decided to have recourse, once again, to America, and a Financial Mission under Dr. Millspaugh has now been some time in the country. The position is very difficult, for all power is in the hands of the War Minister who, in order to maintain his position, insists on taking almost the whole of the revenue and, at present, money is being borrowed from the British to prevent

a total collapse. All friends of Persia wish Dr. Millspaugh every success in his strenuous efforts.

THE OUTLOOK FOR THE FUTURE

In my opinion, until there is a change in Persian character and, until the ideas and customs of the middle ages are left behind, there is little hope and, at the time of writing, there is an excellent example of her mentality for all the world to note. As already mentioned, the *mujtahids* live in Iraq and practically control the cities of Najaf and Kerbela. During the recent changes that have culminated in handing over the government of the country to King Feisal, it became necessary to hold elections. These innovations were vigorously opposed by the *mujtahids*, one of whom issued a decree that anyone who voted was thereby excommunicated and also divorced from his wife! The Iraq authorities, very rightly, expelled this saintly firebrand, but his fellow-saints took up his case and followed him to Persia. It might have been thought that this meddling in the internal affairs of a foreign country would not have been supported in Persia. On the contrary, the whole country became convulsed and anti-British demonstrations were organised in every town.

In conclusion, the only hope for Persia, indeed the only means of gradually bringing her into line with the twentieth century, is a radical improvement in her communications. The British during the war improved some of the routes and made them fit for wheeled transport in many areas. But this is not enough, and it is my considered opinion that historical Persia is likely to remain weak and unhappy until she is benefited by the construction of railway lines and the civilising influences that accompany them. In view of the poverty and barren nature of the country, I do not think that a railway could pay dividends to an investor, but it may be possible to utilise the oil resources of Persia, her most valuable asset, as a guarantee for this most desirable improvement.

CHAPTER LVII

INDIA'S ARDUOUS JOURNEY

By Sir Thomas W. Holderness, G.C.B., K.C.S.I.

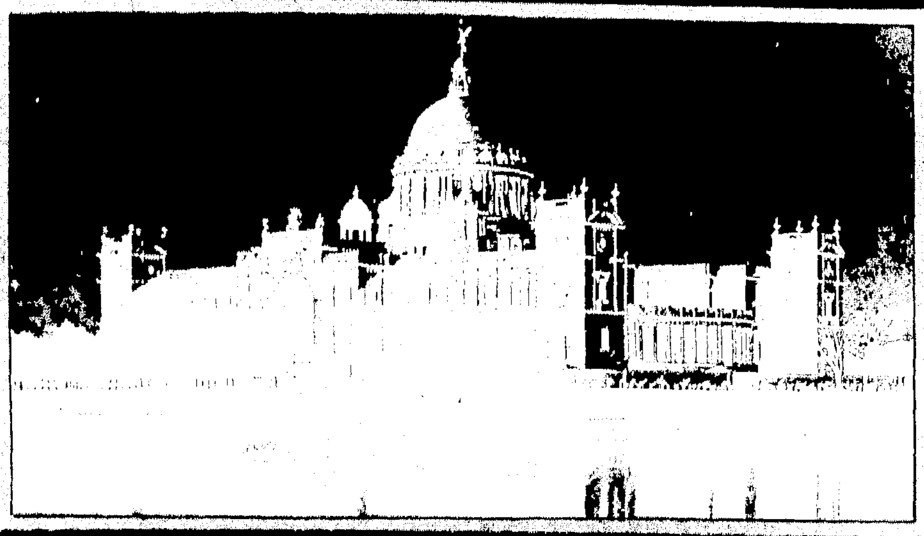
Late Permanent Under-Secretary for India. Author of *Peoples and Problems of India; Narrative of the Indian Famine.* Editor of the Fourth Edition of Strachey's *India.*

In November, 1908, on the eve of a memorable advance in the Constitutional system of India, King Edward pu[illegible] Proclamation, addressed to the princes and peoples of India. In eloquent and stately language, he surveyed the progress of their country during the fifty years it had been governed directly by the Crown, and he used the following words, which may here be fitly quoted: "The journey was arduous and the advance may have sometimes seemed slow; but [illegible] strangely diversified communities, and of some [illegible] human race, under British guidance and contro[illegible] and without pause. We survey our labours with clear gaze and good conscience." Progress indeed has been continuous. But to the least observant eye the current must appear to have quickened greatly since the present century opened. The preceding half-century was a period of calm. It was employed to deepen and strengthen the foundations of British rule and to build up an administrative system adapted to the existing needs and circumstances of the diverse races and creeds that had been brought, through a long series of events, within the shelter and protection of the Paramount Power. The paramountcy to-day still stands above the water floods. But it has admitted a nascent democracy to share its responsibilities and accepted it provisionally as lawful heir to its sovereign rights as and when it relinquishes them. How this momentous change has come about and what it implies is the main theme of the present survey.

LORD CURZON'S VICEROYALTY

The epoch begins with the notable viceroyalty of Lord Curzon (1899–1905) and closes with the dissolution, at the close of the statutory period of three years, of the representative assemblies called into existence under the Constitution of 1919 and the holding of fresh elections. It falls into three fairly well-marked divisions: the pre-reform years; the Morley-Minto reforms and their working; the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution.

The pre-war period embraces the six years of Lord Curzon's rule and part of that of his successor, Lord Minto. Lord Curzon's work in India has been overshadowed by the course of subsequent events, but within limits and principles which he regarded as fundamental, its quality and value were great. The task which lay before him, as he conceived it, was to speed up the administrative machine and make it more efficient. He had travelled extensively in the East, and sympathised with its faiths, its art and its historical past. He believed in the greatness of Britain's mission in India, in the good that it had done, and in the greater good it might do if continued







THE PRINCE OF WALES IN INDIA

Top: The magnificent All India Victoria Memorial in Calcutta, opened by the Prince of Wales in 1921. Centre: The Prince hunting big game in the jungles of Nepaul in 1921. Below: The arrival of the Prince at the Victoria Memorial for the opening ceremony in 1921.

on existing lines. He saw in the Indian peoples a capacity for infinitely greater progress under British direction and control, but he put aside as premature all experiments in popular institutions or responsible government. He threw his splendid energies and capacity for work into administrative reform. At the end of five years he returned to England to rest and recuperate, with the knowledge that a grateful Ministry would, if he agreed, re-appoint him Viceroy. He received a magnificent welcome at the Guildhall, where in an eloquent speech he unfolded his conception of England's mission in India and described the work of reform and reconstruction on which he had been engaged. It had for its end the greater happiness of the people and its key-note was "efficiency." The place of the Viceroy in this scheme of things he put very high. "He is the responsible head of what is by far the most perfected and considerable of highly organised governments in the world." And again, "The man who holds the office with devotion can for a few years exercise a greater influence upon the destinies of a larger number of his fellow creatures than any head of any administration in the universe." As for himself, he claimed with just pride that "the Indian peasant, the patient, humble, silent millions . . . have been in the background of every policy for which I have been responsible."

Never had the merits of the existing system been stated with greater force and sincerity. Never had autocratic rule in India seemed more securely anchored in the firm holding-ground of efficiency and beneficence. Yet Lord Curzon's viceroyalty was the end of an epoch. The machine which he had taken to pieces and set up anew with infinite toil and ingenuity was destined within a few years to be condemned as antiquated and added to the scrap-heap of discarded institutions. No words of warning flashed on the walls of the Guildhall. But it needed not a seer to discern coming trouble in one sentence of this memorable oration. "I have not offered political concessions to the educated classes because I do not regard it as wisdom or statesmanship in the interests of India to do so." The ambitions of these classes furthered by a conjunction of unforeseen events have in the end prevailed.

THE PARTITION OF BENGAL

Lord Curzon returned to India at the close of 1904. Within a year his second term of office had a tragic ending. On an important question of army organisation involving the position of the commander-in-chief, he differed from Lord Kitchener, and finding after a lengthy correspondence that he had not the support of the home authorities, he resigned (November, 1905). He left behind him uncompleted projects of reform and a rising tide of discontent among the classes whose political aspirations he had refused to favour. They resented the Universities Act and the "partition" of Bengal, seeing in them evidence of a design to strengthen the power of the State. The last-named measure soon became a rallying point for the intelligentsia of Bengal, and gave heat and vigour to Indian nationalism.

There was a good case for the "partition" as an administrative measure. The undivided presidency of Bengal, having an area of 160,000 square miles and a population of 80,000,000, was manifestly too large to be governed efficiently from Calcutta, and Lord Curzon shortly before his resignation had obtained the sanction of the home authorities to forming the eastern districts into a separate province under the name of Eastern Bengal and Assam. The professional and wealthy classes in Bengal took alarm. They saw their interests injured by the separation of important districts from metropolitan Calcutta. They suspected an attempt to diminish the political weight of

Bengal opinion by cutting Bengali lands in two. Again the population of the eastern districts was largely Mahommedan. Hindu traders, landowners and lawyers feared that in the new province they would lose the predominance which they enjoyed in the undivided presidency. Had Lord Curzon remained in office these objections might have given way to judicious handling. But his defeat in the Kitchener controversy and the accession of the Liberal party to power gave fortuitous strength to the agitation.

The Bengalis, though a people of mixed descent, are united by a common language and a prolific literature. Wounded, as they thought themselves, in prestige and pocket by the partition, they denounced it as a gigantic crime against Bengali nationality and the "motherland" of Bengal. These were rhetorical phrases, but they did their work among an excitable people. Racial passions were aroused. British rule and British rulers became objects of scorn and hate, and Bengali nationality a cult. The "motherland" was symbolically invoked in the person of Kali, the wife of Siva, a fierce tutelary goddess, delighting in death and destruction. The movement thus consecrated by religion and superstition swept through schools and colleges, and callow youths became the ready dupes of extremists inspired by an intense hatred of British rule and all it implied. Fanatics of this type, the product of a bad educational system and great economic pressure, were active in Bengal. They familiarised themselves with the doctrines and practices of terrorism abroad. They placed the revolver and the bomb in the hands of impressionable youths, sworn to achieve the salvation of the motherland. A network of secret societies soon spread over the two Bengals. In the course of ten years many faithful servants of the State, of whom the great majority were Indians, and not a few private citizens whose only fault was that of loyalty, were brutally murdered. The societies grew in strength and daring, as they discovered that criminals went unscathed among a timid and inert population, and that a good living could be made by raiding and pillaging defenceless households. For a time they successfully defied the forces of law and order. The police were intimidated, witnesses were made away with or suborned, and magistrates found themselves powerless to convict.

In 1911 the agitation lost its primal motive. Occasion was taken of King George's visit to India to modify the partition in a way that met Bengali sentiment. Eastern Bengal was re-united to the Bengal presidency, and the outlying districts of Behar were removed from Bengal proper and together with Orissa formed into a new province. But fanaticism dies hard when it feeds on religious and racial hate. The revolutionaries of Bengal linked themselves with extremists in other provinces. The Viceroy, Lord Hardinge, narrowly escaped assassination in 1912 when making a state entry into Delhi. Political murders in the most distant parts of India were often traced to a Bengali origin. During the war Bengali revolutionaries made futile plots for German descents upon India. But as time went on the leading spirits were removed from the scene and the game became too perilous to play. When the Montagu-Chelmsford scheme took shape, Bengal had regained its normal sanity and calm.

THE EARL OF MINTO'S VICEROYALTY

But this is anticipating events. When the Earl of Minto (1905–1910) succeeded Lord Curzon as Viceroy the anti-partition movement was just entering on its first stage. Lord Minto's first instinct was to slow down the pace of administrative reform. But he soon saw that this was not enough. With the advent of the Liberal party to power in England, he acquired a

political mentor in the person of the late Lord Morley of Blackburn, who as Mr. John Morley became Secretary of State for India. The second volume of Lord Morley's *Recollections* read with his *Indian Speeches* shows how he viewed the problem and indoctrinated his colleague with his views. As might be expected, he approached it with the conviction that the system required to be liberalised. In the interchange of views his was clearly the dominant mind, though Lord Minto loyally coöperated in a policy which, if he did not originate, he genuinely approved.

The situation was broadly as follows. In Bengal and Bombay there was a "physical force" party and a revolutionary Press, amenable only to the sanctions of the law. Unrest of another kind, which deserved sympathy as being essentially the product of influences and aspirations created by British rule, affected the educated classes as a whole. They had grown in wealth and influence and were united and self-conscious as they had never been before. Though they represented but a minute fraction of the total Indian population, they alone were vocal, they alone had control of the Press and platform. Among the politicians there were not a few doctrinaires and others who earned from Lord Morley the title of "impatient idealists." But men of real capacity and knowledge were not wanting, among whom the late Mr. G. K. Gokhale claims prominent notice. He consecrated his great gifts to the cause of Indian nationalism, but with singular sobriety of judgment he recognised that political independence could come only by degrees. Until his lamented death in 1915, he was the undisputed leader of the Moderates in the National Congress, the most important and influential political body in the country, though it laboured under the defect of being essentially a Hindu association. The Mahommedans held aloof from it and viewed it with suspicion, fearing that its aspirations were inimical to their community. As a minority of 60 millions in a total population of 300 millions and educationally more backward than the Hindus, they felt their political future bound up with the maintenance of British supremacy. At a later date the more advanced politicians of both camps drew together, and agreed with mental reservations on a common programme of political action. But in Lord Minto's day the pace was set by the Hindus, while the Mahommedans remained in their tents and pondered.

THE MORLEY-MINTO REFORMS

Lord Minto and Lord Morley sought to win the Moderates by a programme of moderate reforms. The Executive Council, or Cabinet, of the Viceroy, the executive councils of governors of provinces, and the Secretary of State's Council at Whitehall, were opened to Indians, who now for the first time had part in the most responsible organs of Government. More important changes were made in the structure and functions of the legislative councils. Hitherto these had been small bodies of officials and of other persons nominated by the Government as representing important interests in the community. Their primary and essential function was to legislate, and an official majority made it easy for the administration to pass such laws as it might require. Members had very limited powers of asking questions on matters of public interest and of discussion. Such debate as there was, was for the most part perfunctory and formal. The councils, in short, were little more than a channel by which public opinion could reach the executive, and even that they indifferently performed. The reform scheme enlarged the councils and introduced the elective element. The numbers of members were more than doubled, and a substantial proportion was elected by constituencies or electoral colleges, so de-

vised as to give a fair representation of the different classes and interests of the country. In the Viceroy's Council an official majority was retained in view of its importance, but in the provincial councils this was not thought necessary or desirable. The enlarged councils were empowered to ask questions with little restriction, to discuss and move resolutions on the Budget, to raise questions of order, and to debate and divide on matters of general public interest. But they remained advisory bodies with no direct control over the Government. They could not stop supplies of money or turn out the administration on a question of policy. They could criticise, advise and influence, and this they did with increasing effectiveness. In their law-making capacity they had also extensive powers, especially in the provinces where the local governments had not official majorities at their disposal.

The reforms were long on the anvil. In 1909 Parliament passed the necessary legislation, but another year elapsed before the enlarged councils came into being. In the interval the anti-partition agitation ran its course in Bengal and received a stimulus from Lord Morley's unlooked-for decision to accept the "settled fact" and uphold the partition. In Bombay Bal Gangadhar Tilak, a Chitpavan Brahman who voiced the traditionary hostility of his sect to British supremacy, preached *Swarâj* (home-rule) in intemperate and envenomed language in the Indian press and extolled tyrannicide as the ultimate weapon of the oppressed. Misguided zealots were not wanting to convert the doctrine into practice. The assassination of a prominent official of the India Office in a crowded assembly in London and of a much-respected district magistrate at Nasik in the Bombay presidency was the climax of a long series of political murders. It needed courage and tenacity on the part of Lord Morley and Lord Minto to persevere with their policy of reconciliation and concession amid the formidable difficulties confronting the Indian Government and their inevitable reaction on political opinion in England.

Slight though the Morley-Minto reforms may now seem, they constituted, in the words of the Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms, "a real and important advance." Though they did not satisfy "impatient idealists," they were well received by the National Congress and by the great majority of Indian politicians. Mr. Gokhale spoke of their "generous and fair nature." They were not intended by their authors to be the prelude to parliamentary government, a basis for which did not, in Lord Morley's opinion, then exist in India. The letter of the statute accordingly left the authority of the holders of executive power unimpaired. They remained responsible to the British Parliament. None the less, a subtle change came over the spirit of the administration alike in the central government and in the provinces. It was less assured of its own authority. It felt the presence of new forces in the political system. There was a genuine disposition to give these free play and to turn them to the best account.

LORD HARDINGE'S VICEROYALTY

It fell to Lord Minto's successor, Lord Hardinge of Penshurst, to give right direction to the new polity (1910–1916). The personality of a viceroy counts for much in India. Lord Hardinge achieved remarkable popularity. He won the confidence and affection of the ruling princes, and this stood him in good stead when the World War broke over an astonished world. In championing even to the point of a diplomatic indiscretion the cause of domiciled Indians in the Transvaal against the Government of South Africa, in persuading the home Government to modify the partition of Bengal, and in his liberal and sympathetic handling of the Morley-Minto Constitution,

he secured the good-will and support of the Moderates and convinced the men of more advanced views that though he might not agree with them he had the interests of India at heart.

BENEFICIAL EFFECT OF THE REFORMS

There was a marked improvement in the political atmosphere and in the material prosperity of the country. Trade was good, and the foreign demand for Indian produce was very active. Agriculture flourished by reason of abundant harvests and rising prices. In the Punjab some millions of acres had lately been brought under cultivation by the completion of magnificent irrigation works, whereby the food supply of India and the exportable surplus were augmented and an outlet provided for the population of congested districts. The wealth of the irrigation colonies became proverbial. The general prosperity of the country was reflected in the public revenues which yielded substantial surpluses in successive years, in the greater traffic of the railways, in the growth of exports and imports, in the large amount of treasure absorbed by the population and in the readiness with which Government loans were taken up. The Morley-Minto reforms thus came on the stage at a propitious moment. The first elections furnished an agreeable excitement, and the spectacle of a raja touring in his motor-car in quest of votes added a novelty to the rural landscape.

The enlarged councils entered on their work with zest and good temper. Their new powers of interrogating the Government and of moving resolutions on the finances and on other matters of public interest put them on more even terms with the administration, and made them an effective sounding-board for the serious critic and the windy politician. Their proceedings were keenly watched by the intellectual classes, and they exercised over the executive a real and growing influence. This contact with the common opinion of the country had, as Lord Morley had anticipated, a broadening and liberalising effect on the administration. Social, economic and moral problems, of which India has no lack, came under frequent and serious discussion and were pressed on the attention of the central and local governments. The latter were not slow to respond, and sought the approval of the councils to practical measures in furtherance of the objects in view. The visit of the King and Queen to India in the winter of 1911 occasioned extraordinary demonstrations of loyalty and accentuated the political peace brought about by the reforms. The choice of Delhi as the capital henceforward of India and the re-uniting of the two Bengals in modification of the much-disliked "partition" also contributed to the general good-will.

DISSATISFACTION WITH THEIR LIMITED CHARACTER

It seemed indeed reasonable to hope that the extremer forms of unrest would disappear and that the educated classes, if larger avenues to the public service were opened to them, might find the Morley-Minto Constitution a satisfactory working compromise for some time to come between the autocratic *régime* of the past and the new ideal of self-governing institutions on a democratic basis. No doubt anarchy was too deep-seated in Bengal and its off-shoots too widely spread over the rest of India for it to disappear at once with the disappearance of the "partition" grievance. In December, 1912, a year after the royal visit, Lord Hardinge narrowly escaped assassination from a bomb at Delhi, and terroristic societies claimed their victims elsewhere. But while these criminal activities succumbed in the end to the police

and the magistrates, the appetite for political novelties was not susceptible to direct restraints and followed its own laws of growth. Before long the more restless members of the National Congress grew dissatisfied with the new constitution. Influence without control, it was said, was uncertain and transitory. Motions and debates which left the Government undisturbed and unfettered, were infructuous and unreal. How could Indian patriots be satisfied with reforms which while giving them the trappings of a representative system, left them to beat the empty air with words and to knock their heads against the solid barrier of the official *bloc*? Vague discontents of this kind crystallised into demands for "provincial autonomy," "home rule," "dominion status," but for some years there was little real strength in the movement. The Moderates were strong in the councils and in the country under Mr. Gokhale's leadership. The councils were working well, and the masses were content to be left in peace to their trading and agriculture.

It was not until the World War had run half its course and had swept India into the full flood of world conflict, that the vision of a new India, self-governing, self-sufficing, a co-partner on equal terms in the British Commonwealth, took shape and appealed to deep-seated instincts of race and religion. The war altered fundamentally the values of the British connection and made political reconstruction inevitable. Had there been no war the course of Indian constitutional history might possibly have been different. But speculation on this point need not be pursued, as there is no more unprofitable topic than the "might have beens" of the past.

EFFECT OF THE WORLD WAR ON INDIA

The World War discredited many prophets, and none more signally than those who foretold that the hour of England's trial would be that of India's freedom. Events speedily showed that the Indian peoples had no wish to break the Imperial tie. The military races under the lead of the ruling princes and the territorial aristocracy responded enthusiastically to the call of the Paramount Power, and in many touching ways demonstrated their fervid loyalty and attachment to the Throne. The personal relation which Kingship embodies is of magic power still in the East. The legislative councils voiced the clear perception of the educated classes that their interests were bound up with the maintenance of British rule, and that on this depended all their hopes of national advancement. Domestic discontent and political wrangles were laid aside, and India stood solidly and whole-heartedly for the cause of the Allies.

This attitude was maintained from first to last with remarkable persistency. There were periods of lassitude and depression. Lying rumours about the might of Germany and the downfall of the British *raj* sent timid Marwari merchants in disorderly flight from the bazaars of Calcutta to the fastnesses of the Rajputana desert, and inspired wild Mahommedan peasants in the western districts to pillage and burn the homesteads of their Hindu neighbours. Bands of Sikhs returning from their new homes in California, where they had become indoctrinated with revolutionary theories, caused sporadic trouble in the Punjab. Bengali anarchists redoubled their activities, intrigued with individual malcontents in the Indian army, and concerted childish schemes of invasion with German intelligence officers. But these were isolated incidents with which a vigilant Government, armed with sharpened powers of law, successfully dealt, and which in no wise reflected the general temper of the masses. In the later stages of the war that temper was severely tried. The requirements of the Allies drained India of food and other articles of

common use, and the flow of cotton goods and other imported merchandise ceased. A rise in prices, such as occurred, subjects a poor population like that of India to great privations, and account must be taken of this in appreciating the steadfastness of the people throughout the prolonged and dubious struggle.

The entrance of Turkey into the war made the attitude of Indian Mahommedans of great moment. Before the war their sympathies had already been aroused, and their apprehensions as to the future of Islam excited by Turkish reverses in Tripoli and the Balkans. The great war found them irritated and suspicious. But when it was made clear to them by the British Government and their own leaders that the former had no animosity against their religion and no designs against the Caliphate, their behaviour as a community was highly creditable. Moslem troops with few exceptions served faithfully in Mesopotamia and Palestine against the Turk. Such exceptions as there were, were mostly confined to Mahommedans belonging to trans-border tribes on the north-west frontier, who, owing no allegiance to the Indian Government, had taken service under it.

INDIA'S CONTRIBUTION IN THE WORLD WAR

The part played by the Indian army in the world struggle and the aid given by India in other ways to the Allied cause, are matters of military history. In all, India sent some 800,000 combatants and 400,000 non-combatants overseas, furnished considerable supplies of food and war material, and incurred a debt of £150,000,000. It is a record of which Indian nationalists have reason to be proud, though it may be remarked that the Indian army was, strictly speaking, a stipendiary army, recruited on a voluntary basis from fighting classes and races which had little in common with the educated classes of the towns. The Indian army of the future may be differently constituted.

As the war dragged on the Indian Government found itself in a new political atmosphere and in face of new political problems. From its isolation as a dependency India had been brought into the councils of the empire and had borne its share of the burdens of the British Commonwealth. Indian representatives had sat in the war cabinet and in the Imperial war conference, and the Indian Government had thrown itself on the loyalty and sought the coöperation of the people in a way foreign to its old traditions. It was natural that larger views of the destiny of their country should find favour with the political classes. Membership of the Commonwealth seemed to imply equality of status and to point to self-government and independence. "Home-rule" and "dominion status" before the war had been catch-words. Now to Moderates and extreme Nationalists alike they stood for a realisable ideal, though the former recognised that the goal was distant and could be reached only by gradual stages and with the good-will and aid of the Paramount Power. The advanced party, on the other hand, brushed aside counsels of prudence and pressed for immediate realisation of *Swaráj*. The word, it may be remarked, is conveniently ambiguous, counting the various shades of home rule and political independence, within or without the British Empire. In Bombay it was advocated by Mr. Tilak, now released from prison, with his old vehemence and racial passion. In Madras, Mrs. Besant, the high-priestess of Theosophy, started a home-rule league, a home-rule paper, and a home-rule day, and undertook an active propaganda which made great way among the impressionable youth of the towns. During 1916 these two leaders captured the National Congress and made terms with the Moslem league, a reform a sc

ciation formed by advanced Mahommedans for securing political concessions consistent with the special interests of their community. At the annual meeting of the National Congress in December, 1916, Moderates and Extremists, Hindus and Mahommedans, agreed to sink their differences and present a united front to the Viceroy's Government in pressing upon it a scheme for liberalising the Morley-Minto Constitution. The scheme was neither better nor worse than other amateur essays in constitution-making. But it was important as the first constructive effort of the popular party, and as indicative of the distance that political opinion had traversed in a very short stretch of time.

The Indian Government meanwhile were not inactive. They saw that underlying this political excitement, extravagant and provocative of grave disorders as it was, there were legitimate aspirations which should be met in a generous spirit. Greater opportunities of advancement in the public service, a more effective voice in the policy of the Government, a higher status in the British Commonwealth, were desires reasonable in themselves and rendered more exigent by the circumstances of the hour. Amid the burdens and absorbing anxieties of the war, Lord Hardinge's Government took up the problem of reconstruction.

LORD CHELMSFORD'S VICEROYALTY

In the spring of 1916 Lord Chelmsford succeeded Lord Hardinge as Viceroy. In the autumn of that year he made it known that political reform was under discussion with the home authorities. Unfortunately the war interposed delays. The Nationalists vented their impatience and distrust in a fervid home-rule campaign and in misrepresenting the acts and intentions of the Government. In June, 1917, the Madras Government found it necessary to intern Mrs. Besant and prohibit her press and platform activities. Two months later the tumult was allayed by a momentous pronouncement made on behalf of the Ministry by the Secretary of State for India (Mr. E. S. Montagu) in Parliament. "The policy of His Majesty's Government," he said, "is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the realisation of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Substantial steps in this direction were to be taken as soon as possible, and he was proceeding to India to discuss matters with the Viceroy and the Government of India. He concluded with the important caution that progress in the policy could only be achieved by successive stages, and that the British Government would be the judge of the time and measure of each advance.

A REAL STEP TOWARD RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT

The Montagu-Chelmsford Report on Indian Constitutional Reforms embodied the joint enquiry made in India by the Viceroy and Mr. Montagu. It appeared in the early summer of 1918. The recommendations of the distinguished authors were made the basis of a bill which after undergoing minute scrutiny and amendment by a select committee of the two Houses received the Royal assent in December, 1919. The Montagu-Chelmsford Report is a State paper of the greatest interest and importance, and invites comparison with the famous Durham Report on the Canadian Constitution, written exactly eighty years before, whereby the foundations of responsible government were laid in British North America. The Morley-Minto Constitution had

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The Gandhi movement in India. Natives crowding the streets of Amritsar to watch a demonstration of the disciples of Gandhi.



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Gandhi, the Indian nationalist leader, the organiser of the non-coöperative movement against British rule in India.



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Sir Rabindranath Tagore, Indian poet, winner of the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1913.

made the legislatures partially representative, but had left them in the position of advisory bodies. The Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution has numerically enlarged them, has given them a genuine representative and parliamentary character, and invested them with such substantial control over the executive as to mark the first stage in a measured progress towards responsible government.

It is impossible here to do more than give a very general and imperfect sketch of the new Constitution. The legislatures are now bodies of considerable size. The great majority of the members are elected by constituencies, and the official representatives of the Government are comparatively few. In the larger provinces the size of the legislative council varies from 100 to 140 members, not more than one-fifth of whom may be official. The central legislature is bi-cameral, consisting of the legislative assembly of 140 members, of whom 26 are officials, and the council of state of 60 members, of whom 20 are officials. These bodies have their own presidents and vice-presidents and their procedure is modelled on that of Parliament.

The electoral system, as might be expected in a country where less than six per cent. of the population can read and write, is still very rudimentary. In one province, for example, with a population of 45,000,000, barely 1,000,000 possess a vote for the provincial council, and of these less than 200,000 chose to exercise it in the first General Election. There are special constituencies for land owners and for chambers of commerce and communal electorates for Mahommedans and Sikhs, for Mahrattas in Bombay and non-Brahmans in Madras. Such a system is poles apart from the democratic ideal, but the Indian peoples are neither democratic nor homogeneous. What has been aimed at and probably secured is a fair representation of classes and interests.

THE PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENTS DYARCHY

The provinces are the stage on which the first act of responsible government is being played. Yet it was not thought possible even in the provinces to place the whole administrative machine in the hands of an executive drawn from, removable by, and dependent on the will of the legislative council. The councils are without experience, and the electorate is in embryo. The device has therefore been adopted of dividing the provincial government into two halves. The governor's executive council (composed ordinarily of two civil servants) represents the official government, responsible with him to Parliament, and administers what are called "reserved subjects" or departments, such as law and order, justice, police. But along with the executive council there are "ministers" chosen from the elected members of the legislative council who administer "transferred subjects," such as education, public health, and the like.

The legislative council has effective means of determining policy in all departments of the provincial administration, as it votes supplies and legislates. But there is this important distinction that in the last resort where a "reserved" subject is concerned, the governor has power to make financial provision against the will of the chamber, and to secure essential legislation; whereas in the case of a "transferred" subject the chamber can impose its will on a "minister." Such in brief is the novel and hybrid system known as *dyarchy*. It is too early to predict its future, as in the first councils constituted under the Act, which were dissolved at the close of 1923, certain accidental circumstances, such as the predominance of the Moderates, the inexperience of the members and the absence of clear-cut political parties, have prevented it from being adequately tested. Indeed in most provinces the

tendency has been for the two halves of the administration ignoring the artificial distinction, to work as a single ministry.

THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

In the Government of India, or central government, *dyarchy* has not been installed. The government is the old executive council of the governor-general, appointed by the Crown and responsible to Parliament. There are no ministers responsible to the legislature and no "transferred" subjects. This official government has to live on terms with a legislature, in neither chamber of which can it count on the support of a majority. Its policy may be challenged by adverse resolutions, its bills may be rejected, and the supplies it requires for carrying on the administration may, with certain exceptions, be refused: for the Budget, certain expenditure heads, such as defence, political charges, the service of the debt being excepted, is voted by the legislature. Thus there are all the elements of a deadlock. To prevent this, the governor-general is armed with certain extraordinary powers. He may restore a votable item in the Budget which the legislature has refused to grant, and he may bring into operation a law which it has refused to pass. These powers were considered by Parliament to be essential for the discharge of his responsibilities, and were given with this object. But they are resented by the legislature as derogatory to and impairing its authority and for obvious reasons they must be very sparingly exercised.

Such are the main features of the Montagu-Chelmsford Constitution. It obviously is no permanent solution of the Indian problem. It presents the paradox of an unmovable executive face to face with representative bodies wielding the powers of the purse and legislation and aspiring to direct the policy and control the acts of the Government. In enacting the present constitution Parliament was alive to the fact that it was at best but a transitory arrangement, and the statute provides that in ten years' time it shall be brought under examination and revision.

REFORMS PREJUDICED BY THE ROWLATT BILL AGITATION

To resume the narrative. The *Swaráj* chiefs held their bands in check until the verdict of the Montagu-Chelmsford inquest should be known. In the spring of 1918 the reverses of the Allies on the western front recalled Indian politicians to the realities of the war. For a short time political strife was suspended, and the legislatures coöperated with ruling princes and territorial magnates in a final effort to help to win the war. Additional battalions were raised by methods bordering on conscription. The country was ransacked for food and material of war; the controlling hand of the State lay heavy on all departments of life; the ports and inland towns hummed with new industries vitalised by lucrative contracts; manufacturers and traders reaped substantial fortunes. Towards the end of the year came the Armistice and reaction. The Montagu-Chelmsford scheme disappointed the Nationalists. They assembled in Congress and rejected it. The Moderates grudgingly accepted it as a base from which further concessions might be secured.

The year 1918 closed with a revival of political trouble. Scarcity and high prices pressed heavily upon the poorer classes. They were in an irritable and restless mood, vaguely conscious that great changes were impending and increasingly mistrustful of the stability of the rule under which they lived. This smouldering discontent was fanned into a flame in the first months of 1919 by an extraordinary agitation against a law (popularly known as the

Rowlatt Act) for dealing with anarchical and revolutionary crime which Lord Chelmsford's Government introduced and eventually passed in the teeth of the impassioned opposition of the non-official members of his legislative council. For the measure itself there was much to be said, but by the nationalist press and its wire-pullers it was represented as an uncalled-for attack on the liberty of the subject and as erecting a monstrous engine of tyranny and oppression. During the space of three months a whirlwind campaign of calumny and exaggeration was carried on throughout the country, in the course of which popular excitement and apprehensions were wrought to white heat. Trading on the ignorance and discontents of the masses the traders made the occasion one for a decisive trial of strength with the Government.

GANDHI INTERVENES

In March a new and dangerous direction was given to the movement by Mr. M. K. Gandhi, a well-known social and religious reformer, in whose subtle personality were blended the philosophy of a Hindu mystic and the modern doctrines of Tolstoy, and who appealed to the imagination of his countrymen by his ascetic life and his antipathy to the materialism of the West. He raised the standard of passive resistance or "soul-force" against material might, and proclaimed a day of general mourning and cessation of business. In Delhi on March 30, a mob translated these instructions into rioting and came into collision with the police and soldiers. More serious trouble followed in the Punjab. Europeans were attacked, much property was destroyed, railway stations were burnt and telegraph wires cut. Over a large area the disorders assumed the form of concerted rebellion. For some days the city of Amritsar was in the possession of a brutal mob. The civil and military authorities acted promptly. The disturbances were everywhere sternly put down, and by the third week in April the Punjab was again tranquil.

It was high time, for the young and inexperienced Amir of Afghanistan, misled by exaggerated reports, thought to profit from the upheaval and setting his troops in motion attempted in May to force the passes into India. Heavily defeated and disillusioned he sued for peace, and obtained unexpectedly lenient terms. The leniency was politic, for the Indian Government wished to make friends with the Amir and keep him clear of Bolshevik allurements. They knew that their army was war-worn, and they had before them the difficult task of subjugating the wild predatory tribes of the border-lands between British India and Afghanistan. Their Afghan policy has borne good fruit. The Peace Treaty of 1919 was supplemented in 1921 by a more comprehensive treaty which in giving full recognition to the sovereign independence of Afghanistan, has established friendly relations between the two Governments. The pacification of the border-lands has proved arduous and costly, and only now can the end be said to be in sight.

RACIAL PASSIONS AT WHITE HEAT

The stern happenings in the Punjab left as an aftermath an excess of resentment and racial bitterness that profoundly coloured the policy and sentiments of the Nationalists. They were responsible for the catastrophe, and it was but natural that they should sympathise with the victims and seize on any point in which the Government could be shown to have erred. The Punjab Government was attacked for the severity and alleged vindictiveness with which it stamped out the disturbances. In particular, indignation centred on the "tragedy of Amritsar" where some 400 rioters had been

killed by the troops, and on the arbitrary and degrading punishments inflicted by military courts. The Rowlatt Act agitation was reënacted with a different setting. The central Government promised an impartial inquiry, but before the official committee sat, the National Congress held an inquiry of its own, and published a report which minimised the disorders and exaggerated the repressive measures of the executive. Racial passions were again at white heat, and were not allayed by the censure passed by the Indian and home Governments on General Dyer and other officers whose zeal had outrun their discretion.

THE NON-COÖPERATIVE MOVEMENT

Fuel was added to the flame when the terms of peace which the Allies proposed to exact from Turkey became known in May, 1920, and aroused the religious feelings of Indian Mahommedans. The *Khilafat* or pro-Turkish movement under the fiery guidance of the Ali brothers grew in force, and Mr. Gandhi, to the consternation of many of his Hindu followers, took it under his wing. He launched a new programme of hostility to British rule (which soon in his curious phraseology became the "satanic government") under the name of "Non-coöperation." Titles of honour were to be resigned, lawyers and litigants were to refuse to attend the courts, schoolboys were to be withdrawn from school, the new legislatures put under ban. This ukase passed through several versions in the downward course of Gandhiism, occasioned much suffering and disorder and left a permanent mark on the *morale* and sanity of Indian politics. Its immediate effect was transient. Mobs applauded, the schools were temporarily depleted, but men of substance and position declined to sacrifice themselves on the altar of a pan-Islamic propaganda. The cleavage of parties became pronounced. The National Congress passed under the control of Mr. Gandhi and his followers, and decided to hold aloof from the coming elections and so wreck the reforms, while the older leaders joined the Moderates and set up a National Liberal federation.

In this excited atmosphere the new constitution came into being. The elections were held in November, 1920. With incredible short-sightedness (of which they had since repented) the extremists refused to stand, and left the field clear for the constitutionalists. In February, 1921, the new Indian Legislature was opened by the Duke of Connaught, who after delivering the Royal Message made a personal appeal, for the love he bore to India and in "simple words that come from my heart," to members to bury the past and to join hands in working for the common good.

The appeal was well timed, for the moment was critical. The *Khilafat* agitation and the Gandhi campaign of non-coöperation were in full swing, and the temptation to play to the gallery by intemperate speech and action was great. But the Duke's kindly counsels prevailed. The elected members showed commendable restraint and sense of their responsibilities, and the session went off well. With legitimate satisfaction Lord Chelmsford, in taking leave of the Chambers after five strenuous years of office, was able to reflect that their proceedings had gone far to dispel the gloomy predictions that had attended their creation,

LORD READING'S VICEROYALTY

It had fallen to the departing Viceroy to take a leading part in the definite abandonment of the principle of autocracy. Lord Reading and his Government have had the delicate task of accommodating the administration to the sentiments and aspirations of a legislature in which the elected

members are in a majority, of instructing, advising and persuading it, and of giving effect, so far as their responsibility to Parliament permits, to its decisions.

The reformed Indian Legislature has within a very short space of time left the imprint of its spirit on the statute-book. It has swept away the Press Act and many laws of a "repressive" nature. It has removed "racial distinction" from the criminal-procedure code. Over the whole area of the finances it exercises a much greater degree of control than was contemplated. In the domain of policy its influence has been equally marked. It has secured the "Indianisation" of the army, the creation of a territorial force, and a diminished army Budget; the extension of the state railway system as against company management, and the adoption in principle of a high protective tariff for the encouragement of Indian industries. Its hand is also seen in the Viceroy's insistence with the home Government on a generous peace with Turkey and on removing the grievances of domiciled Indians in South Africa, especially in the Kenya colony. In short, every department of the administration in its day-to-day work is sensitive to the views of the legislature, whether expressed by resolution or in the form of a question.

That so far acute disagreement has been avoided, except in two instances in which the Viceroy has "certified" an important bill which the legislature had refused to pass, is due mainly to the extreme anxiety of the Government to meet the wishes of the Chambers, and secondarily to the unwillingness of not a few members to press it too hard. The position will be different in the newly elected Legislative Assembly, in which as the result of the General Election about one-half of the 105 elected members are professed adherents of the *Swaráj* parts. Their avowed intention is to wreck the present constitution. If their anticipations prove correct, the Government will be constantly outvoted and unable to carry any measures in the Legislative Assembly. Frequent use by the Viceroy of his resource powers will, they believe, raise in an acute form a demand for an immediate revision of the constitution which Parliament will not be able to ignore.

In the provinces the much discussed expedient of dyarchy has in the late councils been simplified in practice by tacit agreement of the Legislature, the "members" and the governor. The statutory distinction between the official and the popular halves of the Government has been lightly observed, the "ministers" and the executive council have presented a united front to the Chamber and have managed to keep on fairly good terms with the elected majority while pursuing a common policy. It has been explained above how this has been facilitated by special circumstances which have strengthened the hands of the executive and kept in abeyance the normal evolution of political parties in the provincial legislatures. This condition of affairs has been swept away by the signal defeat of the Moderates in the recent General Elections. The new provincial councils have, like the Imperial Legislative Assembly, a considerable element of *Swarájists* and other out-and-out nationalists. In one province this party has a clear majority in the council, and in others it is sufficiently strong to embarrass seriously the executive government. It is a declared opponent of dyarchy or dual government, and seeks to obtain such revision of the constitution as will make the provincial legislature, acting through ministers chosen by and responsible to it, supreme in all branches of the administration. Dyarchy is therefore on its trial, and the provincial governments have a difficult task before them.

GANDHI AND THE "SATANIC GOVERNMENT"

While the new councils were making good their foothold, Mr. Gandhi's adherents, in association with the National Congress organisation and the Moslem League, have pursued an unrelenting campaign against the British administration. It is impossible here to follow the vagaries of this infructuous and reactionary movement. Essentially an idealist, Mr. Gandhi has always been purblind to consequences and sublimely indifferent to means, if only the "satanic Government" could be brought on its knees. From passive resistance to "defensive" and then to "aggressive" non-coöperation, from the latter to "mass civil disobedience" enforced by "national volunteers," he proceeded along the downward path of anarchy. His fame as a holy man attracted the superstitious, his promises of *swaráj* appealed to a vague sense of nationality, not unmixed with baser predatory instincts. Congress emissaries promoted strikes and fomented agrarian risings. In many places the position of British officers became almost intolerable. These disorders so discreditable to the country and so damaging to the prestige of the administration culminated in the winter months of 1921 when the Prince of Wales visited India. Gandhiism by now had lost any national or ethical significance it might have once possessed. The sophisticated lawyers, journalists and politicians who exploited Mr. Gandhi's popularity with the masses, did not share his visions of a simpler and happier civilisation to be brought about by the cult of the spinning-wheel and the wearing of homespuns. The ricketty fabric of Hindu-Moslem unity gave way before the vaunts of fervid pan-Islamic orators and the crude realities of the short-lived *Khilafat* kingship which Moplah rebels had set up in Malabar. The secular animosities of the two communities revived, and the prosaic rôle of keeping the peace between them once more devolved on much abused British magistrates.

IMPRISONMENT OF GANDHI

In March, 1922, Lord Reading's Government, after ineffective parleyings with Mr. Gandhi, summoned up courage to proceed against him. His arrest, trial, conviction, and sentence to six years' simple imprisonment were tacitly approved by the Indian Legislature and secretly welcomed by many who had long realised that he stood in the way of national advance. The "national volunteers" disappeared with the disappearance of the fund from which they drew their stipends. Tension sensibly decreased between the political classes and Government, and private relations between Indians and Englishmen became more normal. By the end of 1922 the provincial administrations had recovered much of their former authority. In February, 1924, Mr. Gandhi was released.

The spring of 1923 was marked by serious disturbances between Hindus and Mahommedans at Multan, Amritsar and other large centres, and between new and old Sikhism in the Sikh dsitricts of the Punjab, necessitating the frequent intervention of the executive authorities, and illustrating the diminished strength of the movement towards an Indian nationalism which operated so powerfully in the closing days of the war. The passions excited by that movement are not indeed dead, but they have been turned into other channels.

THE PRESENT AND THE FUTURE

Economically India is not the worse for the war. During its continuance money was poured into the country in payment of services and commodities, industries were stimulated and even created, and the collective resources of the people were very greatly increased. In India as in other countries the short-lived trade boom, which followed the Armistice, gave way to pronounced depression in the importing and distributing centres, but agriculture, the national industry, has been little affected. It had first to replenish the exhausted food reserves of the country and incidentally to bring down the cost of living. This it has done, thanks to excellent harvests, and the consequent fall in prices has greatly contributed to bring about the relaxation of political tension observable to-day. There is an active and increasing foreign demand for the staple raw products in which India excels, with the result that a very favourable trade balance has been attained and the rupee has returned to pre-war parity. There is no unemployment, no depreciation of the currency, no excessive issue of fiduciary paper money. Equilibrium between public revenues and expenditure has been secured, though not without additions to an already high scale of taxation. All circumstances considered, the economic condition of India and the state of its finances compare favourably with those of any other country, and place it in a position to take advantage of any revival in the trade of the world.

To cast the horoscope of India's future would be an adventure which will not be attempted here. If a general observation is permissible, it is that sentiment plays an excessive part in Indian politics. It is manifested in the controversy over the position of Indians in the Kenya colony, in the sensitiveness shown regarding the attitude towards Indians of the self-governing dominions, in the haste to create an industrially self-sufficing India by means of a high wall of protective tariffs, and in the agitation to discard a constitution barely three years old. Politically the Indian people are still in their novitiate. One-fifth of the population is Mahommedan, sharply divided by faith and ideals from the Hindu majority; another fifth is composed of the "depressed" classes, who lie outside the pale of Hinduism and whose touch defiles. Extensive territories are under the independent sovereign rule of Indian princes, who willingly acknowledge the suzerainty of the British Crown, but whom it would be difficult to fit into the system of *bourgeois* government which figures in the dreams of Indian politicians. For the healthy working of democratic institutions an educated people is essential, but that may not be realised in India for some generations. All these factors point to the wisdom of a slow advance. *Italia farà da sè* (Italy will do it alone) is an inspiring motto; but fortune, if given an opening by incautious men, is apt to play sad tricks. The dictum of the Roman poet that prudence is an ever present and all potent divinity ought assuredly to be kept in mind by the patriotic Indian who aspires to lay the foundations of an empire state.

CHAPTER LVIII

THE DARK CONTINENT AS IT IS TO-DAY

By Sir H. H. Johnston, G.C.M.G., K.C.B., D.Sc.

Gold Medallist of the Zoological Society, Royal Geographical Society, Scottish Geographical Society and the African Society. Formerly Special Commissioner, Commander-in-Chief, and Consul-General for The Uganda Protectorate. Author of *Life of Livingstone; A History of the Colonisation of Africa; The Uganda Protectorate; A History of the British Empire in Africa;* and *A Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages.*

It is intended to give in the following pages a general view of the history of Africa as a whole during the last twenty-three years, since the new century began its course in 1901. Other chapters deal in greater detail with Egypt and the Union of South Africa. The hundred previous years had witnessed a gigantic increase in the White man's knowledge, control and penetration of Africa.

The year 1801 saw civilisation's appreciation of the Dark Continent rather in a decline than mounting in an increase. The Dutch and British — or rather Scottish — employees of the Dutch Chartered Company had reached the lower course of the Orange River from the Cape of Good Hope; the British and French explorers of the eighteenth century had reopened our enquiries into the geography of the Nile valley, of Egypt — ancient and modern — and had penetrated to northern Abyssinia and the lake sources of the Blue Nile. The Napoleonic war had forced us to take cognisance of Zanzibar and Shoa, of the lower Senegal and Gambia, and in 1803 Mungo Park had started on his great journey down the course of the Niger, which river he had discovered in its upper waters in 1796. The celebrated Brazilian explorer, Dr. Lacerda e Almeida, in the same year crossed the northern limits of the Zambezian watershed and entered those of the unknown Congo, and at this conjuncture, hearing of the British descent on Cape Town (to forestall the French), had predicted fearsomely the ultimate extension of the British dominion from the Cape of Good Hope northwards to the Zambezi and beyond.

With the exception of these vague probings of the Nile, the Niger, the Zambezi, nothing was known of the rest of the African interior, though vague legends of Roman times, revived by the Portuguese, existed as to Lake Chad, the "Mountains of the Moon," and the Nile's twin lake sources.

EXPLORATIONS IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the second decade of the nineteenth century, as soon as the Napoleonic struggle was over, the British Government had despatched the expedition under Captain Tuckey (in 1816) to enter the Congo and trace its course upstream, in the half-belief that he might be mapping the lower course of the Niger. In 1823 commenced the remarkable survey of the African coast-line



Freetown, the capital and largest city of Sierra Leone on the West Coast of Africa, boasts a railway, street lamps, and a business quarter where numbers of Syrian traders compete with the natives.

An outpost of civilisation. The sewing machine figures as a forerunner of civilisation in the wilds of Africa.

all around the continent directed by Captain — afterwards Admiral — Sir. W. F. W. Owen. This was one of the most remarkable contributions to geography ever made by the British Government. It gave us the correct outline of the African continent and was finished about 1832. Otherwise the interior continued to remain virtually unknown. None of the great snow-peaked mountains of Morocco, Abyssinia, Equatorial East Africa, or Basutoland had been revealed, ascended, mapped, or measured; none of the African lakes, except Lake Chad (discovered a hundred years ago in 1823), had been made known. The linguistic study of the continent had scarcely commenced — it did not extend beyond a slight acquaintance with Arabic, Coptic and Amharic. Very little was known concerning the amazing fauna and flora of Tropical Africa.

When the Napoleonic wars were over in 1815 the exploration of Africa began, seldom halted for more than one or two years; and by 1901 the whole continent, save for a few areas of shifting sand in the Sahara, had been traversed and mapped, its snow mountains had been discovered and scaled, its lakes large and small had been placed on the atlas and circumnavigated, its fauna and flora had been made known, its races had been [illegible] described, and their languages had been written down and classified. Of all the gains which the nineteenth century brought to the open minds of civilised men and women in Europe, America, Australasia and India, the knowledge of Africa was one of the most arresting in its magnitude and importance.

INCREASING KNOWLEDGE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

And since 1901, though the main features and much of the detail of African geography had already been determined, the gains to our knowledge have been increasing with scarcely a hindrance or delay due to the World War. Indeed, the World War was not only waged in North Africa, Tripolitania and Cyrene, Egypt, East Africa, Central Africa, South-west Africa, Nigeria and the Cameroons, but it forced on geographical exploration and language study. Inhabitants of the unexplored jungles of Senegambia were drilled and dressed in uniform and brought over to France to fight Germans, to garrison Rhenish towns in the Army of Occupation. The tremendous increase in rubber requirements — wild rubber or cultivated — which arose from the application of the air-distended tire to the wheels of bicycles and motor vehicles forced on at a rapid pace the examination of African forests and forest lands, or of steppes classed as "good for nothing." Simultaneously the discoveries of precious stones, precious salts and phosphates, copper and gold, tin and corundum pushed enquiry and occupation into this and that wild country previously deemed an unprofitable waste, a fever-stricken district, a region scarcely worth investigation or opening up.

The peace brought about in South Africa in 1902 released British energies from surrounding the Transvaal to resume pushing on the railway penetration of South Central Africa. Germany undertook the construction of a rival line — rival to the Uganda railway which was completed to the Victoria Nyanza in 1903 — of penetration from the Zanzibar coast to Lake Tanganyika. The just-discovered mineral wealth of Nigeria stimulated the building of the railway not only from Lagos to the Niger and the Kaduna valley, but farther on to Kano, the natural capital of Eastern Nigeria, and into the heart of the tin-yielding tablelands of Bauchi, and the valley of the Benue River; and across the palm-oil country of Ibo, east of the Lower Niger. The Germans carried lines of rails through the great Cameroons forest, and from the barren desert coast of South-west Africa into the healthy

upland country of Damaraland. The French pushed on the railways of western Algeria till they reached the northern border of the Sahara and the oases of the Moroccan Sahara. The British line of rails to Khartum was carried to El Obeid in Kordofan, and south-eastward to the fertile lands of the Abyssinian Nile. The French not only extended their railways from Senegal and Senegambia to the Upper Niger, and those of Tunis to the great date-bearing country of the Saharan salt lakes, but connected the capital of the Ethiopian Empire — Adis Abeba, in Shoa — with the French port of Jibuti, near the mouth of the Red Sea.

THE TERRIBLE SLEEPING SICKNESS

In 1902 the brief-lived prosperity of the Uganda Protectorate (restored in 1900 by the conclusion of a treaty between the Kingdom of Buganda and Great Britain, and by the cessation of the Sudanese uprising) was checked by the outbreak of sleeping sickness. This terrible malady, in those days wholly incurable, was hitherto unknown in the eastern half of Central Africa or south of the Congo basin. It had already been devastating the Congo basin, and, earlier still, Angola; and in the middle and the beginning of the nineteenth century had made its appearance in the coast regions of West Africa. The lack of communication between the Congo forest and the park or prairie lands beyond, in Eastern Africa, had in some way checked the spread of the disease. But the new intercourse effected by Captain Lugard between the outermost limits of the Belgian Congo and the districts of Uganda had caused the Sudanese troops (remains of Emin Pasha's force) to become infected. The incurable disease was thus propagated by the two or more kinds of tsetse fly, and spread throughout the Uganda Protectorate wherever that moisture-and-forest-loving insect penetrated. Sleeping sickness — not always carried by the same tsetse — made its appearance with terrible effect in the plateau regions south of Lake Tanganyika and almost depopulated this part of Northern Rhodesia. It cropped up independently in western Nyasaland, but in some way was brought under control in that region, possibly by clearing the bush which harboured the tsetse fly. It was however fully a decade before European surgeons had begun to master this disease, and European Governments to control the areas of infection. North-eastern Rhodesia has not yet fully recovered from the depopulation it has caused.

LIBERIA, THE ONLY INDEPENDENT REPUBLIC IN AFRICA

In 1904–1907 the little negro Republic of Liberia began to enter the field of international — European and American — politics. The French were pressing steadily southward from Upper Nigeria, and were impinging on the Liberian forest lands. The tentative settlement of the Franco-Liberian frontier effected in 1892 was repudiated by France, and the Liberian case was weak because the native peoples of the disputed areas had little or no inclination to be governed by Christian negroes in Monrovia (the capital on the coast). The demarcation of the Liberian inland frontier was settled in 1907–1908, and owing to French jealousy of Great Britain, Dutch officers, experts in geographical surveying, were engaged to represent Liberia in the task. Later on, the United States seemed desirous to assume in reality the often foreshadowed protectorate, because of the American origin of the fifteen to twenty thousand civilised, English-speaking negroes who constituted the governing element of this republic of 40,000 square miles on the West African coast. This step however has not actually been taken. One sad thing about

Liberia seems to have come to pass: the extinction through reckless game killing of the most interesting features in its mammalian fauna.

As late as the 'eighties of the last century, Liberia was a thickly forested area of forty to fifty thousand square miles, not clearly delimited by natural features, but possessing a very high rainfall ranging between 190 inches per annum in the west (it was 360 miles long) and a little over 100 inches yearly in the east. It contained, about the sources of the Cavalla River in the north-east, the highest ground in West Africa, west of the Cameroons — mountains rising to over 6,000 feet. But otherwise it did not stand out on the map of Africa as a clearly marked region. Yet — like Portuguese Guinea — it had an interesting fauna in mammals, possessing several remarkable types, like the pygmy Hippopotamus, that are (at the present day) absolutely peculiar to its restricted area. Amongst its strange antelopes are two noteworthy species of *Cephalophus* — *C. jentinki* and *C. doria*, the latter known as the Zebra antelope from its black stripes. The Liberian flora is the culmination of West African wealth in species and peculiar species, and should be the country's great source of wealth from the valuable oils, rubber, dyes, timber, fibre, drugs, and food elements it produces.

FRENCH AND GERMAN AMBITIONS IN AFRICA

France's ambitions in North Africa had led her to come to an understanding with Great Britain in 1904, recognising the special British interests in Egypt and the Sudan, and receiving from Great Britain in return a full acknowledgment of the French claim to dominate Morocco. This claim, it was supposed, had only to be reconciled with Spanish interests in the northern part of the Moorish Empire, to become valid, always provided that foreign commerce with Morocco should not be differentially treated to the advantage of Spain and France. French ambitions in this direction, however, brought Germany on the scene. The German Emperor in the spring of 1905 paid a stagey visit to Tangier to emphasise the complete independence of the Moroccan Empire. There followed a European conference at Algeciras on the opposite Spanish coast, which attempted to bring about an international agreement on the reforms necessary to the well-being of Morocco; and the degree to which these should be overlooked by the interested European Powers — Britain, Germany, Spain, France and Italy. German firms in the succeeding years attempted to get a grip over Moroccan trade and development, and the situation brought more than once French and German interests and ambitions into sharp rivalry until the conflict nearly culminated in the summer of 1911 in a German declaration of war.

Britain, however, had been faithful to her understanding with France in 1904; and in the Moroccan crisis of 1911 gave Germany clearly to understand that she would stand by France in any struggle precipitated over the Moroccan situation. Germany therefore agreed to a French protectorate over two-thirds of Morocco (Spain having assumed the right to control the remainder), and took her compensation elsewhere out of French Congo. She was allowed in 1911–1912 to extend the Cameroons possession southward till it reached the western Upper Congo, and impinged on the Congo Free State, of which Germany then seemed the predestined heir.

A year or two later, in 1913–1914, Germany seemingly came to an agreement with the British Foreign Office regarding the future of the nearly bankrupt Portuguese African possessions. She — Germany — was to intervene south and east of the western Congo, take over the management of Angola through chartered companies, and the northern half of Mozambique.

It seemed to be further suggested that should this great extension of influence lead to a German control over the Congo Free State, Great Britain would not be vehemently adverse.

The German agitation over Morocco and the contemporaneous political changes in the Turkish Empire were coincident with another thwarting of German ambitions. Germany, disappointed of securing a predominant position in the Moorish Empire, bethought herself — as a *pis aller* — of Tripoli. As early as the period succeeding her victory over Austria in 1866 she had conceived the idea of opening up relations, through the celebrated explorer, Dr. Nachtigal, with the Central Sudan. She was forestalled by France in Tunis. A German establishment in Tripoli next seemed possible, through the good graces of Turkey.

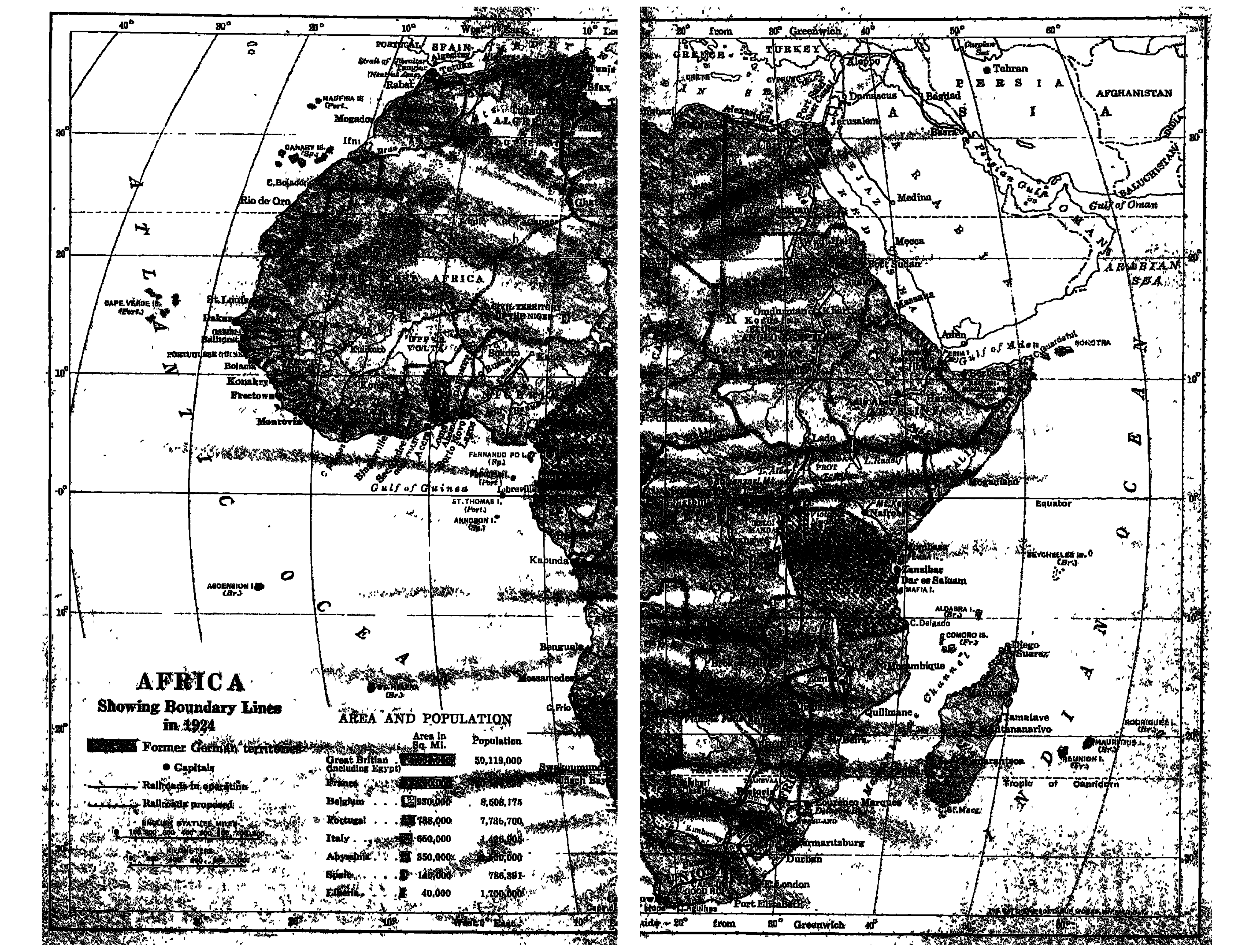
But Italy had decided after 1881, when France had foreclosed on Tunisia, to take possession eventually of the Tripolitania, and France had agreed silently to the idea. Italy was stirred to action in 1911 by learning that a German or nominally an Austro-Hungarian Chartered Company had been formed to acquire Tripolitan concessions from the Sultan of Turkey. Italy secured first an understanding with Great Britain and then decided to act. Turkey supplied some foolish post-office pretext for a rupture, and the Italian expedition at once seized, with a fleet and an army, the town of Tripoli and other points of vantage on the Tripolitan and Cyrenaic coasts. Germany had, with scarcely concealed rage, to submit to an Italian annexation of the coast-line between Tunisia and Egypt. The ill-will thus generated led eventually to the complete rupture of the German-Italian alliance. Concurrently with the uprise of the Southern Slavs in the Balkan Peninsula it was an exciting cause of the World War in 1914, and of the Italians joining in alliance with Great Britain and France in 1915.

RESULTS IN AFRICA OF THE WORLD WAR

The World War led at its close to the complete extirpation of Germany as a governing power in Africa, and the exclusion of the Turkish Government from African affairs. The previous German possessions, where Germany had done much exploration in many directions, were handed over to the management of Britain, France and Belgium. The Congo State became more emphatically Belgian in ownership. France greatly strengthened her control of Morocco and acquired the enormous territory of the Cameroons and the greater part of Togoland. Italy reëntered and re-affirmed herself in Tripoli and the Cyrenaica, having her territories in Somaliland considerably increased; and Spain was forced into a veritable war with the Rif chieftains and tribes in asserting her claims over northern Morocco.

OTHER COUNTRIES OF AFRICA

Egypt has been granted her independence by Great Britain, who will probably end by declaring the Upper Nile basin a British protectorate. (For the history of Egypt during the years of the twentieth century, see Chapter LIX, p. 332.) Abyssinia, since the death of Menelik, has been tending towards anarchy, and is alienating British sympathy by savagely raiding the Nilotic negro tribes on her southern and south-western frontier for slaves. It is the last country in Africa in which slavery is sanctioned by the law of the land. France had just before the war with Germany finally conquered Wadai, a kingdom of exceedingly warlike Mahommedan negroes, sprinkled with Sudanese Arabs. The region to the north and east of Wadai — Darfur —



AREA AND POPULATION

	Area in Sq. Mi.	Population
Great Britian (including Egypt)	[illegible]	50,119,000
France	[illegible]	[illegible]
Belgium . . .	930,000	8,508,175
Portugal . . .	788,000	7,786,700
Italy . . .	650,000	1,426,805
Abyssinia . . .	350,000	[illegible]
Spain . . .	140,000	786,891
Liberia . . .	40,000	1,700,000

had been allotted to the British sphere of influence, but had become semi-independent, Great Britain having restored the native dynasty. This, however, instead of showing gratitude towards Great Britain who had conquered the Mahdist Arabs and given back the country to its own rulers, turned against the British rule in the Sudan and attacked it in force. The Darfuris, like the Wadai sultans and other Mahommedan rulers in the Central Sudan, were won over to alliance with the followers of the Sanusi prophet, who, born in Mostaganem (western Algeria) at the close of the eighteenth century, had been succeeded in the twentieth by his grandson. The Sanusi religious leadership had gradually gravitated towards residence in the little-known oasis of Kufra or Kufara far to the north-west of the Egyptian Sudan, and inhabited by an outlying colony of Teda (Tibu) people; negroids allied to those of Tibesti and Kanem. The defection of the Sultan of Turkey from his western friendships to alliance with Germany had decided the representative of the Sanusi leadership in 1914 to throw in his influence against the French, British and Italians. His followers attacked the Italians in Tripoli and Cyrenaica and the British in western Egypt. The three Allied Powers soon got the better of them, and at the end of the war the representative of the Sanusi sect was relegated to Kufra and allowed to live there, pending other arrangements that may be made by Italy when her frontiers in northern Africa are better determined with Great Britain.

SOUTH AND CENTRAL AFRICA

In South and South Central Africa political changes have taken place since 1901 which should receive brief reference. After the close of the war between the British and the Boers, the whole of Africa south of the Zambezi, save the Portuguese and German portions, came under one flag — the British; but in 1907 local government in the Orange Free State and the Transvaal was restored to the Dutch-speaking inhabitants because they were still in the majority. British and Boers were united by the peace terms in one people of the Union of South Africa.

When the World War broke out, a portion of the Boers revolted and attempted to make common cause with the Germans in South-west Africa. But the Boer political leaders, Generals Louis Botha and Jan Smuts, led the united forces of British soldiers and Boers to the attack on the Germans and the conquest of the German province of South-west Africa. In addition, General Smuts — later on the Premier of the Union of South Africa — was appointed in supreme command of the British troops to the conquest of German East Africa.

But when the war was over and a movement was promoted for the inclusion of the two Rhodesian provinces, north and south of the Zambezi, within the territories of the Union (an action which would have brought up the Union Government to the south end of Tanganyika and the frontier of the Belgian Congo), the white settlers in those regions by a preponderance of votes chose an independent position under the supervision of the British Government and its High Commissioner. Rhodesia in its rather distinct divisions, North and South, stands between the Union of South Africa and Nyasaland and Tanganyika (as German East Africa has now been named). (For fuller particulars of the history of South Africa see Chapter LX, page 339.)

AFRICA BEFORE THE DAWN OF WRITTEN HISTORY

Our knowledge of Africa during these twenty-three years has not been confined to its geography; to the anthropology, ethnology and languages of its Semitic, Libyan, Hamitic, Tibu, Fula, Negroid, Bantu, Negro, Hottentot and Bushman peoples; its fauna and flora of to-day, its fresh-water fish, its disease microbes; and its climatic peculiarities. It has extended marvellously over the past history of Africa and Madagascar as revealed in their fossil remains. Already in the second half of the nineteenth century, especially between 1885 and 1895, Professor Auguste Pomel, in a series of many publications, had portrayed the marvellous prehistoric fauna of Algeria. The much-abused term "prehistoric," now almost discarded because the stretch of human experience on the planet goes back so many, many thousand years beyond the dawn of written history, actually covers many of the great or the extraordinary mammals of Algeria-Tunis-Morocco because they were coeval in their existence with some form of intelligent man, either the Neanderthaloid or the Sapient species. Within the human period there existed in North Africa two or even three species of elephant, of which one was related to the Indian form and the mammoth; a giraffe; a gnu; an eland or an allied tragelaphine type; several oryxes; a wild ass or zebra; a rhinoceros, hippopotamus, and camel; and — omitting many forms from enumeration — a remarkable type of buffalo, with horns that reached to a length exceeding fourteen feet! This amazing creature is not only represented by his bones and horn-cores, but he lived late enough to have been effectively portrayed on the rock surfaces by intelligent man, even — seemingly — to be domesticated and saddled with a cloth.

The same monster reappears in the recent palæontological remains of South Africa — Cape Colony, Orange Free State, Transvaal. *Bubalus* or *Bos baini*, it is often named, though it seems identical with the gigantic North African buffalo which was called *Bos antiquus*. Both alike are rather more related to the buffaloes of Asia than to *Bubalus caffer*.

The discoveries of early man and of extinct mammals around him in southernmost Africa were amongst the sensations of the beginning of the twentieth century. There was little to fix the age of the Strandlooper and Bushman skulls and flint implements; it was rather their association with the bones of a large horse (apparently not a zebra), with extinct rhinoceroses and antelopes, and even with the teeth of a mastodon which implied an antiquity measurable by tens of thousands of years.

But the importance and signification of these discoveries were quite put in the shade by the finding of human remains — skulls and limb bones — at the bottom of a vast cavern sixty feet below the surface at Broken Hill in Northern Rhodesia (valley of the great Kafue River). These remains indicate an affinity both to Neanderthal Man and to the Australoid type of *Homo sapiens*. *Homo rhodesiensis*, as the creature was named, was a distinct species of humanity with no special resemblance to or affinity with the negro, a sub-species of *Homo sapiens*.

Tropical Africa — so far — has been singularly disappointing in its palæontological remains, it may be partly from an insufficiency of research. The Germans have unearthed indications of the existence in the later Secondary Periods of gigantic dinosaurs in East Africa; and in the region east of the Victoria Nyanza Mr. C. W. Hobley, an official in British East Africa of many years' standing, unearthed the remains of extinct dinotheriums (elephants with recurved tusks in the lower jaw only) of a pygmy type, and one or two forms of extinct rhinoceros. The other sensational palæontological

discoveries in the twentieth century were made in Madagascar and Egypt, and have far exceeded in importance those attributed to any other part of Africa.

In Madagascar, where the French palæontologist, Grandidier, had been at work for some twelve or more years prior to 1907, remarkable discoveries of a quite recent but extinct mammalian fauna have been made, dating seemingly from only a few hundred or a few thousand years ago. There then existed in the island, down to the taking possession of it by branches of the Malayan race and of the East African negro, many types of lemuroid now extinct, two species of which had attained the size or more than the size of man, and had adopted a semi-aquatic existence by the sea-shore. There were also monkey-like creatures within the limits of the sub-order of the lemurs, but offering considerable resemblance in skull and teeth to the American monkeys (*Cebidæ*). There were several species of struthious birds, some gigantic, ten feet high, with the largest-known eggs; others scarcely larger than a turkey. Madagascar had been reached by two or three kinds of hippopotamus, before its complete seclusion as an oceanic island.

But it was in the Nile delta and higher up in the valley of the undivided Nile that staggering palæontological discoveries were made at the opening of the twentieth century. Here were discovered in deposits of the Eocene and Oligocene periods the evolution of the whales from large creodont carnivores, the development of the elephants from the *Mœritherium* type, the possible ancestry of the seals, the forerunners of the hippopotamus, the ancestors of the Sirenia, the earliest-known type of anthropoid ape (a primitive gibbon of the Nile Valley), ancestral pigs, and large ratite birds which may have been ancestral to the rhea of Brazil and the Argentine and the aepyornis of Madagascar. These and other discoveries as to the early tertiary fauna and flora of Africa point to the probability of a former land-bridge across the Atlantic lasting till the Miocene, between westernmost Africa and Brazil, which brought the mammals, birds, reptiles, fresh-water fish, insects and spiders of the Old World into eastern South America. Thus came the South American monkeys, the boa snakes, the rheas, and many families of South American birds from a previous African sojourn.

CHAPTER LIX

FERMENT AND FANATICISM IN EGYPT

By Sir Valentine Chirol

Formerly Director of the Foreign Department of *The Times*, London. Author of *The Middle Eastern Question; The Egyptian Problem*; etc.

In the first years of the twentieth century the dominant position which Great Britain had been, at first very reluctantly, driven to assume in the valley of the Nile after its military occupation in 1882, had been steadily consolidated, though Egypt was still formally an autonomous province of the Ottoman Empire. Her ruler, the Khedive, still received his investiture from Constantinople and his relations with Turkev were still held to be governed by the Firmans granted to his ancestor Mahommed Ali, after the failure of his protracted struggle for complete independence. Foreign Powers as well as Turkey still held the political status of Egypt to be in no way modified by the British occupation which British Ministers had from the first declared to be a merely temporary measure. The British Agent and Consul-General in Cairo enjoyed only the same diplomatic rank as that of other representatives of foreign Powers. Nevertheless Lord Cromer was in practice the ruler of Egypt. Under his masterful impulse British control had rescued her finances from bankruptcy, restored prosperity to agriculture by extending the old irrigation system and abolishing oppressive methods of taxation, and was carrying out far-reaching measures of administrative and judicial reform. In 1883 a revenue of under £E9,000,000, showing a deficit of £E920,000, had been wrung with difficulty from an impoverished and downtrodden people. In 1900 a revenue of £E11,447,000, showing a surplus of £E1,552,000, was collected with ease from a prosperous and contented population. The re-conquest of the Sudan, over which the British and Egyptian flags now floated as a symbol of joint sovereignty, had removed the slur of its abandonment, inevitable at the time, to the devastating forces of Mahdiism in 1884, and had paved the way for the construction of the great Assuan dam, completed in 1902, which assured as never before the stable supply of water from the White and the Blue Nile, indispensable to the very life of Egypt.

At home, British Ministers had learnt to rely completely upon Cromer's advice, though only after many difficult years in which events almost invariably vindicated the sanity of his judgment and the breadth of his statesmanship. Of all the foreign Powers France was the only one who had displayed unabated resentment of the British occupation which had substituted sole British control for the previous Anglo-French dual control. But she had been taught the futility of a policy of obstruction and pinpricks by the Fashoda incident of 1898, and when, under the growing menace of Germany's ambitions, the French and British Governments had ultimately realised the urgency of composing their colonial differences by the Agreement of 1904, France at last publicly recognised Great Britain's position in Egypt in return for the British recognition of her priority of interests in Morocco. None

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The garden of the Abdin Palace in Cairo, the palatial residence of the King of Egypt. The banqueting-hall of the palace seats 500 persons.



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Zaghlul Pasha, Egyptian Nationalist, deported by the British in 1919 to Malta. Later he was released and in 1924 became Premier of Egypt.



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Lord Cromer is best known as the maker of modern Egypt. For twenty-four years, until April, 1907, he held the post of British Agent and Consul-General in Egypt; re-

welcomed this Agreement more heartily than Lord Cromer. For though Great Britain declared once more that she had no intention of altering the political status of Egypt, it freed his hands from all the remaining international entanglements that still hampered Egyptian finances. It left him free to seek a solution of the large problem still presented by the survival of the ancient system of Capitulations which conferred extra-territorial rights and immunities, often scandalously abused, upon Europeans in Egypt in virtue of treaties, some of them centuries old, with Turkey. Before leaving Egypt he drew up in 1906 and 1907 two exhaustive reports exposing the evils of the system and containing his own recommendations as to remedies. But they remained still-born owing to the enormous difficulty of carrying through negotiations with 17 different Powers, and the only progress yet made has been the elimination of the enemy Powers in the World War, who had to surrender their Capitulatory rights under the Peace Treaties of 1919.

THE NEW FERMENT

During the last years of Cromer's tenure of office, when a generation was growing up that had forgotten "the days of the Oppression," the attitude of a growing section of the Egyptian people towards British control underwent a rapid change, as the result partly of the new ferment introduced by the spread of Western education, and partly of Sultan Abdul Hamid's Pan-Islamic propaganda, of which the underlying political purpose was plainly disclosed by the Taba incident of 1906. Turkish troops invaded Egyptian territory in the Sinai peninsula, and the Porte put forward territorial claims which would, Lord Cromer declared, "carry the Turkish frontier and strategical railways to Suez and the banks of the Canal." Turkey having failed to receive the backing which she had expected from Germany, yielded to the peremptory warnings of the British Government. But its firmness and the strengthening of the British garrison in Egypt only temporarily checked the growth of a new form of Egyptian Nationalism which, reinforced by Constantinople Pan-Islamism, sought to rouse the religious feeling of the Mahommedan masses against a Christian controlling Power.

A very symptomatic outbreak of fanaticism had occurred at Denshawi on June 13, 1906, when the excitement over the Taba question was at its height. A party of British officers who were shooting pigeons close to that village were set upon by an angry mob and received serious injuries from which one of them died a few hours later. The drastic punishments inflicted upon the ringleaders by the special tribunal that tried them were, however, severely criticised by many Englishmen and deeply resented even by Egyptians who had no sympathy with the perpetrators of the outrages. This deplorable incident was at once unscrupulously exploited, and has been exploited ever since, by the Egyptian extremists for the promotion of racial hatred. Cromer was in London at the time, but, though he felt bound to support the official action taken in his absence, his administrative reports show that he was conscious of the necessity of taking into account the new aspirations of the Egyptian people towards a larger share in the conduct of public affairs and of loosening the leading strings in which they had hitherto been held. In order to encourage the most promising elements in this new movement, he singled out an Egyptian who was in sympathy with it and who had in fact been a follower of Arabi during the first Nationalist rising, but who, like Arabi himself on his return from his long exile in Ceylon, had gratefully recognised the many benefits which the fellaheen masses had derived from British control. Saad Zaglul was appointed Minister of

Education at Lord Cromer's instance, and in his farewell speech in Cairo the latter bestowed upon him no less warm a blessing than upon the Prime Minister, Mustapha Pasha Fehmy, whose loyal coöperation had endured for over ten years, when failing health and advancing years compelled "the Lord," as he was universally called, to retire in April, 1907, after nearly a quarter of a century's unrivalled service in Egypt.

AGITATION BECOMES MORE VIOLENT

Sir Eldon Gorst, who had served a long apprenticeship under Cromer, succeeded him, and the Liberal Government then in power at home instructed him to allow the Egyptian Government greater freedom of action in matters both of policy and administration, even at the cost of less efficiency, and to encourage specially the development of local self-government as the best preparation and education for the ultimate exercise of more responsible functions. A Provincial Councils Bill on progressive lines became law in June, 1908, but it did not arrest a violent agitation for full rights of self-government, and the assassination of the Coptic Prime Minister, Butros Pasha Ghali, who had only recently succeeded Mustapha Pasha Fehmy, by a young Nationalist fanatic in February, 1910, revealed the white heat to which popular passion could be wrought up. Gorst had to admit the failure of the new policy before he retired, stricken with an incurable disease, to make room for Lord Kitchener in September, 1911.

KITCHENER IN EGYPT

The appointment of a great soldier, already well known in Egypt, helped to restore British prestige, but he had still to reckon not only with the irreconcilable Nationalists but with a shifty Prime Minister, Mahommed Said Pasha, who had replaced the murdered Copt, and with the subtle hostility of Abbas II, who resorted after Lord Cromer's retirement to a campaign of persistent intrigue in which he skilfully played off one Egyptian political party against another and all against the controlling Power, in the hope of recovering some of the old despotic authority which his grandfather Ismail had recklessly wielded. Kitchener tried alternately to overawe and to conciliate him, but he alienated in that process many of the moderate Nationalists, and above all Zaglul, who, having come as Minister of Justice into direct collision with Abbas, failed to receive the support which he believed to have been promised to him by the British representative. Two liberal measures for the protection of the fellaheen from village usury and for the reform of the Egyptian Legislature did not materially improve the situation, and Kitchener came home on leave in the early summer of 1914 convinced that almost the only remedy was to remove the Khedive.

EFFECTS OF THE WORLD WAR ON EGYPT

When the World War broke out Abbas was at Contantinople. His sympathies were secured in advance to all British enemies. But the Egyptian Prime Minister, Rushdy Pasha, who had recently succeeded Mahommed Said, was acting as Regent, and he and his colleagues at once took at the request of the British Government decisive measures — such as closing Egyptian ports to German ships — difficult to reconcile with the neutrality which the Porte, who still professed to remain neutral, expected Egypt also to observe

as a province of the Ottoman Empire. The British Government on the other hand promised Turkey, if she remained really neutral, not to alter the recognised status of Egypt, but three months later the Sultan entered the war as the ally of the Germanic Empires and the Khedive still remained in Constantinople. Great Britain proceeded at once to sever the formal ties which still united Egypt to the Ottoman Empire, and, stopping short of annexation, proclaimed a British Protectorate on December 18. Abbas was deposed and the rulership of Egypt conferred on Hussein, a son of the former Khedive Ismail, with the title of Sultan.

Sir Henry McMahon, who had had a distinguished career in India, was appointed High Commissioner. Throughout the war the Egyptian Ministers loyally coöperated with the British military and civil authorities and placed all the resources of Egypt at their disposal. The Turks twice attempted unsuccessfully, in 1915 and 1916, to reach the Suez Canal, and Egypt was gradually converted into a British armed camp as a base for all the great warlike operations which, under General Allenby, at last drove the Turkish armies out of Palestine and Syria. Unfortunately Sultan Hussein, who had been a good and wise friend of England, died in the middle of the war on October 9, 1917, and, as his son declined the succession, the British Government selected for the Sultanate the youngest son of Ismail, Prince Fuad, who enjoyed far less respect in the country than his predecessor. Meanwhile the wholesale requisitions for supplies and transport and labour corps for military purposes inflicted great and increasing hardships upon the people of Egypt, and, together with the inordinate rise in the cost of almost all the necessaries of life, created a deep sense of grievance which found violent expression as soon as the war was over.

THE NATIONALIST DEMANDS

The Nationalist movement had been quiescent during the war, but two days after the Armistice, November 13, 1918, Zaglul called with some of his associates on the British High Commissioner, now Sir Reginald Wingate, who had been transferred from the Sudan to Cairo in succession to McMahon. Professing to speak in the name of the Egyptian people, they demanded the immediate abolition of the Protectorate and the recognition of the complete independence of Egypt. When this demand was ignored, Zaglul appealed direct to the Governments of the Allied and Associated Powers recalling their wartime promises of freedom for small as well as great nations, and the principle of self-determination of which President Wilson had been the warm exponent. A vehement propaganda, with "Complete Independence" as its watchword, spread at the same time like wild-fire throughout the country.

The British Government, absorbed in the labours of the Paris Peace Conference, failed to appreciate the growing gravity of the Egyptian situation, and when the Egyptian Prime Minister proposed to come to England in order to lay it before the British Cabinet, his suggestion was somewhat curtly dismissed. He and his colleagues resigned, and whilst Egypt, left without a Government, was seething with discontent, the British military authorities proceeded to arrest Zaglul and four of his principal associates and deport them to Malta. The spark was thus set for a sudden explosion of revolt not only in Cairo but all over the Delta and far up the Nile. The fellaheen masses responded for the first time to the call of the political extremist. Railways and telegraphs and public buildings were destroyed, looting and arson took place on a large scale. In some places the mob committed horrible

excesses, and everywhere Europeans went in danger of their lives. For a few days Cairo itself was cut off from all communication except by aeroplane. But there were large British forces in the country and they were rapidly organised into mobile columns which restored order in the course of less than three weeks.

GENERAL ALLENBY TAKES COMMAND

General Allenby, who had been attending the Paris Peace Conference, was hurried back to Egypt as Acting High Commissioner in the place of Wingate who had been summoned to London before the outbreak, but whose advice had gone unheeded. The repression was stern, but Allenby on his arrival still found himself confronted with a sullen display of passive resistance. There were wholesale strikes, not only amongst the working-classes and amongst Government servants, such as railwaymen and postmen, but even amongst the higher officials of the State departments in Cairo and in the law-courts themselves. There was no Egyptian Government and none could be formed until British Ministers agreed to release Zaglul and his friends from Malta, and allowed them to proceed to Paris whence "the Leader of the Nation" continued to direct the "Complete Independence" movement no less effectively perhaps than if he had been permitted to go back to Egypt.

After Allenby had restored some sort of order under Martial Law and found a Prime Minister, though of somewhat dubious antecedents, in Mahommed Said Pasha, the British Government announced in May, 1919, that a Commission would be sent out under Lord Milner to enquire into the causes of the recent outbreak and to make recommendations for setting Egypt on the road to self-government under the Protectorate, to which the Treaty of Versailles was about to give its formal *imprimatur*. But six months were allowed to elapse before the Commission actually went out, and when Lord Milner and his colleagues — amongst them Sir Rennell Rodd, who had served several years under Lord Cromer; and Sir John Maxwell, who had commanded the British forces in Egypt before and during the first year of the war — reached Cairo in December, they were confronted with a general boycott proclaimed and widely enforced by the Party of Independence. There had again been serious rioting before they arrived, and Mahommed Said, who had swung round and opposed the sending out of the Commission, resigned and was succeeded by Wahba Pasha, a worthy but not very effective Copt. Noisy demonstrations shouted "Down with the Protectorate! Down with the Commission!" A visit paid by one member to Tanta provoked an ugly riot; isolated British soldiers were repeatedly attacked in the streets of Cairo, and bombs were on three occasions thrown at Egyptian Ministers. Even the Egyptian Princes of Sultan Fuad's own family and the learned divines of El Azhar University, of which Sultan Fuad was the titular head, joined in denouncing the Commission and the Protectorate.

The Commission nevertheless fulfilled its laborious task, and, on its way home through Paris, Zaglul was induced to meet Lord Milner, mainly at the instance of Adly Pasha, who had been one of England's best friends in the Rushdy Cabinet during the war. It was arranged that Zaglul himself should come over to London, where further conferences were subsequently held which resulted in an understanding on August 20 between the Egyptian leader and Lord Milner as to the bases of a final agreement. The Commission, which had satisfied itself in Egypt that the old system of control had got out of gear before the war and had grievously broken down during the war,

drew up an exhaustive report recommending the substitution for the Protectorate of a Treaty of Alliance between Great Britain and Egypt on lines that would, it was held, provide adequate guarantees for British Imperial interests and meet a legitimate Egyptian demand for self-government.

THE REACTION FOLLOWING THE WORLD WAR

The report was laid before Parliament, and it was confidently believed that the British Government intended to carry out its recommendations, when an official announcement was made in London foreshadowing the abolition of the Protectorate, and a new Cabinet was formed in Egypt under Adly Pasha, on March 17, 1920, for the express purpose of negotiating the proposed Anglo-Egyptian Treaty. Zaglul, however, who returned to Egypt on April 5, 1921, and was received with immense enthusiasm, soon resumed his attitude of uncompromising hostility and turned fiercely upon the new Egyptian Cabinet, though it contained some of his own former associates — one of them a fellow-deportee to Malta. The Egyptian masses had derived little benefit from the immense sums of money which had flowed into Egypt during the war and the short-lived post-war boom, when with cotton at top prices the budget for 1920–1921 had balanced at over £E40,000,000. The country was now suffering severely from the back-wash of economic depression in Europe, and a deficit of nearly £E13,000,000 almost exhausted the reserves piled up during the fat years. Popular passions responded readily to political agitation. On May 20–23 there were serious anti-European outbreaks in Alexandria which were only quelled after considerable bloodshed by British military intervention.

Negotiations between Lord Curzon and Adly Pasha, who proceeded to London in July at the head of an Egyptian delegation, were carried on intermittently throughout the summer, though the Egyptian Prime Minister soon realised that British Ministers did not consider themselves bound by the Milner report. They finally broke down in October, mainly on the question of the British military occupation. The draft treaty on which Lord Curzon insisted, reserved to Great Britain the sole right to determine the duration and the area of occupation. It was rejected by Adly Pasha who returned to Egypt and resigned with all his colleagues when the rupture of the negotiations was followed on December 3 by a lengthy British Note which implied an immediate return to a policy of force.

Before the end of the year fresh outrages upon British soldiers and severe rioting occurred in different parts of the country. Zaglul, whose unbridled language was held responsible for them, was again deported with several of his chief associates, first to the Seychelles and then to Gibraltar. The conditions on which Serwat Pasha was prepared to take office in succession to Adly were refused in London, and Lord Allenby, unable once more to find any Egyptian willing to assume Ministerial responsibility, was driven to inform the British Government that without large military re-inforcements he saw no hope of being able to carry out their policy, which had estranged all classes and parties. He had the support of the British Advisers to the Egyptian Government; and when he came home in February, 1922, to press his views, even to the point of threatening his own resignation, British Ministers veered round again abruptly, and Mr. Lloyd George announced on February 28 to Parliament that H. M. Government was prepared to recognise the complete independence of Egypt as a sovereign State, reserving only four points for subsequent agreement "by free discussion and

friendly accommodation," namely, the security of Imperial communications; the defence of Egypt against all foreign aggression; the protection of foreign interest and minorities in Egypt and the Sudan.

THE NEW EGYPTIAN GOVERNMENT

Serwat then formed a new Egyptian Government; Sultan Fuad assumed the title of King; British control over the Egyptian administration was rapidly relaxed and a Commission was set up to draft the new Constitution. Political unrest nevertheless still continued, British soldiers and unoffending Englishmen were attacked in the streets, often with fatal consequences, at the instigation of secret conspirators, some of whom were afterwards arrested and heavily sentenced after a protracted trial. Serwat resigned on December 7 and Tewfik Nessim Pasha, who enjoyed the King's special confidence, succeeded him. At the beginning of 1923 agitation concentrated chiefly on the release of Zaglul and the full restoration of the Sudan to undivided Egyptian rule. The loyalty of King Fuad to the British who had placed him on the throne had, it was too confidently believed, been assured by large increases of his Civil List and other pecuniary advantages repeatedly granted to him out of the Egyptian exchequer at Lord Allenby's instance. But he now sought popularity by drawing nearer to the extremists, and the High Commissioner was constrained to remonstrate with him in the gravest terms when it was proposed under the new Constitution to style him not only King of Egypt but also of the Sudan, and thus disregard the joint sovereignty which Great Britain exercised in the Sudan since its re-conquest under the Anglo-Egyptian Agreement of 1899. Tewfik Nessim resigned on February 28, and after a protracted crisis Yehya Pasha formed a *Cabinet d'Affaires* which has carried on much longer and with greater success than had been expected. A very good harvest relieved the economic situation. Liberal terms were offered to Englishmen who wished to retire from the Egyptian service, and a large number availed themselves of the opportunity. The new Constitution which endows Egypt with representative institutions and responsible government under a limited monarchy — armed nevertheless with considerable powers upon which King Fuad insisted — was agreed upon in April, and the new electoral law in May. Zaglul, released from Gibraltar on grounds of ill-health, returned to Egypt on August 29, and after being again greeted with immense popular acclamations, paid a significant visit to King Fuad, whom he and his followers had in the earlier phases of the Extremists movement always ignored and denounced as a mere British puppet. Zaglul followed up this act of homage to the King with two fiery speeches attacking the Egyptian Cabinet and the Constitution drafted, he declared, at England's bidding. The new Egyptian Legislature for which the elections in two degrees are slowly proceeding is expected to meet early in 1924 and there are indications that Zaglul's professing followers, who are the best organised party, will command with a more or less united majority. The whole outlook in Egypt is still obscure and not altogether promising.

CHAPTER LX

BOER AND BRITON IN SOUTH AFRICA

By Frank R. Cana, F.R.G.S.

Member of the editorial staff of *The Times* (London). Author of *South Africa from the Great Trek to the Union; Problems of Exploration; Africa in 1911; The Sahara in 1914;* etc.

The history of South Africa in the first quarter of the twentieth century is mainly one of evolution through strife. The annexation of the two Dutch republics to the British Crown was followed by the grant of self-government, and this demonstration of good-will drew together the Dutch and British communities and led, in 1910, to the establishment of the Union of South Africa. Reaction followed among a considerable section of the Dutch community, but the majority of the burghers kept true to the Union ideal of building up the country — so far as the white inhabitants were concerned — on non-racial lines, and held fast to the British connection. Happily on the native and Asiatic questions the whites were not divided on racial lines. While the native problem will be considered later on, it may be said here in anticipation that the Union adopted a policy of rigid exclusion of Asiatics. To those Asiatics already in the country the franchise — except in the Cape Province — was denied. In Natal this meant excluding from political rights a community of Indians more numerous than the white community. That fact may sufficiently explain the attitude of the Union. The whites represented themselves as engaged in a struggle to prevent their European civilisation being overwhelmed by a much older oriental civilisation, and they refused to consider appeals based on the ground that the Indians were British subjects. This attitude definitely adopted at the 1921 Imperial Conference was reaffirmed at the 1923 Conference.

END OF THE BOER WAR

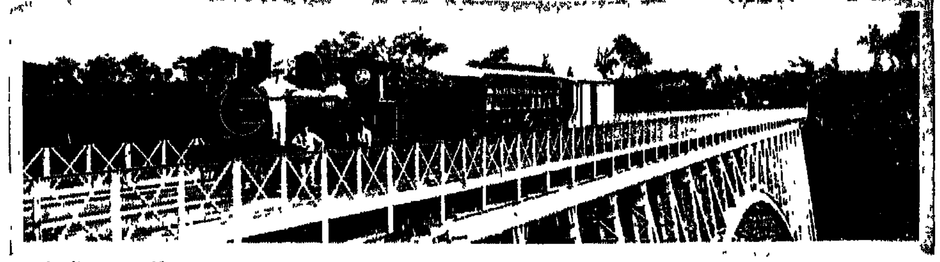
In 1901 the Anglo-Boer War was drawing slowly and painfully to its inevitable end. The war had begun, in October, 1899, with Boer successes, but during 1900 the Orange Free State and the Transvaal had been occupied by British forces; Lord Salisbury, as Prime Minister of Great Britain, had declared against the continued independence of the Dutch republics and they had been formally annexed. The Boers had adopted guerilla tactics, but by February, 1901, Louis Botha, Commandant-General of the Transvaal burghers, had realised the hopelessness of the struggle. Mr. Kruger, the aged President of the Transvaal, had been compelled to leave South Africa, and his efforts on the Continent to enlist the support of European nations ended in failure. He died at Clarens, on the Lake of Geneva, on July 14, 1904. Peace negotiations in 1901 failed mainly through the opposition of the Free State Boers, led by their President, Mr. Steyn, and the desperate fight for independence continued until May, 1902. Then, at a conference at Vereeniging, the Boer leaders at length recognised facts. Articles

of peace were signed at Pretoria on May 31, 1902, the signatories on the British side being Lord Kitchener, Commander-in-Chief, and Lord Milner, High Commissioner for South Africa, representing the civil power.

The war was a tragic episode in the relations between the two white races in South Africa. Geographically South Africa is a unit — over its vast surface Dutch and British dwelt side by side; they were so inextricably mixed and had so many common interests that neither progress nor peace was possible when in any part political equality was denied either race. The denial of political rights to the immigrants who had settled on the Rand after the discovery of the gold-fields was the root cause of the war. These *uitlanders* were mostly British and a large number of them were Cape Colonists. Sympathy with the Transvaal Boers, confronted with conditions utterly opposed to their own mode of life, need not be denied. Their belief that the *uitlanders* sought their overthrow had been confirmed by the Jameson Raid and the revelation of the part played by Cecil Rhodes (then Prime Minister of Cape Colony) in it; under President Kruger, a typical representative of the Boer spirit of independence and isolation, they hardened their hearts. Greater wisdom on the British side might have avoided war; it may be that the Kruger Government, which was very corrupt, left alone would have fallen through its own rottenness; but to attribute the war, as was done by a considerable section of British opinion, to the greed of the Rand magnates, is wholly to mistake the essential nature of the struggle. Its racial character was emphasised by the burghers of the Orange Free State, who had no quarrel of their own with Britain, throwing in their lot with the Transvaal, and by the rebellion of a large number of Dutch Cape Colonists. Indeed, for many years the majority of the Dutch had striven through their organisation, the Afrikander Bond, to obtain the hegemony of South Africa.

THE FIRST YEARS OF PEACE

Now, with the Peace of Pretoria the question of the flag was, to all appearances, settled. By the first article of the peace terms the burghers recognised King Edward VII as their lawful sovereign. But all was not lost — other articles guaranteed the use of the Dutch language and promised the establishment "as soon as circumstances permit" of representative institutions, leading up to self-government. On the Boer side the articles were signed by, among others, the three most prominent military leaders, namely, Louis Botha, De La Rey and Christian De Wet, as also by J. M. B. Hertzog, who was more of a politician than a fighting general. Not unnaturally, however, the Boer leaders refused to take any immediate share in the administration of the ex-republics. Chief responsibility for repairing the waste of war fell upon Lord Milner, who gathered round him a band of young Englishmen, mainly from Oxford, who brought energy, enthusiasm and ability to their task. "Milner's Kindergarten" did remarkably well. By 1904 the initial difficulties of reconstruction had been overcome. The Transvaal was, however, faced with a serious economic crisis. Almost the sole source of revenue was the tax on the gold-mines and as, owing to a shortage of native labour, production was low, revenue was small. Anxious to provide the country as quickly as possible with all the apparatus of a progressive State, Milner was led to support a proposal to introduce Chinese labour for the mines. The sanction of the British Government (the Unionist Ministry under Mr. Balfour) was obtained, an ordinance was issued in February, 1904, and Chinese coolies were brought over. In 1906 over 50,000 were employed, and the result was seen in an output of gold worth £23,600,-



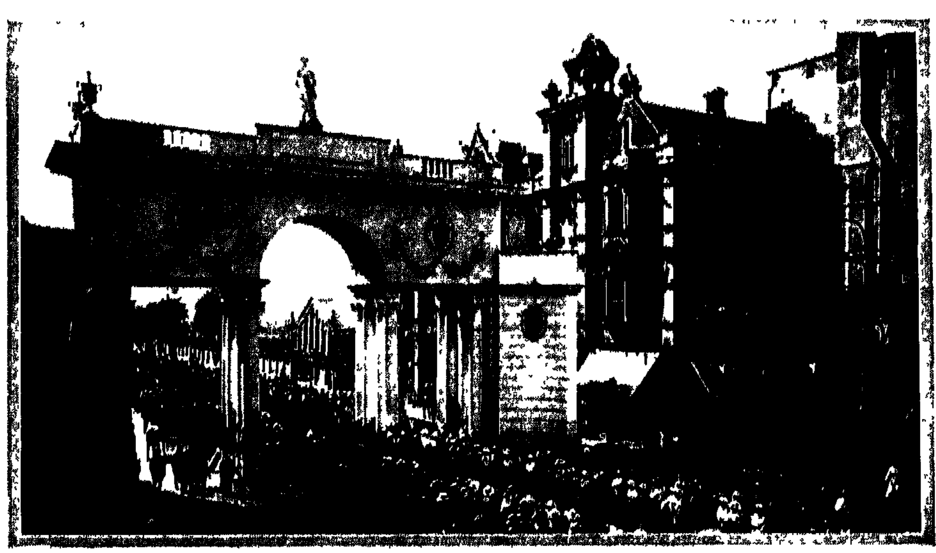
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A bridge on the Cape to Cairo railway, one of the greatest engineering undertakings of modern times.



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Kaffirs from the gold mines of the Rand. The coloured population of British South Africa (8,500,000) outnumbers the white by over five to one.



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South African troops marching through Capetown on their return from France.

000 compared with an output worth £12,000,000 in 1903. From the revenue standpoint Milner's action was justified. But it raised a storm of indignation, notably in Great Britain. South African objections were overcome by regulations for the repatriation of all the Chinese and by the realisation that the intensified production of the mines strengthened the white community. It was otherwise in England where the charge was made that slavery was being reintroduced under the British flag. The charge was untrue: the regulations for the control of the Chinese differed from those enforced in other parts of the empire where indentured labour was employed only in being of a more liberal character. If the slavery charge was false it was effective. It had no small share in giving the Liberals a majority at the General Election in January, 1906. Nor was the repugnance of the British people to the importation of Chinese into the Rand unnatural. The shortage of native labour was temporary: had Milner been content to go more slowly with reconstruction, the employment of Chinese coolies might have been avoided.

A STATESMANLIKE ACT ALMOST WITHOUT PARALLEL

The changes wrought in South Africa by the return of the Liberals to power in Great Britain were great. At that time arrangements were being completed to give the Transvaal that intermediate State between Crown-Colony rule and self-government, styled representative government. It was called the Lyttelton Constitution, from Mr. Alfred Lyttelton, who in September, 1903, succeeded Mr. Joseph Chamberlain as Secretary of State for the Colonies. Milner had retired in May, 1905, and had been succeeded by Lord Selborne — a happy choice, for besides high administrative gifts Selborne possessed a simple faith which enabled him to understand and sympathise with the religious outlook of the Boers. In Cape Colony the Progressive party (predominantly British) was in power. Cecil Rhodes had passed from the scene. He died at Muizenberg on March 26, 1902, and the ex-raider, Dr. Jameson, was Prime Minister. His strongest opponents admitted, however, that Jameson used his position in no partisan or racial spirit. British and Dutch had in fact begun tentatively to draw together when Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, as head of the Liberal party, became Prime Minister of Great Britain.

Campbell-Bannerman had been one of the chief opponents of the Anglo-Boer War; he had even permitted himself to assert that the British had conducted the war by "methods of barbarism," an assertion he vainly tried to explain away. He knew that there could be no going back — that it was impossible to restore independence to the Boers. But he could go forward, and as against the caution and doubt which a representative constitution implied, he decided to place complete confidence in the Boers. In short, he determined on the immediate grant of responsible (*i.e.*, self) government to both the ex-republics. It was the one great act of a statesman who otherwise had no claim to eminence, and its wisdom was speedily justified. Letters-Patent instituted self-government in the Transvaal on December 6, 1906, and in the Orange River Colony on June 30, 1907. As a self-governing colony the Transvaal was left free to decide whether or not to continue to employ Chinese labour on the Rand and that question may be dismissed by recording that the indentures of the Chinese were allowed to run out and that no new indentures were entered into.

DUTCH ELECTORAL VICTORY IN THE TRANSVAAL

The first elections under responsible government in the Transvaal were held in February, 1907. By British extremists this form of government was looked upon as giving back the country to the Boers, but the great point for which Milner had contended was gained — there was political equality, one franchise law, for British and Dutch. At the poll the British vote was divided, while the Dutch voted solidly for their party candidates. They returned 37 members out of a total of 69 and a Boer Ministry was formed by General Botha. His most conspicuous lieutenant was General J. C. Smuts, a brilliant lawyer, a Cape Colonist, who at the age of 28 had become State Attorney in the Transvaal and who during the war had gained a new reputation as a capable soldier. Smuts, like Botha, had unreservedly accepted the results of the war — the loyalty of these two men to the British connection was a great factor in shaping the course of events. In the Orange River Colony the Boers were in an overwhelming majority. Mr. Abraham Fischer, who formed a Ministry, was overshadowed by one of his colleagues, General Hertzog, afterwards leader of the Dutch Nationalists. Apart, however, from Botha and Smuts the leading personality on the Boer side was ex-President Steyn. He had been an irreconcilable in the war, in which his health had been permanently shattered. From Onze Rust, his residence near Bloemfontein, he exercised behind the scenes a powerful influence over the whole Dutch community.

THE CLOSER UNION MOVEMENT

In February, 1906, Campbell-Bannerman had stated that the British Government looked forward, "without forcing it in any way," to a federated South Africa. Federation plans had been tried at intervals since Sir George Grey's attempt in 1858, and all had failed; it seemed fantastic to suppose when Campbell-Bannerman spoke that federation could be a possibility of the near future. Yet in 1907 it became the chief issue in South Africa. "We are members one of another" — nowhere else is this more true than in South Africa, and not only was the folly of racial strife recognised but definite efforts to replace it by close coöperation were being made. The issue lay with the Cape and the Transvaal where numerically the two white races were about equal, and where there were many cross-currents in politics. In the Cape both British and Dutch advocated closer union, while in the Transvaal many Boers saw in federation or, better still, in a unified South Africa, something of greater value than their lost independence. Closer Union Societies were formed during 1907 in every part of the country, and at an intercolonial conference held in May of that year it was resolved, on the motion of General Smuts, "that the best interests and permanent prosperity of South Africa can only be secured by an early union, under the Crown of Great Britain, of the several self-governing colonies." Another resolution looked to the admission of Rhodesia to this union at such time when, grown to manhood, it dispensed with the rule of the Chartered Company.

From that time there was no going back. Never before nor since was such unanimity shown, and the substitution in 1908 of Mr. J. X. Merriman for Jameson as Prime Minister of the Cape did not check the movement. The Afrikander Bond, upon whose support Merriman was dependent, under the guidance of the famous Jan Hofmeyer, favoured closer union. Steyn too gave the movement active support.

The first official step had been taken by Jameson in November, 1906,

when on behalf of the Cape Ministry he invited an expression of opinion from the High Commissioner. Selborne's dispatch, dated January 7, 1907, was a masterly exposition of the case for one national government and, within the strict limits of constitutional action, the High Commissioner did much to promote closer union.

THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

A National Convention, which met first at Durban in October, 1908, elaborated a constitution which, as a Draft Act, was made public in February, 1909. After some anxious moments but with comparatively slight alterations this Constitution was approved by the Cape, Transvaal and Orange River Parliaments. In Natal, with its intensely British outlook, the question was submitted to a referendum, when there voted: for the Draft Act, 11,121; and against it, 3,701. The British Parliament ratified the decision taken, and in September, 1909, the South Africa Act received the Royal Assent. An outstanding provision of the Constitution was that federation had been abandoned and a unitary system adopted. There was but one Parliament for the country; the provincial councils set up had no powers save those delegated to them by the Union Parliament. The only exception was that for five years, and until the Union Parliament otherwise ordered, the provincial councils had the control of education other than university education. The British and Dutch languages were placed on a footing of absolute official equality; this was a point upon which all the Dutch delegates had insisted. The greatest difficulty had arisen over the franchise. The qualifications for voters in the colonies at the time of union gave the franchise to adult males of European descent; they excluded natives and Asiatics from the franchise in the Transvaal and Orange Free State (on the establishment of the Union the old title was revived), and rendered it almost impossible for a native to obtain the vote in Natal. In Cape Colony, however, there was not, and never had been, any bar to the exercise of the franchise on account of race or colour. At the Convention the Cape delegates endeavoured to extend the franchise for natives to all the provinces, while the other delegates sought to deprive the Cape natives of the vote. To insist on either point would have wrecked the Union movement, and as a compromise it was decided to leave the franchise laws as they already existed. The South Africa Act makes it impossible to alter this decision unless there is practical unanimity in the Union Parliament on the question.

The Union came into being on May 31, 1910. The native protectorates of Basutoland, Swaziland and Bechuanaland remained under the control of the Colonial Office. Such was the wish of the natives themselves, who were persuaded that their interests were safer in the hands of the Imperial Government than in those of the Union. Nor had the time come for Rhodesia to make its choice. Nevertheless a South African State had been created, with influence and authority far beyond that which the four separate colonies it superseded could have wielded. Mr. Herbert Gladstone, created Viscount Gladstone, who had been chosen as Governor-General, rightly interpreted public opinion in calling upon General Botha to form the first Union Ministry. This Botha did, and he remained Prime Minister until his death. The General Election, held the following September, gave the "South African" (or Dutch) party a majority over all other parties; the main opposition being the "Unionist" party (mainly British) led by Sir Starr Jameson, who however retired from Parliament early in 1912, when the leadership of the Unionists fell to Sir Thomas Smartt, an ex-Cape Minister.

HERTZOG'S "TWO-STREAMS" POLICY

The destiny of South Africa was now in the hands of its own people, and the country soon recognised the material benefits which a national government was able to bring about. But a year had not passed before many of the Dutch burghers showed that their conception of union was that of Dutch dominance. A narrow nationalism soon found voice and strength. Its chief exponent was General Hertzog, a member of Botha's Cabinet, whose most moderate utterance was his advocacy of the British and Dutch remaining "two nationalities flowing each in a separate channel." British extremists, too, were not lacking, but they were not politically important.

In the hope of preserving the unity of his party Botha exercised great patience. However when, in December, 1912, Hertzog's "anti-British and anti-Imperial sentiments" caused the resignation of one of his colleagues — a Natal member — Botha took action. He formed a new Ministry, from which Hertzog was excluded, and defined its first aim as "building up a new country on non-racial lines." The cleavage between the two sections of the Dutch deepened and in January, 1914, the "two streams" faction formally created a new organisation, styling itself the Nationalist party, under Hertzog's leadership.

THE WORLD WAR AND REBELLION

Six months later German ambitions for the hegemony of Europe drew Great Britain into a titanic struggle which intimately affected every part of the empire. The war at once tested the strength of the bonds between Britain and the Union. The Botha Ministry, supported by the great majority of the community, immediately and unhesitatingly threw in their lot with Britain. They agreed to take immediate action against German South-West Africa. By the Nationalists this decision was bitterly opposed, and it was made the pretext for a rebellion, which broke out in October, 1914. The rebels saw in the war an opportunity, at the least, to restore the independence of the ex-Dutch republics. Few had real sympathy with the Germans, who had mistakenly counted upon the Union taking advantage of the struggle to declare its independence of Britain. The chief rebel leaders were De Wet and C. F. Beyers, Commandant-General of the Union Defence Force. De La Rey had been accidentally shot dead (Sept. 15) when on his way to attend a gathering of burghers hostile to the Government.

With rare moral courage Botha himself took the field against his former comrades in arms, in his own words "men who in the past have been our honoured leaders." By the end of the year the revolt was crushed, De Wet a prisoner, and Beyers dead — drowned in the Vaal while endeavouring to avoid capture. De Wet was tried for treason and sentenced to six years' imprisonment, but was released after six months. He died in February, 1922. Hertzog sympathised with, but did not join, the rebels who, counting only those who took up arms, numbered some 10,000. More significant than Hertzog's adroit balancing was the attitude of ex-President Steyn. Before taking the field Botha repeatedly urged Steyn, as the one man whose word could turn them from their intended path, "to warn our people against treason, against the everlasting stain that anything of the kind would be upon our national honour." Steyn refused to speak the word, though, too late, he did endeavour to bring about peace. His death, in 1916, removed what was seemingly the sole restraining influence on the development of Nationalist policy.

When the rebellion was crushed Botha carried through the operations against German South-West Africa, the campaign ending in July, 1915, with the complete surrender of the Germans. Thereafter the Protectorate was administered by the Union; after the war under the mandatory system established in accordance with the Treaty of Versailles. In all but name the Protectorate became part of the Union.

South Africa also played a conspicuous part in the conquest of German East Africa, where in the most critical year of that long-drawn struggle Smuts commanded the British forces. In addition South African troops fought in Egypt against the Senussi, and won great distinction on the battlefields of France. In the supreme councils of the empire the Union was well represented. On leaving East Africa Smuts came to London (early in 1917) and thereafter sat regularly in the British War Cabinet. And both Botha and Smuts were members of the Peace Conference. One result of that conference was the recognition of the full statehood of the different British Dominions. The importance of this development, making each Dominion a separate entity in the comity of nations, was repeatedly stressed by Smuts in the Union Parliament.

GENERAL SMUTS PRIME MINISTER

Upon Smuts had fallen the burden of the premiership. Botha and Smuts had returned to South Africa after signing the Peace Treaty at Versailles. A little later, on August 27, 1919, Botha died. A great man, who had served his country with whole-hearted devotion, passed from the scene. Lord Buxton, who in 1914 had become Governor-General,[1] inevitably turned to Smuts as Botha's successor. Smuts had to face serious internal dangers. The Nationalist party had in 1917 openly adopted republicanism — the severance from Britain to be achieved by "steady constitutional pressure" — and throughout the war and during the peace negotiations had been extremely active. In 1919 Hertzog visited London and Paris to urge the claims of the Boers to "self-determination." He obtained no satisfaction; the Union, he was told by Mr. Lloyd George, was a self-governing State and could speak only through its constitutionally appointed Ministry.

The General Election of 1920 showed that the Nationalist propaganda had borne fruit. The Nationalists were returned as the strongest single party in the House of Assembly — getting 45 seats out of a total of 134. The South African party gained 40 seats, the Unionists 25 and the Labour party 21. With the opposition of Nationalists and Labour members to encounter, Smuts found the parliamentary situation intolerable. He tried first to reach an accommodation with the Nationalists — the vision of a reunited Dutch party was alluring. A *Hereeniging* (reunion) conference was held, but held fruitlessly, for the Nationalists refused to abandon their republican aim. Smuts then appealed for a new party strong enough to guard the permanent interests of the Union against the "disruptive and destructive" policy of the Nationalists, and, putting aside all sectional advantages, the Unionist party joined the South African party. Thus reinforced Smuts again appealed to the electorate, another general election being held in February, 1921. The result was a substantial majority for the enlarged South African party. The victory was gained, however, entirely by the capture of Labour seats — the Nationalists increased their vote and gained two more seats than in 1920. The Labour party, which had become a powerful organisation with an "advanced" programme, was composed mainly of British workers, and as a

[1] The next Governor-General was Prince Arthur of Connaught, who was succeeded, in 1924, by the Earl of Athlone, a brother of the Queen of England.

party was firmly attached to the British connection. Common hostility to the Government led the party nevertheless to coöperate with the Nationalists. An agreement was reached in 1923 between Hertzog and Colonel Creswell, the Labour leader, that for the next election the Nationalists should drop the republican issue and the Labour party the Socialist plank of their programme. It was doubtful, however, whether such a pact would gain the support of the Labour party generally, for Hertzog could not restrain the Transvaal Nationalists from publicly insisting upon the republican issue. Nevertheless the Labour Party Congress, meeting at Pretoria in January, 1924, endorsed the Hertzog-Creswell agreement.

RHODESIA REMAINS SEPARATE

One effect of the exhibition of narrow Dutch nationalism was to determine Rhodesia not to join the Union. At a referendum taken in October, 1922, the Rhodesians (95 per cent British) voted for self-government, and a year later, October 1, 1923, Southern Rhodesia was formally constituted a self-governing colony. The rule of the Chartered Company, which had done a great work in the extension of British authority, finally came to an end in 1924 when Northern Rhodesia, almost wholly a black reserve, was transformed into a Crown Colony.

In the economic field South Africa suffered from the effects of the Anglo-Boer War and of the World War. Nevertheless, it overcame its difficulties, and the strength of its financial position was reflected in the high position its stock held in the London market. While there were clear indications from 1916 onwards that, apart from new and unexpected discoveries, the gold-mining industry had entered on the inevitable, if slow, period of decline, coal mining became of great importance and there was a steady development in agriculture. Large irrigation works were carried through; manufacturing concerns sprang up. There were periods of great industrial unrest. In 1913 and early in 1914 there was rioting on the Rand, met by stern measures of repression. In 1922 a big strike movement on the Rand was captured by Communist revolutionaries who for a time terrorised Johannesburg. There was much bloodshed and much destruction of property before the rising was suppressed. Labour had an active Socialist wing, but it was clearly shown that the majority of the workers had no sympathy with revolution.

THE POLICY IN REGARD TO THE NATIVES

The division of opinion among the whites with regard to native policy has been indicated. Especially difficult was the problem of how to deal with natives living in urban areas and in districts where tribal life had entirely disappeared. These natives, educated and semi-educated, not only have political aspirations but demand a better economic position. They have formed organisations which successfully copy the methods of the white trade unionists; and they coöperate with that large portion of the population of the Cape Province known as "coloured" — people with a marked admixture of white blood. By better provisions for housing in cities, and also in other ameliorative measures, the Government eased a very difficult situation. On the native question at large the Union Parliament adopted, though not whole-heartedly, the "two stream" policy which Hertzog wished to apply to the white races. A Native Administration Act, passed in 1920, set aside areas for the exclusive occupation of the natives, areas in which they would have full opportunity to develop local self-government. This measure, sympatheti-

cally worked, has in it the elements of success in those districts, such as the Transkei and Zululand, where there are few white inhabitants. Census figures reveal clearly the importance of good relations between whites and blacks. In 1921 there were in British South Africa, in round numbers, 1,600,000 whites and over 8,500,000 natives, coloured people and Asiatics. In the Union alone the proportion was twelve natives to three whites.

WHAT OF THE FUTURE?

There are those who believe that the ultimate supremacy of the white man in South Africa can be assured only by a great immigration of Europeans. This is not necessarily true: much depends upon the rate at which the Bantu peoples develop an educated class comparable with the educated classes in India and possessed of an equal power of swaying the masses. The immediate future of the country will be determined by the extent of the coöperation of its present white inhabitants. At best South Africa can only limp forward if the old racial strife persists. That the larger section of the Dutch have resolved to live up to the ideals upon which the Union was founded affords solid ground for optimism. South Africa however needs more than the coöperation of Boer and Briton. So long as this division lasts the country cannot attain to its highest possibilities. What is needed is, in the words of General Smuts, the blending of the races, the creation of a new type in the world — the South African nation. While awaiting the arrival of this new type much progress can be made. The Union already enables South Africa to take its place in the counsels of the world, as was exemplified by the commanding position occupied by Smuts at the Imperial Conference in the autumn of 1923. The material resources of South Africa are so great that only the folly of man can prevent its development. And, happily, South Africa does not live by bread alone. Its citizens have shown a determination to enrich their moral and mental endowment. Art, science and literature are cultivated, schools flourish and universities multiply. As an outpost of western civilisation in a black continent South Africa has a great part to play and a valuable contribution to make in the progress of mankind.

CHAPTER LXI

FROM MEXICO TO ARGENTINA

By Clarence H. Haring, Ph.D.

Professor of Latin American History and Economics, Harvard University. Formerly Associate Professor, Yale University. Investigator of Reactions of World War in Brazil, Argentina and Chile for Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Secretary for Venezuelan Group, Second Pan-American Financial Conference. Author of *Trade and Navigation between Spain and the Indies; The Buccaneers in the West Indies; etc.*

The most noteworthy developments in the history of Latin America during the past two decades have been the general increase of political stability in most of the states, large and small, the active participation by Latin-American republics in international councils, and the enhanced economic importance of these countries as producers of raw materials demanded by the markets of the world. All are circumstances calculated to engender a spirit of optimism in facing the future.

Political stability in larger measure was bound to come with increasing experience in self-government, an experience denied the peoples of Latin America during the long colonial period that preceded the nineteenth century. Stability has also come with the growth of foreign contacts. In spite of domestic dissensions, the Latin-American republics are intensely patriotic. Desiring to play a rôle in the world commensurate with their size and resources, they feel the need of a larger population, a more intelligent labouring class, and capital for economic expansion. Such things demand public security and the display by politicians and people of political judgment and sobriety. The history of Mexico since 1910 may seem to belie this general statement, but Mexico is the exceptional case that proves the rule.

An ever-enlarging demand for foodstuffs by the world's population, competition for the raw materials of industry, and the accumulations of European capital available before 1914 for export to newer countries, combined to give the Latin-American republics a significance hitherto undreamed of. In the nineteenth century European investments in South America were mostly British; in recent decades German, French, Belgian and North American capital has flowed into that continent. Argentina, with over thirty-five million head of cattle, has supplanted the United States as the largest exporter of beef and meat fats, and ranks close to the top in the production of maize and other cereals, while Paraguay and southern Brazil are assuming a new importance in the world's cattle industry. Australasia finds it increasingly difficult to meet Patagonian competition in mutton, and the largest hide and wool market of the world is at Buenos Aires. Tropical Latin America, with its vast area and exuberant soil, has long held first place in the production of sugar, cacao and coffee, and recently Peru, Mexico and Brazil have recovered prominence among cotton-growing countries. One of the largest petroleum fields to-day lies in north-eastern Mexico, productive areas are being exploited on the coast of Peru and in Patagonia, and geolo-

gists tell us that along the entire great western mountain system from Central America to Chile are indications of vast stores of this essential fuel. The oil-fields of Venezuela, Colombia and Bolivia seem destined to become almost as important as Tampico, and the entire petroleum reserves of Latin America are calculated to-day as probably twice as great as those of the United States. Since the middle of the sixteenth century the mines of Mexico, Colombia, Bolivia and Peru have supplied the world with untold wealth in gold and silver, and some of the richest metalliferous deposits are still to be found in that part of the globe. Bolivia is one of the chief sources of tin, Chile of copper, and Brazil of precious stones. The iron resources of Brazil alone are estimated at four billion tons, and what other mineral wealth lies in the mountains of Brazil and the Andean republics unexploited for want of adequate transportation facilities, is as yet unguessed.

INCREASING WORLD IMPORTANCE OF LATIN AMERICA

Of the twenty Latin-American states, thirteen officially severed relations with the Central Powers during the World War, and eight of these declared war, viz., Brazil, Costa Rica, Cuba, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Nicaragua and Panama. Two other countries, Uruguay and Peru, took steps equivalent to a declaration of war, confiscating German ships interned in their harbours and assuming an attitude benevolent to the Allies. Seven countries remained officially neutral, believing that no sufficient cause existed to justify their Governments in any other course, although they placed their vast material resources at the disposal of the Allied nations. They were: Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Mexico, Paraguay, Salvador and Venezuela. Brazil, which alone of the larger republics became a belligerent, was by the Treaty of Versailles one of the nine powers represented in the Council of the League of Nations. Altogether fifteen of the Latin-American republics joined the League. They have taken an important part in the discussions in the Assembly, and have contributed a president to that body in the person of the distinguished Chilean diplomat, Agustín Edwards.

This increasing participation in international affairs dates from before the World War. It is interesting to recollect that to the first Hague Conference summoned by the Tsar of Russia in 1899, only Mexico and Brazil of all the Latin-American states were deemed of sufficient importance to receive an invitation. At the second conference in 1907, eighteen of these states were represented. For the first time they were admitted to a degree of international fellowship that signified something more than a formal recognition of independence and statehood. And although "the attitude of the Great Powers toward them resembled that of parents of the old *régime:* children at the international table should be 'seen and not heard'—as a matter of fact the Hispanic Americans were both seen and heard!" They revealed to Europe "a skilful intelligence, a breadth of knowledge, a capacity for expression, and a consciousness of national character" which could not be overlooked. In short, the world during the past few decades has gradually come to realise that here is not "merely an indistinguishable block on the map, referred to vaguely as . . . Latin America," but a galaxy of nations, quite different from one another in achievements and prospects, but all of them making notable progress, political and social, and possessing unlimited possibilities in the future. In recent years missions from Europe and from the United States to various Latin-American countries, with the purpose of establishing more intimate commercial and cultural contracts, have followed one another in bewildering and flattering succession.

ARGENTINA

The most stable and progressive republics of Latin America to-day are the three Spanish-speaking states of Argentina, Chile and Uruguay, where climatic and other conditions approximate most closely to those in the United States, and the extensive Portuguese republic of Brazil. At the opening of the twentieth century *Argentina* had just emerged from the effects of one of the most serious financial crises of recent history. Unexampled national extravagance and speculation, coupled with brazen corruption in politics, had caused in 1890–1891 the bankruptcy of the Government and of most of the financial institutions of the country, and had saddled Argentina with immense issues of greatly depreciated paper currency. The last decade of the nineteenth century was a slow and painful pilgrim's progress back to national solvency, in which the country was greatly assisted by the abundance of its harvests and the demand abroad for its beef, mutton and cereals. The resumption of interest payments on the foreign debt in 1897, and the Conversion Law of 1899 by which the paper peso was given a definite and final value of forty-four centavos gold, mark the rehabilitation of Argentine credit abroad. In the following decade national prosperity continued to increase, immigration began to pick up again, industry made rapid strides, and organised labour for the first time began to take a hand in politics. Stabilisation on a gold basis was completed in 1903.

By the year 1900 Argentina had also definitely emerged from the storm and stress period of her political development. The sixty years quarrel between the metropolis and the up-country provinces for control of the Federal Government had ended in a compromise which was really a victory for the provincial politicians; but the arrangement made, the conversion of Buenos Aires into a federal district, has continued unchallenged, and the increase in power and influence of the national executive, an orientation given to Argentine constitutional development by President Julio Roca, has counteracted what might have been the disruptive tendencies of provincial politics. Government by revolution, never so frequent in Argentina as in the more tropical parts of America, has become clearly discredited among the more responsible classes of the nation, and since the national elections of 1892–1893 there has been no serious danger to domestic tranquillity. Gross irregularities in the provincial Governments, still common toward the close of the past century, have become less serious. "Graft" and corruption doubtless exist, and party disputes sometimes rise to fever heat; interventions by the national executive, sometimes for partisan objects, have not ceased; but conditions in Argentina a century after independence compare favourably with conditions in the United States at the same stage in its historical development. In recent years domestic disorders have had this in common with the rest of the world: they have been not primarily the work of politicians, but of labourers organised into unions and often inspired by the socialist propaganda of foreign agitators.

Most of the international quarrels in South America have been the outgrowth of boundary disputes, for the frontiers of the various colonial areas that emerged as independent republics had never been clearly defined under Spanish rule. Argentina in this respect has been no exception. Her most serious dispute was over the long Andean frontier with Chile. A treaty signed in 1881 had provided that the boundary follow the crest of the Andes, which was assumed to be also the continental watershed. When it later appeared that the main line of the cordillera did not coincide with the continental divide, the Argentines demanded that the frontier run along the

crest, the Chileans that it follow the watershed. The situation was complicated by the failure of Chile and Peru to dispose of the Tacna-Arica dispute, and the fear that Chile, by further territorial acquisitions, might upset the balance of power on the continent. Relations were critical in 1895 and again in 1898, both Governments spending large sums which they could ill afford on naval and military armaments. In August, 1898, the Chilean Government delivered a demand for arbitration, which was accepted by President Roca. A district in the north, the Puna de Atacama, was settled by a mixed commission presided over by the United States Minister at Buenos Aires in 1899, the rest of the frontier was submitted to the Sovereign of Great Britain. Another crisis developed toward the close of 1901, and only British diplomatic pressure at Buenos Aires and Santiago, and the intervention of Argentine financial interests allied with British bankers, prevented a severance of relations between the two republics. In November, 1902, the British award was published, and was accepted without reserve by both Governments.

Meantime, two significant treaties had been negotiated, one providing for the compulsory arbitration of all disputes, the other for a limitation of armaments. The former provided that for ten years—

"The High Contracting Parties bind themselves to submit to arbitration all controversies between them, of whatever nature they may be, or from whatever cause they may have arisen, except when they affect the principles of the Constitution of either country, and provided that no other settlement is possible by direct negotiations."

This so-called Argentine Formula had appeared in a treaty with Uruguay in 1899, and was embodied in a similar agreement with Brazil in 1905. It was the basis of the well-known *entente* between the A.B.C. Powers (Argentina, Brazil, Chile) which lasted until the time of the World War.

Except for the Anglo-American Convention of 1817, providing for naval disarmament on the Great Lakes, the other Argentine-Chilean agreement was before 1922 the sole example on record of the realisation of the purpose aimed at in the Hague Peace Conferences. After arduous negotiations and with the friendly offices of Great Britain, conventions were signed on May 28, 1902, and January 3, 1903, providing that war vessels then building for either party were to be sold, and no new acquisitions were to be made for a period of five years without eighteen months' previous notice. Certain Chilean and Argentine battleships were at the same time disarmed so as to establish a "just balance" between the two fleets. Since 1903 the naval budgets of both countries have increased with the increased cost of naval construction, but neither their military nor their naval armaments have been directed at each other.

Upon the conclusion of the second term of President Roca in 1904, Dr. Manuel Quintana was elected, and served till his death in 1906. His vice-president, Dr. José Figueroa Alcorta, filled out the term to 1910. Quintana found coöperation difficult with the Conservative or Nationalist party which for thirty years had been in control of Congress; the congressional elections of 1906 went against the administration, and Figueroa Alcorta likewise faced legislative obstruction. As the Conservatives themselves were split into factions, the President tried to break their hold upon the provinces by what was termed an "upward-downward" revolution. This was a series of national interventions by which local governors and members of the Legislatures suspected of Conservative leanings were replaced by individuals who enjoyed the confidence of the administration. The Constitution permits of such interventions to maintain public order, and pretexts were not hard to find owing to irregularities in provincial government. In this instance the device was not successful; the political interests of the President and his supporters

suffered so much that they had to abandon it. But it has been employed on a smaller scale in subsequent administrations, especially after the Radical victory of 1916.

Owing to the persistent obstruction of Congress, which refused to sanction appointments or approve the budget, Dr. Alcorta in 1908 suspended its sessions and issued an executive decree continuing the budget of the previous year. His act was unconstitutional, but his opponents were divided, and Argentina during the previous generation had advanced far in political wisdom and forbearance. The celebration of the centenary of Argentine independence in 1910 was attended by brilliant festivities, and made more notable by the meeting at Buenos Aires of the fourth Pan-American Conference.

In Argentina, as in most Latin-American countries until recently, there was no secret ballot. As official interference in elections was almost universal, political minorities were inclined to abstain from voting as a useless formality, and to see no relief execept in the exercise of force. Dr. Roque Sáenz Peña, chosen President in 1910, and representing the dominant Nationalist party, came into office determined to remedy this situation. Calling upon Congress for electoral reform, he signed in February, 1912, one of the most important acts of recent Argentine legislation. Voting in the national elections was made both secret and obligatory. The registration of voters and the principle of minority representation were likewise introduced. A citizen who, without good cause, failed to exercise the franchise was subject to a fine. These reforms, advocated by the Radical Civic Union since 1892, by checking bribery and intimidation, for the first time enabled the opposition parties to do their duty at the polls. And the results were astounding. When the new electoral laws were first put substantially to use, in the presidential election of 1916, the Radicals swept the country and captured not only the presidency but a majority of Congress as well.

The Radical party was in large measure a party of the masses as opposed to the Conservative or Nationalist party of the "classes." Its sweeping victory was represented as a liberal reaction against the old *régime* of the wealthy planters and *estancieros*, which for forty years had dominated the politics and administration of the country. The new president, Hipólito Irigoyen, of Basque descent, had been an important figure in the Radical party for many years, although he had not till then held any important political office. His Government accomplished something in the way of liberal legislation. It also apparently improved the national administration, although in 1921 the Minister of Finance was impeached for irregularities in office and acquitted only by a narrow majority. On more than one occasion the President "intervened" in provincial politics where the Conservatives were still in control. As later congressional elections only increased the Radical majority, the old Conservative party seemed about to disappear, and many anticipated new party alignments growing out of possible divisions among the Radicals. Nevertheless, the party rather increased in solidarity under Irigoyen's leadership, and although the national elections of 1922 resulted again in a Radical victory, the Conservatives played a substantial rôle. Many of the older, vested interests, moreover, have aligned themselves with the new dominant party, and that party itself has become more moderate with the exercise of political power. The executive on January 1, 1924, was Dr. Marcelo T. de Alvear. One of his forebears was Supreme Director of the newly organised nation in 1815, and another is credited with being the Baron Haussmann of Buenos Aires, since under his inspiration the capital was largely transformed into its present splendid, metropolitan guise.

The outbreak of the World War in 1914 had an immediate, disturbing effect upon most of the nations of Latin America, for to Europe they were

accustomed to look for their financing, and to the belligerent countries they sent a large percentage of their raw products. Lack of shipping, and the reduction of imports and exports meant declining revenues, and generally a deficit, for Governments which depended chiefly upon customs receipts for their support. The simultaneous closing of the European money markets made the situation doubly difficult. Argentina was no exception to this general condition. Foreign trade and Government finances suffered severely, the floating debt was largely increased, and projected material improvements were set aside. To protect the gold reserves, the export of gold, and the redemption of paper notes by the *Caja de Conversión,* were suspended, and had not been renewed by January 1, 1924. Before the end of 1915, however, adjustments had been made to new conditions, and the economic situation became more normal. There was a renewed demand for Argentine beef and grain, and the high prices prevailing throughout the world aided materially. The cost of living did not increase as greatly as in some other countries, and while the Government remained poor the nation prospered.

The war had a beneficial effect in encouraging the development of native industries to supply articles formerly obtained from abroad. The manufacture of woollen blankets, saddles, boots and shoes, alcohol, etc., increased enormously, and large quantities were exported to the belligerent nations. Furniture and other articles of domestic consumption were produced in greater quantity, and some entirely new enterprises were established. On the other hand, lack of capital, of fuel and of equipment necessary to create manufactures, most of which had also to be imported, acted as a hindrance to industrial expansion. Whether these new developments will be maintained, as with the return to normal conditions European nations attempt to regain their Argentine markets, is a question about which opinion differs widely.

Thoughtful Argentines, with a few striking exceptions, were probably pro-Ally in their sympathies from the beginning of the war, and many, especially after 1917, were anxious to have their country range itself definitely with the Allied cause. The social, literary and artistic traditions of Argentina are Spanish and French, its political principles are largely Anglo-Saxon. Germany has so far exercised little influence upon the character of Argentine civilisation. On the other hand, until 1917 perhaps a majority of the people were merely interested in a titanic struggle between two groups of world powers, the issue of which might disturb the balance among the great states and leave the position of Argentina correspondingly weaker. The Government remained neutral.

When Germany announced the renewal of unrestricted submarine warfare, the Argentine Government expressed regret at such extreme measures, and in a note to the United States of April 10, 1917, it recognised the justice of the decision to declare war on the Central Powers. After several Argentine merchant vessels had been sunk by German submarines, the Government in August sent to Berlin a categorical demand for indemnity, to which Germany acceded, with the promise that there would be no further destruction of Argentine ships. Meantime there had been outbursts of popular feeling in Buenos Aires, impromptu street demonstrations, assaults upon the German Club and upon the offices of Germanophile newspapers. German sympathisers countered with placards, meetings and street processions, generally working, as in the United States, under the guise of "friends of neutrality." In September the United States precipitated a crisis by publishing the Luxburg correspondence, a series of dispatches from the German envoy at Buenos Aires to his Government in which he advised that certain small Argentine ships either be spared or be sunk without a trace (*spurlos versenkt*). Both Houses of the Argentine Congress passed resolutions by large majorities

authorising the President to sever diplomatic relations with Germany, and Count von Luxburg was handed his passports. Berlin, however, promptly disavowed Luxburg's actions, and President Irigoyen, in the face of the almost overwhelming pressure of public opinion, to the end of the war remained firm in his policy of official neutrality. In protest against this attitude, the Argentine Ambassador at Washington resigned his post.

The question, therefore, of Argentine policy during the war revolves about the figure of its strong and dominating chief executive. He himself declared that, with less provocation to war, he was simply pursuing the course which President Wilson followed until the spring of 1917. His decree of March, 1917, placing an embargo on the export of flour and wheat, and his proposal of a conference of the Latin American nations to agree upon a common programme with regard to the European belligerents, have been cited as measures unfriendly to the Allies. The decrees restricting the export of foodstuffs may have been related to the high prices and apparent food shortage in Argentina itself. Unfortunately it coincided with Germany's last desperate attempt to blockade England, and also with the suggestion of the Mexican Government that all supplies to the belligerents from Latin American countries be stopped. Irigoyen's invitation to a Spanish-American conference, sent out in May or June of 1917, had been accepted in July by fifteen states, but the idea was dropped toward the close of the year and not again revived. Apparently only Mexico acceded to it with enthusiasm. It has been represented as an effort to isolate the United States, and possibly Brazil, from the rest of the American republics, but in any case it offered an opportunity for the Argentine President to assert a position of leadership in Latin-American affairs. Count von Luxburg, in a dispatch of August 1, 1917, states that Irigoyen, as a preliminary to the proposed conference, was resolved to conclude a secret agreement with Chile and Bolivia looking to an "aproximación mutua para la protección frente á América del Norte"; and in his dispatches generally he refers to the Argentine President as a friend of Germany, although his Minister of Foreign Affairs is represented as pro-Ally.

In Argentina as elsewhere the extraordinary economic conditions created by the war led to frequent labour troubles. The supply of foreign labour, for obvious reasons, decreased considerably. Not only did immigration almost cease, but many foreigners were called home for military service. Yet owing to poor crops there was unemployment in 1916 and 1917. In the autumn of 1917 occurred a general railway strike which almost completely interrupted traffic and involved 120,000 employees. Although ascribed to pro-German intrigue, as an effort to prevent the shipment of grain abroad, its real purposes were to secure higher wages to meet the acknowledged rise in the cost of living, better regulation of working conditions, and shorter hours of labour. The situation was aggravated by coincident strikes in Buenos Aires, Rosario and Santa Fé of taxi-drivers, dock-labourers, bakers, and tramway workers, while later the great *frigoríficos* or meat-packing establishments of Swift and Armour at La Plata were also involved. The Radical Government gave the impression of secretly favouring the railway men, who after nearly a month of idleness secured the recognition of most of their demands. The companies, to cover the additional outlay involved, were authorised to increase their tariffs. Most liberal-minded Argentines admit that the strikers had justification for their action.

The end of the war found Argentina in a state of considerable social and economic unrest, complicated apparently by foreign, socialist propaganda, and strikes continued to be numerous. The most serious outbreak was in January, 1919, when a general strike, proclaimed in Buenos Aires, soon spread to every



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The famous "Christ of the Andes," erected at the top of the pass between Argentina and Chile to symbolise the peace and good will existing between these two countries.



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The beautiful avenue of royal palms in the Botanical Gardens of Rio de Janeiro, the capital of Brazil.

important town in the republic. For several days the rebels were virtually in control of the capital. The President on January 11 appointed General Dell Epiane dictator of Buenos Aires, martial law was proclaimed, and after severe street fighting the ringleaders were interned on warships in the harbour, and the movement collapsed. One of the most widely known and most stubbornly fought of these labour conflicts was the strike of the port workers which came to a head in May and June of 1921. Ocean liners were compelled to discharge their cargoes at Montevideo, and the principal shipping lines threatened to withdraw their services from Buenos Aires altogether.

Argentina came through the war period with a great increase in wealth, in foreign trade and in financial strength. Indeed during all the years from 1903 to 1920, with the single exception of 1911, the country had a favourable balance of trade. Here as elsewhere, however, in the latter half of 1920 the slackening in the demand for raw materials and the consequent slump in prices inaugurated a period of acute depression, which was aggravated by the importation of foreign goods at high prices and far in excess of exports. As the Government continued to prohibit the exportation of gold, Argentine exchange suffered.

After the war Argentina was one of the fifteen Latin-American states which joined the League of Nations. At the first meeting of the League Assembly at Geneva, in November, 1920, the Argentine delegate, Sr. Pueyrredon, urged the consideration of four amendments to the League Covenant as essential to the establishment of the League on a broad basis. This included compulsory arbitration of international disputes, election of members of the Council by the Assembly, and the admission of all sovereign states including Germany. When the Assembly declined to consider any amendments at its first session, the Argentine delegation dramatically withdrew. Nominally, however, Argentina still considered herself a member, and the present administration shows itself inclined to resume active participation.

The two decades since 1900 have witnessed in Argentina a continued growth in power of the national Government, and with it of an intense spirit of nationalism. The Federal Government makes grants to the provinces to promote internal development, since 1905 has participated in the support of primary and normal schools while entirely supporting secondary and university education, and it intervenes, sometimes with armed force, to maintain political tranquillity in the provinces. Argentina, therefore, has become a strongly centralised organisation, in which the "autonomous" provinces play a much less significant rôle than the makers of the constitution probably intended. The President of the republic also has a much more important part in shaping the legislative programme than has the President of the United States. Although there is no parliamentary system, he is to some extent a Prime Minister. This is doubtless due in part to the fact that in Argentina, as in other Latin-American states, politics have until recently been much more the politics of personalities than the politics of principles, while Legislatures have generally lacked the incentive or the intelligence to initiate broad programmes of national progress and development. The recent rise to power of the new Radical or Progressive party, although accompanied by no decrease in the power of the President, is a sign of enhanced political consciousness on the part of the Argentine people, and an earnest of the increased desire for democratic government.

BRAZIL

The Portuguese state of *Brazil* has been a republic only since 1889. The Government of Dom Pedro II had been a centralised and parliamentary

monarchy; the Constitution of 1891 provided for a federal republic and a presidential system like that of the United States. For several years the party which overthrew the empire instituted a frankly militarist *régime*, despite the constitution and at entire variance with Brazilian traditions. After a bitter revolt in the navy supported by the state of Rio Grande do Sul in 1893–1894, a civilian president was elected, and praetorian government came to an end. The election to the presidency in 1898 of a distinguished lawyer, Manoel Ferrez de Campos Salles, consolidated the principles of a federal and presidential system, and assured the autonomy of the sovereign states.

One of the most serious problems of the republic was that of finance. Even under the empire, since the Paraguayan War of 1865–1870, the public credit of Brazil had been impaired. Under the republic, with the squandering of national resources by military governments, the expenditures caused by civil war, and the corruption that had crept into every branch of the public service, the situation became very much worse. There had been excessive issues of paper money, the rate of exchange was increasingly unfavourable, and each year found a deficit in the Treasury. When in 1898 the Government faced a default, the President-elect was sent abroad to negotiate an adjustment with British and French creditors. The result was a five per cent funding loan obtained from the Rothschilds and secured by the customs revenues. In return an equivalent amount of paper money was to be retired and cancelled at a fixed rate of exchange.

A further effort to stabilise the currency was made in the administration of Affonso Penna (1906–1909), presumably suggested by the Conversion Law of 1899 in Argentina. In December, 1906, he signed a bill creating a Conversion Office (*Caixa de Conversão*), or Government bank which was to issue against gold received notes redeemable in gold on presentation at the bank. At the end of the first year it had accumulated over six millions sterling. The operation was never consistently carried out, however, and the only result was to create two standards, the gold milreis being used chiefly in international payments.

During Dr. Penna's administration, in connection with a serious crisis in the coffee industry, the celebrated Valorisation Scheme was instituted. At the close of the nineteenth century Brazil was supplying more than two-thirds of the world's coffee, and after 1900 production greatly increased, especially on the extraordinarily fertile red soils of the state of São Paulo. Although steps were taken to restrict Brazilian planting, stocks accumulated until in 1906 the warehouses of the world had on hand some eleven million sacks. With an unprecedented yield in Brazil of over twenty million sacks, the planters of São Paulo faced ruin. To avert it the Valorisation plan was adopted. A minimum price was fixed for coffee, to sustain which the state of São Paulo, supported by the Federal Government, purchased over eight million bags and stored them for disposal in a more favourable market. To finance the operation loans were floated in Europe and the United States, and a surtax was placed on exports to meet the interest charges. At the same time the export of the poorer varieties of coffee was forbidden, and a campaign of propaganda was begun to increase consumption abroad. Fortunately the crop of 1907 was very small, and the Government stocks were gradually reduced as the market permitted. In 1914 three million sacks still remained, stored at Hamburg, Bremen, Havre and Trieste, most of which were eventually taken over by the belligerent Governments. To-day there are over 700,000,000 coffee trees in São Paulo alone, representing an investment of £100,000,000.

The Valorisation Scheme was the cause of a slight difficulty with the

United States Government in 1911, when the latter claimed that the plan as a restraint of trade violated the Sherman Act. When suit was instituted by the Attorney-General against the Committee on Coffee Valorisation of the State of São Paulo, the Brazilian Ambassador protested, and his Government suspended the preferential tariff on American goods. After an exchange of diplomatic notes, the suit was dropped upon the promise that all the stores of valorised coffee in New York would be sold in the open market before April 1, 1913, and the tariff concessions to the United States were revived.

One of the most important accomplishments of Brazil in the first decade of the present century was the settlement of boundary disputes with her neighbours. As remarked before, undetermined frontiers have been one of the most fruitful sources of international difficulties in South America, and Brazil, marching with every country on the continent except Chile, has had disputes with each. Most of them have been adjusted by arbitration or treaty since 1900, under the guidance of Brazil's most distinguished Foreign Minister, Baron Rio Branco (d. 1912). During the presidency of Campos Salles a controversy dating from the eighteenth century respecting the frontier of Brazil and French Guiana became acute, but was submitted to the arbitration of the President of Switzerland, whose decision was announced in December, 1900. French colonists, long settled in the area claimed by Brazil, had some years before set up what they called the independent republic of Counani, and their opposition to the Swiss award had to be suppressed by force. Brazil was encouraged to take steps for the adjustment of the frontiers with British and Dutch Guiana, the former being settled by the arbitration of the King of Italy in 1904, the latter by agreement with Holland two years later. Boundary treaties were also signed with Ecuador in 1901 and 1905, with Bolivia in 1903, Colombia in 1907, and Peru in 1909.

The treaty with Bolivia settled the so-called Acre dispute. The Acre territory, in the heart of the upper Amazon country between Peru, Bolivia and Brazil, had most of it been recognised by earlier treaty as belonging to Bolivia, although no serious attempt to occupy the region politically had been made. With the extension of the rubber industry toward the headwaters of the Amazonian system, many Brazilians settled in the region, and Bolivian magistrates were installed. In July, 1899, the Brazilians rebelled against the Bolivian authorities and declared Acre an independent state. A sanguinary war between Bolivian soldiers and the rubber gatherers led to complications with the Brazilian Republic, which naturally sympathised with its own people. It was the Texas controversy over again. The dispute proved amenable to negotiation, however, and by the Treaty of Petropolis of November, 1903, Brazil gained this rich rubber territory in return for the payment to Bolivia of £2,000,000. Brazil also undertook to construct a railway round the cataracts of the Madeira River in order to give Bolivia a much-desired outlet by way of the Amazon to the Atlantic. The line was completed in 1912.

Brazil is distinguished by the possession of one of the most beautiful capitals in the world. Twenty years ago, however, Rio de Janeiro, though blessed with a superb natural environment, "was still in many respects a colonial city. Its streets were narrow and crooked; its public buildings were antiquated; and its sanitation was wretched." It was a pest-hole of smallpox and yellow fever. Its transformation into a modern city dates from the administration of Rodrigues Alves (1902–1906). The movement for civic improvement was led by the prefect, Pereira Passos, seconded by the distinguished Brazilian physician, Dr. Oswaldo Cruz. His ambitious pro-

gramme included an improved water-supply, rigid enforcement of sanitary measures and the scientific eradication of the mosquito, the construction of great quays and warehouses, and the clearing out of some of the older quarters to make way for modern avenues. A new boulevard, driven through the heart of the city in 1904, is one of the handsomest thoroughfares in the western hemisphere, and is continued for miles along the bay shore by the beautiful Avenida Beira Mar. To-day Rio de Janeiro is one of the healthiest tropical cities in the world.

Upon the death of President Penna in 1909, he was succeeded by his vice-president, Nilo Peçanha, and in March, 1910, Marshal Hermes da Fonseca, leader of the Conservative party, was chosen President of the republic over Ruy Barbosa, the Liberal candidate. His opponents called the administration a military dictatorship, but it was on the whole no less constitutional than that of his predecessors. It was marked, however, by serious disturbances at Rio de Janeiro and in the north. At Rio in November, 1910, the crews of most of the Brazilian navy mutinied in the harbour, demanding the abolition of corporal punishment, increased pay and shorter hours, and by a short bombardment of the city forced Congress to grant their demands and pass an act of general amnesty. On December 9 the Marine corps on Cobras Island also mutinied, but after an action lasting ten hours the rebels surrendered with heavy losses in killed and wounded. These revolts were followed by reforms in naval administration, although many of the offenders were embarked on a vessel and executed upon the high seas. In 1912 there were local disturbances in several of the states, especially in the north, where in the state of Bahia election disorders required the intervention of federal troops. A notable geographical achievement during this administration was the expedition made in 1914 by Theodore Roosevelt, in conjunction with Colonel Rondon and other Brazilian officers, down the Rio Duvida (River of Doubt), a distance of nearly five hundred miles, of which by far the greater part had never been visited.

A perennial difficulty in Brazil was still that of national finance. In spite of presidential messages to Congress urging economy, public expenditures had increased in alarming proportion to receipts, resulting in heavy deficits. In 1913 there was a sharp decline in the price of rubber and coffee, and the consequence was an industrial and commercial crisis, aggravated by the outbreak in 1914 of the World War. The reduction in customs receipts came at a time when the Government was heavily obligated to local and foreign contractors. It therefore defaulted on the external debt, which aggregated about £100,000,000. Toward the close of 1914 a funding scheme was announced, and another loan was negotiated with the Rothschilds amounting to £15,000,000. The crisis was complicated by an insurrection in the state of Ceará, starting among the rubber gatherers who could no longer obtain employment, and forcing the Federal Government to take over the local administration. Signs of unrest in Rio de Janeiro at the time of the presidential election in March led to arrests and restrictions upon the Press. As a result of the election Dr. Wenceslao Braz, former governor of Minas Geraes and vice-president under Marshal Fonseca, became head of the state.

From the outbreak of the World War popular sympathies in Brazil were almost wholly on the side of the Allied Powers, in spite of some annoyance caused by the British "blacklists." The German policy of unrestricted submarine warfare announced early in 1917 forced the nation to assume an active share in the conflict. On February 8 the Brazilian Cabinet dispatched a strongly worded protest to Berlin, and after the sinking of the steamer "Paraná" off the French coast early in April, on the 10th the German Minister at Rio de Janeiro was handed his passports. With the destruction of an-

other vessel, the "Tijuca," the drift toward war became more rapid, and late in May President Braz in a message to Congress advised that neutrality be revoked, on the score that unity of action with the United States was a tradition of Brazilian foreign policy. The Chamber of Deputies unanimously approved the President's recommendation, and also authorised the seizure of German ships interned in Brazilian waters, aggregating nearly 250,000 tons. After the sinking of the "Macao," a state of war was formally declared on October 26, 1917. Many popular outbreaks, with destruction of German property, were reported throughout the year, especially in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Rio Grande do Sul.

Brazil, in view of her immediate resources, gave considerable aid to the Allied Powers. Although the larger units of her navy had not been entirely renovated by the time of the Armistice, destroyers and other small vessels saw active service on both sides of the Atlantic, and physicians and aviators went abroad to be attached to Allied armies. A law of compulsory military service was also promulgated, but up to the cessation of hostilities comparatively few citizens had been called out, because the Government lacked the means for adequate instruction and equipment.

Brazil has in her southern states a German population of perhaps 400,000, whose loyalty to their adopted country was often questioned. Sensational journalists made statements about the presence of armed bodies of Germans in Santa Catharina, and of aid rendered to German submarines and commerce raiders; and stories persisted that the German Brazilians were prepared for an uprising if opportunity offered. If these Germans constituted a danger to the integrity of the republic, however, it was not of a military sort; it consisted in the presence of isolated nuclei of population, without cultural or sentimental affinities with the rest of the nation, and ignorant of its civic and political motives. The course of violence and intimidation pursued by German agents in the United States before the spring of 1917 had no serious counterpart in Brazil. That Germans are a political and industrial power in the three southern states, however, especially in Santa Catharina, is certain.

The administration of President Braz was from many points of view very successful. Public expenditures were reduced, the budget was balanced, the development of natural resources promoted, and economic relations were fostered between Brazil and her neighbours. Prices rose high, immigration was greatly retarded and the labour market depleted; but industry and commerce eventually adjusted themselves to new conditions, and the war demand for Brazilian products so increased exportation that the country was left with the largest trade balance in her history. The war also developed some important industries, especially meat packing and textiles, and caused an expansion and diversification of tropical agriculture. In 1917 the Valorisation plan for coffee was again resorted to. The state of São Paulo, threatened with a large crop and restricted markets, purchased about three million bags, and constructed enormous warehouses for their storage on the docks at Santos. The destruction by frost of a large part of the 1918 crop again saved the Government from an anxious situation.

In the national election of 1918 there was no contest, the sole candidate for the presidency being Rodrigues Alves, senator from São Paulo, who had been President of the republic in 1902–1906. The President-elect, however, was too ill to be inaugurated in November, and died on January 15, 1919. Another election was held in April to fill the unexpired term, and Dr. Epitacio da Silva Pessoa was chosen. Dr. Pessoa was then in Paris as chief of the Brazilian delegation to the Peace Conference, and on his journey home paid official visits to England, Portugal and the United States.

In the presidential election of 1922, although the outcome was for some time in dispute, there seems to be little doubt that Arturo da Silva Bernardes had the support of the more responsible elements in the republic. The supporters of the defeated candidate, Nilo Peçanha, attempted to create disaffection in the army and navy, and on July 5 the garrison of one of the forts in the harbour of Rio de Janeiro revolted, led by a son of the former president, Marshal Fonseca. The rest of the capital garrison remained loyal, and after a severe artillery duel, directed by the rebels in part against the city, the insurgents surrendered on the 6th. Meanwhile the cadets of the military academy marched out to join the revolt, but encountered loyal regiments and were quickly disarmed and captured. The Fonsecas, father and son, and other leaders, including several opposition editors, were imprisoned, and the Military Club was closed for six months.

Brazil has hardly emerged from the era of personal politics. Parties with sharply defined political principles can scarcely be said to exist. The spectre of militarism, however, seems to have been effectively laid, the new President has behind him a remarkable record as governor of the state of Minas Geraes, and the country anticipates an era of increased financial and political stability.

URUGUAY

Uruguay, the smallest republic in South America, although larger in area than New England, was until fifteen years ago regarded as one of the most troubled of the Latin American states. In 1924 it is surpassed by none in the display of political and social progress. Divided, from the foundation of the republic, into two bitterly hostile factions, the *Blancos* and the *Colorados*, for fifty years after 1865 the latter remained continuously in control of the Government, a situation which could only result in constant domestic discord. With one exception, the insurrections since 1865 were attempts of the *Blancos* to regain office. Uruguay therefore suffered from all the vices popularly associated with "republican" government in Latin America — violence at elections, barrack uprisings, squandering of national resources, and disregard of civil rights.

The President of the republic in 1900, Juan Lindolfo Cuestas, was one of the first to make consistent efforts at reform in finance and administration, and in the elimination of military influence. His government was often arbitrary, but his path was beset with great difficulties arising from the opposition of classes whose interests were affected. In 1904, during the presidency of his successor, José Batlle y Ordoñez (1903–07), the last serious insurrection occurred. It lasted nine months, and the nation suffered severely, for in the civil wars both insurgents and Government troops invariably lived off the country. A peace signed in September provided for a general amnesty, the supervision of elections by party committees, the recognition of the existing Government by the rebels, and the distribution of $100,000 among their leaders.

Batlle, leader of the *Colorado* party, was an able, resolute personality, who, while following precedent in making pretty wide use of his authority, aimed consistently at social and political progress. He wielded a strong influence over the administration of his successor, Claudio Williman, during which the Cabinet was reorganised, a supreme court established, provincial government improved, and the University of Montevideo created. The construction of port works at Montevideo, begun by a French company in Cuestas' administration, was completed, and a surplus of $9,000,000 was accumulated in the national Treasury. When Batlle in 1910 announced that

he would again be candidate for the presidency, the *Blancos*, accusing the Government of illegal concentration of power in the executive and of preventing free elections, again threatened violence; but the movement was nipped in the bud. The installation of wireless stations so that country garrisons could not be isolated as when they depended upon the telegraph, and the equipment of troops with the automatic Colt, use of which was restricted to the army, helped to eliminate revolution from the republic.

In the second administration of President Batlle (1911-1915), and in that of his successor, Dr. Feliciano Viera (1915-1919), political persecution ceased, freedom of the Press became a reality, and the country undertook a series of significant social reforms. Plans were drawn up for the beautifying of Montevideo, and legislation was enacted providing for an eight-hour day, old-age pensions, industrial education, and an inheritance tax. Other laws established Government control over insurance and over telegraph and telephone lines.

More or less at Batlle's suggestion, a congress assembled at Montevideo in 1917 to revise the constitution, in particular to adopt a commission form of executive power. Owing to the over-confidence of the *Colorados*, the *Blanco* opposition secured a majority of the delegates and control of the convention. It not only voted a plural executive, but enacted many other changes. The principles were introduced of minority representation and the secret ballot; increased facilities for local self-government were provided; the Catholic Church was disestablished; and the president was limited to two, not successive, terms. The new constitution, adopted by the convention on October 15, was ratified by popular vote in the following month, and went into effect with the inauguration of President Baltasar Brum on March 1, 1919. The general result of the innovations is to decrease the centralisation of the Government, reduce the power of the executive, and give political minorities an opportunity to make their influence felt in the national administration.

There is still a president of the republic, elected by direct popular vote instead of by Congress as formerly. But associated with him is a National Commission of Administration, of nine members chosen to serve for six years also by popular vote, three being elected every two years. The duties of the commission pertain especially to public instruction, labour, industry, banking, public health and charities, and finance. It must prepare and submit a general budget each year to Congress, and may participate in the deliberations of Congress without the right to vote. The president assumes the general political administration of the country, and represents the republic in foreign affairs. In addition there is the usual cabinet, of heads of administrative departments, three of whom are named by the president, six by the commission. The new executive represents an interesting experiment in the attempt to combine the advantages of a parliamentary and a presidential system of government.

From the outbreak of hostilities in Europe, sympathy in Uruguay manifested itself strongly in support of the Allied Powers. The Government protested against Germany's submarine policy, and in 1917 expressed its "sympathy and moral solidarity" with the United States. Diplomatic relations with Germany were severed by vote of Congress on October 7, 1917, as a consequence of the Luxburg disclosures in Argentina. In the following April, when it was reported that a German submarine had captured a delegation sent from Uruguay to France, the Government inquired by way of Switzerland if Germany understood a state of war to exist between the two countries. But war was never declared, nor were military measures undertaken. On the other hand, the Government opened large credits with the

Entente Allies for the purchase of Uruguayan products, and extended the hospitality of its ports to Allied warships. Uruguay, like Argentina, suffered considerably toward the end of the war from labour troubles, induced by the rising costs of living.

The present President of Uruguay, Dr. José Serrato, inaugurated into office on March 1, 1923, is an engineer by profession, and owes his success to his record as Minister of Finance and of Public Works. At the time of his election he was president of the State Mortgage Bank.

The republic, consisting mostly of undulating plains, with some broken ranges of hills in the north, is devoted chiefly to agriculture, stock-raising and dependent industries. The national debt is large in proportion to the population, and military expenditures are high, in a small state wedged between two powerful neighbours. But to-day Uruguay is one of the most prosperous and progressive of the Latin-American republics, alert to utilise new ideas in education and social reform.

CHILE

Chile, like Argentina, during the past two decades has seen the rise to prominence of an organised labour movement, and a progressive liberalising of the Government. In the realm of foreign affairs its chief problem has been the solution of the vexed Tacna-Arica dispute with Peru.

Since the civil war of 1891 the presidential system of government, implied in the Chilean Constitution but ignored in practice, has definitely made way for a parliamentary system, under which the Cabinet remains in office only so long as it receives the support of the majority in the Chamber of Deputies. This victory of Congress over the executive has relegated the latter to a minor rôle in the recent political history of the republic. As Chileans, though divided in a general way into Conservatives and Liberals, have never developed a two-party system, that history has been one of frequent, often kaleidoscopic, ministerial changes. That under the circumstances, domestic and foreign policy have not displayed more instability or lack of cohesion, is a tribute to the political sense of the nation.

In a measure the Balmacedist War of 1891 resulted in victory for the conservative political oligarchy associated with the great landowners and with the Church. Yet the outcome of the struggle was also to carry the nation several stages farther toward a more liberal *régime*. The war settled the point that thereafter there should be no executive interference with the freedom of elections, and the victorious party accepted one of the principles of its defeated rivals by granting to the municipalities a large measure of self-government, with the right to supervise the registration of voters in both local and national elections.

The Liberals, under a cloud since the fiasco of Balmaceda's administration, were strong enough in 1901 to elect their candidate, Jerman Riesco, to the presidency. Since then the Conservative party has steadily declined in influence, and become associated with those militant clerical interests which desire to maintain and strengthen the favoured position occupied by a wealthy and influential Church. The election of Pedro Montt in 1906 was due largely to support received from the Radical and Liberal groups, and the election of his two successors, Ramón Barros Luco in 1910 and Juan Luis Sanfuentes in 1915, represented the continued triumph of Liberal tendencies over the Conservative and Clerical parties in the nation.

The settlement of the long-standing boundary dispute with Argentina in 1902, and the limitation of armaments that followed, were reflected in an

almost immediate benefit to the national finances of both countries. In Chile military expenditures were reduced, and the sale of warships helped to replenish a depleted treasury. Relations with the United States, which during the preceding twenty years had more than once been sadly ruffled, also became more friendly. Outstanding pecuniary claims between the two countries were cleared up by the decisions of mixed commissions, or in the case of the troublesome Alsop Claim by arbitration of the King of Great Britain (1911). Difficulties with Bolivia arising out of her defeat in the War of the Pacific were settled by the treaty of 1904, according to which Bolivia renounced all claim to her former sea-coast on condition that Chile pay £300,000, finance the construction of a railway from the port of Arica to La Paz, the Bolivian capital, and allow free passage of goods to and from Bolivia through her territory. Fifteen years after the railway's completion the Bolivian section was to belong to Bolivia.

In the attempted adjustment of her dispute with Peru, Chile was less successful. By the Treaty of Ancon which terminated the Peruvian War in 1883, Chile was permitted to occupy the small, frontier provinces of Tacna and Arica for ten years, at the end of which time a plebiscite was to be taken to determine the definite sovereignty over them, the winning country to pay to the loser the sum of ten million *pesos* or *soles* as the case might be. The form of the plebiscite and arrangements for the indemnity payment were left to a later protocol.

The plebiscite, due in March, 1894, was not held, as the parties could not agree upon the manner of holding it. It has not since been held, and Chile remains in possession of the provinces. Both parties have laid claim to sovereignty over the disputed area, and each has accused the other of obstructing the fulfilment of the treaty's terms. In the long and tortuous diplomatic negotiations, qualifications of the voters, secrecy of the ballot, and supervision of the elections were naturally the vital issues at stake. In 1898 an agreement to submit these conditions to the arbitration of the Queen of Spain was rejected by the Chilean Congress. Between 1902 and 1905 diplomatic relations between the two states were severed, after which discussion was renewed till 1912, without result. A proposal by Chile in 1910 provided for "a plebiscite to be open to those who had resided in the territory six months, the election board to be presided over by a Chilean." Although manifestly designed to secure a Chilean preponderance in the vote, Peru countered with the suggestion that the vote be open to Chileans and Peruvians resident in Tacna and Arica since July, 1907, and that the board be presided over by a neutral. Finally in 1912 President Billinghurst of Peru accepted certain Chilean conditions regarded by the Peruvian Congress as so unjust that diplomatic relations between the two republics were again suspended.

Peru meantime protested against measures obviously directed toward the Chileanisation of the disputed territories. Schools conducted by Peruvians were closed, Peruvian religious establishments interfered with, the Peruvian press restricted, and Chilean colonisation encouraged. While twenty years ago the population of the provinces was overwhelmingly Peruvian, as a result of this policy the outcome of a plebiscite in 1924 would be much more doubtful. In 1917 friendly relations between the two republics were resumed, but in the following year there were renewed difficulties in consequence of anti-Peruvian riots at Iquique and Antofagasta, culminating in the mutual withdrawal of consular agents from both countries.

Peru from time to time had shown an inclination to have the whole controversy submitted to arbitration, a procedure which Chile until 1922 persistently declined. Finally, at the invitation of the President of the United

States, plenipotentiaries of the two Governments met in Washington in May of that year, and on July 20 were brought to an agreement for a limited arbitration of this vexatious dispute. The protocol provides that the question whether or not a plebiscite shall be taken, and if so under what conditions, shall be submitted to the decision of the President of the United States. If he decides that a plebiscite to-day is impracticable, the two parties will endeavour by direct negotiation again to settle the status of the Tacna-Arica territory; and should there again be no agreement, "the two Governments will request the good offices of the Government of the United States in order that an agreement may be reached." The protocol was approved by the Chilean and Peruvian Congresses in the following autumn.

Since 1919 Bolivia has injected herself into the dispute. The Bolivians have never reconciled themselves to the loss of their sea-coast, and have negotiated with Chile and with Peru alternately to recover access to the Pacific. Recently their Government has assumed the position that on both economic and historic grounds an outlet to the sea should be conceded through Tacna-Arica. In 1922 Bolivia protested vigorously at not being admitted to the Conference at Washington, but both Peru and Chile were unwilling to extend the scope of its programme to include Bolivia's claims.

One of Chile's principal domestic problems since 1900 has been that of the currency. The Civil War of 1891 had had a demoralising influence upon the national finances. The debt was greatly increased, and the country flooded with paper money issued by the revolutionary Government. In spite of violent opposition by the debtor classes, in 1895 Congress passed a bill establishing the gold standard and providing for the redemption in gold of the paper currency. Three years later, in view of the possibility of an armed conflict with Argentina, this law was suspended till January, 1902, and an issue of fifty million paper pesos was authorised. But in 1901, the international situation continuing critical, conversion was again postponed, while pressure on the Government for new issues of inconvertible money proved irresistible. As a result, foreign exchange was low and fluctuating, and industries were adversely affected. The outbreak of the World War in 1914 and the loss of German markets caused serious economic disturbances in Chile as elsewhere, and the conversion law, to go into effect in 1915, was again postponed for two years. Although Chilean prosperity began to revive in 1916, owing to the Allied demand for raw materials used in the manufacture of munitions, the times were scarcely propitious for a return to the gold standard, and Chile still possesses a depreciated paper currency.

Chile lies in the belt of frequent seismic disturbance, and has more than once experienced a severe setback from the effects of earthquakes. One of her most terrible visitations was in 1906, when in the evening of August 16 the city and port of Valparaiso were almost entirely destroyed, and towns were damaged from Santiago to Talca. The shocks continued till August 31, three thousand lives were lost at Valparaiso, and relief measures on a large scale were necessary. For several years the country suffered from the commercial disruption that ensued. On November 10, 1922, the northern coast experienced a severe quake accompanied by gigantic tidal waves, which wrought havoc from Coquimbo to beyond Chañaral, and caused much material damage as well as loss of life.

At the outbreak of the World War a considerable section of Chilean opinion was inclined to favour the Central Powers, an attitude which might occasion surprise in view of the rôle played by British capital and French intellectual and legal ideas in the development of the Chilean nation. Yet it cannot be denied that German influence had made great strides in the two decades preceding 1914. The army had been reorganised under Prussian

officers, and transformed to the last detail into a small replica of the military establishment in Germany. Chilean officers naturally had a professional interest in the success of German arms. German teachers were imported as far back as the administration of Balmaceda, and exerted a beneficent influence upon all grades of Chilean education. Since about 1896, when German import and export houses began to take root in the country, German trade had vastly increased and threatened to overtake that with Great Britain. Pro-German sympathies were strong in clerical circles, for although the Catholic party had often displayed an anti-German bias before the war, in the European quarrel the clergy could not forget that it was socialist France which had confiscated the property of the Church and expelled the religious orders. In the southern provinces, moreover, resided a population of German descent, strong in industry and intelligence rather than in numbers, whose loyalties, after that due to Chile, naturally lay with their German cousins in Europe. After the outbreak of the war German propaganda was active and insistent, from Punta Arenas to Iquique, in the public press and by means of pamphlets, maps and broadsides.

The official attitude of Chile throughout was one of strict neutrality. In February, 1917, the Government protested sharply against the campaign announced by Germany of unrestricted submarine warfare, but upon the entry of the United States into the conflict it reiterated its neutral policy. Chile in fact had nothing to gain by taking sides in the struggle, could contribute little in a material way to its outcome, and because of her remoteness and the few ships engaged in European trade had no occasion for friction over the depredations of submarines. Yet the neutrality of her waters was more than once violated, by both parties in the conflict, as when the German cruiser "Dresden" was destroyed by a British squadron at the Juan Fernández Islands in March, 1915. During the later stages of the war a gradual change in public opinion was clearly discernible, and the feeling increased among responsible Chileans that the republic should range herself on the side of the Allies.

Despite the shocks of war and earthquake, the past two decades have witnessed a tremendous increase in national wealth and prosperity, and by 1918 the figures for Chile's export trade were double those ever reached before. Railway construction, too, has made significant strides. In 1910 was opened the tunnel through the cordillera which was the last link in the transandine railway connecting Santiago with Buenos Aires; a few years later the longitudinal railway was completed from Iquique to Puerto Montt; and the line which Chile had agreed to construct from Arica to La Paz was finished in 1913. Plans have been made for a second transandine road from Salta in northern Argentina to the Pacific port of Antofagasta, and construction has begun on the Argentine section of the line.

The presidential election in June, 1920, was one of peculiar significance and interest. Sr. Arturo Alessandri, a distinguished lawyer of Italian descent and senator from Tarapacá, was the candidate of the labouring and middle-class interests as represented in the party group called the Liberal Alliance. His opponent, Sr. Luis Barros Borgoño, was the candidate of the National Union, composed mainly of Conservatives and Liberals of the dominant political and landed aristocracy. The election was so close that in place of the normal procedure—a scrutiny of electoral returns by Congress—a special board, designated the Court of Honour, was chosen to pass upon the matter. Its decision was in favour of Alessandri, as having received a majority of one electoral vote; which was accepted by Congress and acclaimed with enthusiasm by the nation at large. The platform on which President Alessandri was elected embraces many reforms. He proposes to

amend the constitution so as to permit the election of the President by direct popular vote, to abrogate the parliamentary system of Chile, and to give a greater degree of autonomy to the provinces. His social programme includes labour insurance, profit-sharing by labour, and the nationalisation of banks and insurance companies. The election itself was remarkable "because of the general participation of the labour and middle-class elements and a relatively greater freedom from the practice of buying votes than had ever been experienced before. It was looked upon, therefore, as a distinct triumph of democratic principles."

MEXICO

During the first decade of the twentieth century *Mexico* lived under the paternal and dictatorial rule of President Porfirio Díaz, who had controlled the republic, in and out of the presidency, since 1877. Of part Indian blood, and in early years trained principally as a soldier, he had risen to be one of Mexico's most distinguished statesmen. His programme was order, secured by an iron, despotic rule, as an inducement to attract foreign capital and immigration. Only thus could Mexico recuperate from a half-century of anarchy.

This programme Díaz applied successfully to the country. Insurrections were promptly quelled, by a small but efficient army, and by the *Rurales* or mounted constabulary which he created. His methods were autocratic, but the result was peace, and for the time the people were loyal. Railways, essential for the development of a country whose navigable rivers are few and unimportant, increased in mileage from about 300 in 1876 to about 17,000 in 1910. Other public works were promoted, industries were introduced or developed, and mining was stimulated by legislation and concessions. Most of this material improvement was the work of foreign capital, and the foreign investments in Mexico in 1910 were estimated at two billion dollars, over half of which had come from the United States The national credit under Díaz was for the first time placed on a stable basis, Government revenues increased from 20,000,000 to 100,000,000 dollars a year, and Mexican bonds, almost worthless in 1876, in spite of additional borrowings before the end of the century, rose to a premium. Arrangements made in 1903 for the gradual adoption of a gold standard were completed in 1905, and Mexico continued to prosper in spite of a partial paralysis of business induced by the North American financial crisis of 1907.

It has been said of Díaz that in his zeal for material improvement he mistook wealth for welfare. That mistake was the fundamental reason for his ultimate discomfiture. Mexico's prosperity was one-sided. The wealthy Mexican landowner and the foreign capitalist exploited the country; to the complaints and grievances of the labouring classes the Government turned a deaf ear. The condition of the rural peon was growing worse rather than better, while in the towns labour unions and strikes were treated as sedition. Consequently wages were low and living and social conditions wretched.

The agrarian question, inherited from colonial days, was one of Mexico's major problems. In many parts of the republic general progress had been retarded by the holding of huge areas by a few rich families or corporations, which did little to improve their holdings and were content with small returns from a great number of unskilled Indian cultivators. Many of the Indian villages, however, especially in the south, had retained the use of commons (*ejidos*) which had belonged to the community for generations, while in the north were large areas of unoccupied public lands. Under Díaz, with in-

creased prosperity came a rise of land values, and concurrently an era of land-grabbing and speculation. Moreover a law of 1894, designed ostensibly to remedy the inadequacy of titles and surveys in Mexico, and to hasten the colonisation of public lands, really allowed speculators and large proprietors to appropriate all the lands in the republic not secured by good title. It created a Land Registry Office, where all titles must be registered and defects cleared within a certain term. But as most of the Indian villages and small owners failed through ignorance or indifference to take advantage of the law, their holdings were subject to denunciation, an arbitrary price being fixed by law for such "unclaimed" lands. Consequently after 1894 there was an immense increase in the number of landless, shiftless rural labourers, involving a political danger as well as an economic evil in the state.

Mexico during the last decade of the Díaz *régime* also experienced a notable growth of political discontent. The autocrat made no serious effort to cultivate the capacity of the people for self-government. The forms of a federal, republican constitution were observed, but elections were a farce and officials, both federal and state, owed their selection primarily to Díaz. Political adherents, if loyal, were sure that complaints against them would be unheeded, and in the more remote districts officials indulged in intimidation, extortion and worse. Yet Mexicans were acquiring a national self-consciousness, becoming politically articulate. A public opinion was being created, which perceived abuses and wanted to remedy them. This was strongest in the north, near the United States frontier, where was the ever-present example of labour unions, adequate wages, free elections and well-endowed schools. Many young Mexicans were educated in United States colleges, eager to participate in public affairs and introduce reforms. But they saw themselves excluded unless they supported the existing *régime*.

So the revolution, when it came, appeared in the north. And it was in large measure a young man's revolution, a demand of the newer generation for recognition—political, social and economic. It was crossed, confused, it is true, by personal greed and private ambition, and by attempts of the older, vested interests to recover their strangle-hold upon the nation, but in the end the loftier principles at stake behind the movement were bound to prevail.

In 1908 Díaz announced that he purposed to retire after one more term, that he "had waited patiently for the day when the people were prepared to choose and change the Government at every election without danger of armed revolution, of injury to national credit and interference with national progress." His opponents planned to assent, but to elect a vice-president of their own in order to control the succession, should Díaz die or retire. When General Bernardo Reyes, governor of Nuevo Leon, was put forward, he was sent by Díaz on a special mission to study the military systems of Europe. So the malcontents chose another leader, Francisco I. Madero, member of a wealthy landed family of Coahuila, a liberal who in 1908 had published a pamphlet vigorously attacking the Díaz Government. But in the election of June, 1910, the Maderist clubs were broken up, newspapers were suppressed, and many, including Madero himself, were imprisoned. Díaz and his own vice-president were chosen by an overwhelming majority.

When in the following September Mexico celebrated the Centennial Anniversary of her independence, all nations paid their respects, and the era of peace and prosperity inaugurated by Díaz seemed destined to last forever. Yet within eight months Díaz was an exile, and the country faced a decade of violence and civil war. Madero had meantime been released, and immediately organised a revolt, which from the northern states soon swept every important part of the republic. The revolution demanded "the

retirement of the President, Vice-President and Cabinet; a return to the principle of no reëlection to the chief magistracy; a guarantee of fair elections at all times; the choice of capable, honest, and impartial judges, *jefes políticos*, and other officials; and, in particular, a series of agrarian and industrial reforms which would break up the great estates, create peasant proprietorships, and better the conditions of the working classes."

Díaz abdicated, May 25, 1911, and retired to Europe where he died four years later. Madero, chosen President in October, was a sincere idealist, but lacked Díaz's shrewdness in managing men. The revolution got beyond his control, and disorders in the provinces continued. The Press and the foreign interests were generally hostile, and in the diplomatic corps especially the ambassador from the United States. In February, 1913, Madero was overthrown by an insurrection of reactionary generals, to whom he was basely betrayed by one of his chief lieutenants, Victoriano Huerta. After ten days of street fighting in Mexico City — *la decena trágica* — he was arrested and forced to resign. Huerta became provisional dictator, and a few days later Madero and his vice-president were assassinated.

Huerta was an Indian trained in the Chapultepec Academy, with a dominating personality and a love of strong drink. He was head of the State till July, 1914, when he in turn was forced out by the refusal of the United States to recognise a Government set up by brute force, and by the opportunity thus afforded to the Reform or Constitutionalist party, led by Venustiano Carranza, to raise the country against him. The arrest of some American sailors at Tampico, for which Huerta refused reparation, caused the occupation of Vera Cruz by an American naval expedition in April, 1914. The mediation of the A.B.C. Powers in May accomplished nothing, but two months later the advancing revolution drove Huerta from the country.

His successor was a wealthy rancher of Coahuila, governor of that northern state, and champion of the radical reforms heralded by Madero. Aiming to curb the overweening power of the foreign capitalist in Mexican affairs, Carranza's policy soon assumed an anti-American complexion. But he was meantime at open war with one of his lieutenants, Francisco Villa, who either aspired himself to the control of Mexico, or distrusted Carranza's willingness to hold a "free election." Early in 1915 the latter issued the first of a number of decrees adversely affecting foreign property rights in Mexico, which placed the United States in opposition to him as before it had opposed Huerta. A strongly worded warning from Washington had no effect, and another conference with Latin-American republics in August, 1915, was equally futile. In October the nine Governments represented accepted the situation as it stood and recognised Carranza as *de facto* ruler of Mexico.

But the end was not yet. Villa, piqued at his rival's success, raided a border town in New Mexico, and an American punitive expedition, in the face of Carranza's protests, hastened into Mexico to capture him. Villa was not captured, and on the day the Americans withdrew across the Rio Grande a new constitution was promulgated for Mexico. In its political clauses a revision of the former Constitution of 1857, it embodied many novelties in the way of social legislation. Ecclesiastical corporations were forbidden to own real property, or conduct primary schools or charitable institutions; and religious publications to comment on public affairs. No foreigners might acquire land, or mining or industrial concessions, unless they waived treaty rights, and the nation resumed its proprietorship over all subsoil products. Elaborate provisions were made for improving the condition of the working-classes, and for the division of large estates into small

freeholds for the Mexican peon. Under this constitution, in March, 1917, Carranza was elected President of Mexico.

After 1917 Mexico's chief international difficulties were associated with the petroleum industry. Oil was discovered in quantity in Mexico in 1900, since when over $400,000,000 have been invested in land, wells and pipelines. In colonial times the ownership of subsoil products was vested in the Crown, whose heir after the Revolution was the Mexican nation. Under President Díaz mining laws had been enacted which gave to owners of the land surface the title to certain of these products, especially mineral oils and waters. As Article 27 of the new constitution reinvested the nation with the ownership of these products, decrees were issued in 1918 requiring all oil companies to file new "manifests" of their properties and imposing taxes referred to as "rentals" or "royalties." The penalty for non-compliance was confiscation. The United States through its ambassador entered a vigorous protest, and when the companies failed to file manifests the Mexican Government modified its attitude, extending the time limit and referring the question to Congress, while the companies sought writs of injunction in the Mexican courts. Their position was the stronger since another clause of the constitution declared that none of its provisions were to have a retroactive force. If any one expected a remedy from the Mexican Congress he was doomed to disappointment, nor was any settlement arrived at during Carranza's administration.

Carranza, meantime, was in political control of most of the country, and considering his resources was fairly successful in maintaining order; although he failed to achieve for Mexico the reform programme embodied in the constitution. His sympathies during the World War were notoriously pro-German. Moreover, as the elections of 1920 approached, like most of his predecessors he was unable to resist the temptation to perpetuate his political power. As the constitution forbade his reëlection, he prepared to use official pressure to elect his own candidate, Ignacio Bonillas, then ambassador at Washington. The principal other candidate was General Alvaro Obregón, Carranza's former Minister of War. Convinced that Bonillas would be forced upon the nation, Sonora, Obregón's native state, rebelled in April, 1920, and proclaimed the Plan of Agua Prieta, demanding the resignation of Carranza and the appointment of a Provisional Government pending an election. Most of the army rallied to its support, and on May 7 Carranza fled with his Government toward Vera Cruz, but was assassinated a fortnight later in the mountains of Puebla. Adolfo de la Huerta, governor of Sonora, acted as Provisional President, and in the elections of the following September Obregón was chosen head of the state.

Under the firm hand of President Obregón, Mexico has enjoyed a degree of domestic peace unknown since 1910. His problems are tremendous, and his evident determination to steer a middle course between the Conservatives and the radical Socialists does not make the task easier. The full programme of political and social regeneration for which Mexico was revolutionised in 1910 has not been achieved, but opinion seems to prevail that in time it will be realised. Militarism is being slowly but firmly eliminated, and considerable progress has been made in the extension of facilities for popular education, a matter of fundamental importance for the permanent cure of Mexico's ills. An agreement between an international committee of bankers and the Mexican Finance Minister provides for the gradual resumption of interest payments on the external debt, and on railway bonds and state issues guaranteed by the Federal Government. Progress is being achieved toward the solution of the ever-pressing agrarian problem. Commons are being returned to many villages, and several of the state Govern-

ments have legislated to break up and distribute the great landed properties within their borders. Some corrupt practices have been charged against the agrarian commissions, and to many of the landowners compensation in Government bonds bears rather the appearance of confiscation. Yet an adjustment of the land situation is necessary and inevitable. In the summer of 1923 an accord was reached with the Government of the United States, safeguarding the rights of American citizens in Mexico, since when formal diplomatic relations between the two republics have been resumed. On July 20, 1923, occurred the sensational murder of General Villa, near his ranch at Parral, the cause and instigation of which have not yet been fully explained.

On December 6 Mexico was once again in the throes of an insurrection, growing out of the rival candidacies for the presidency of Adolfo de la Huerta and Plutarco Calles, both closely associated with Obregón since the overthrow of Carranza in 1920. Calles had the support of the President, and de la Huerta, the choice of Obregón's own political party, the *Coöperatista*, rebelled against the Government. In the flood of charges and counter-charges, the true inwardness of the situation is impossible to fathom. Three major theatres of military activity at once developed, in the State of Vera Cruz, about Guadalajara in Jalisco, and in the region immediately to the south and west of Mexico City, although sporadic hostilities were reported from virtually every state in the republic. On December 29 President Coolidge directed that Obregón should be allowed to buy a limited quantity of war materials from the United States, and a week later proclaimed an embargo on the sale of arms to the Mexican revolutionists. After two months of fighting, de la Huerta was forced to abandon the city of Vera Cruz, but in February, 1924, rebel activities still persisted in Jalisco and in the south.

OTHER SOUTH-AMERICAN COUNTRIES

The Andean republics north of Chile and the interior state of Paraguay still lie within the storm belt of Latin-American politics Most of the population consists of Indians and half-castes, uneducated and without a share in the political life of the country, although by law they are given the privileges of citizenship. The Government is in the hands of a small group of whites and educated *mestizos* (half-breeds) divided generally into two factions or parties, Conservatives and Radicals, Clericals and anti-Clericals, but often displaying few well-defined principles except the determination to remain in office. Until recently in all these republics national elections have been a farce, as is inevitable among a people most of whom are wholly ignorant of the privileges and duties of a democracy. The official candidates were always returned, and nothing short of violence could bring the Opposition into power. Revolution therefore "became a part of the unwritten constitution" of the land, and revolution has usually brought with it financial disorganisation and a depreciated currency. Some of these states, moreover, were till lately very much isolated from the rest of the world and received few immigrants from Europe. The civilised population retained to a great extent the methods of thought and the habits of their Spanish forefathers; Spanish customs prevailed to a much greater degree than in Chile or Argentina.

Yet in most of these republics during the past two decades significant and hopeful changes have been taking place. Railways have been built, foreign capital has come in, and greater moderation and a broader intelligence have characterised the ruling class. There has been a growing Latin-American

self-consciousness, a realisation that these countries must mend their ways if they are to be received on a footing of equality in the community of civilised nations, a feeling induced in part by increased participation in international affairs and by the example of their most stable Latin neighbours.

PARAGUAY

In *Paraguay* little progress can be reported. Barrack insurrections and presidential depositions do not seem to decrease in frequency, although the country counts some distinguished men among its public leaders. Interest in public education, however, is increasing, a homestead law has been enacted, a mortgage bank created to promote agriculture and industry, and measures have been taken to encourage foreign immigration. North American capital is being attracted by the splendid opportunities for the extension of the cattle industry. Paraguay's outstanding foreign problem is that of her frontier with Bolivia, for each nation claims all the territory between the Paraguay and Pilcomayo rivers, a wild region comprising part of what is known as the Gran Chaco. With great development companies seeking concessions, both have awakened to a realisation of the possibilities that lie in the disputed zone, and a final settlement of the quarrel may be looked for in the near future.

BOLIVIA

Down to 1899, when President Pando instituted a civil in place of a prætorian *régime*, the history of *Bolivia* was a dreary succession of revolutions and dictators. Some of the presidents were vulgar and barbarous, others intelligent and well-meaning, but there was little constitutional government. The most distinguished figure in the recent political life of the country has been Ismael Montes, journalist, lawyer and soldier, who was President of the republic in 1904–1909 and 1913–1917. An energetic and progressive executive, he encouraged the mining industry, promoted railway construction, and improved the currency. New schools were established, and religious toleration was secured to Bolivia in 1906.

Like most other South American states, Bolivia has had boundary disputes on every frontier. To those with Brazil, Chile and Paraguay reference has already been made. A dispute with Argentina was settled by a treaty of 1899, as modified in 1902 and 1913. Conflicting claims to territory on the frontiers of Peru were in 1902 submitted to the arbitration of the President of Argentina; but Bolivia refused to accept the award, and the difficulty was finally adjusted by direct negotiation in 1909. The supposition that President José Gutiérrez Guerra was favouring Chile rather than Peru in a solution of the Tacna-Arica question providing an outlet to the Pacific, helped to precipitate the bloodless revolution of July, 1920. President Gutiérrez was exiled, and Bautista Saavedra was inaugurated as President in 1921.

PERU

Peru, like Bolivia, has not emerged from the stage of occasional revolutions. Yet during the past twenty-five years political control has passed definitely from the former military aristocracy to the professional and civilian classes, and notable progress has been made toward recovery from the losses suffered in the disastrous War of the Pacific. President Pierola, who came into power on the wings of a revolution in 1895, began an era of

comparative order and of financial and religious reform. Five presidents followed in peaceful succession until 1914, when Guillermo Billinghurst, whose arbitrary rule at home and policy abroad had brought political disaffection to a head, was by a *coup d'état* forced to resign and deported to Chile. Again in 1919 Agusto B. Leguía, who had been President in 1908–1912, and had presumably been successful in the recent elections, by a military *coup* exiled President José Pardo before his term was concluded. Early in Leguía's present administration a new frame of government for the republic was promulgated, the most recent of Latin-American constitutions. Its most significant innovations are the following: liberty of public worship, although Roman Catholicism remains the state religion; election of the president by direct popular vote; the creation of three regional legislatures with jurisdiction over local matters subject to the president's approval; a parliamentary system of government, the ministers being responsible to both Houses of Congress, and attending their sessions except when a vote is taken; and the inclusion of a number of "social guarantees" similar to those in the Mexican Constitution of 1917. All property in minerals is vested in the State; foreigners are prohibited from acquiring land within fifty kilometres of the national frontiers; and legislation is authorised fixing hours of labour, minimum wages, workmen's compensation, and compulsory arbitration of labour disputes.

Peru's boundary difficulties have been numerous, and some are still unsettled. With Ecuador and Colombia she disputes the possession of valuable rubber territory drained by the Putumayo River, and part of it is to-day occupied by Peruvians. It was to this region that in 1912 public attention was directed by the "Putumayo Atrocities." Agents of an Anglo-Peruvian company had been afflicting the Indians employed to gather rubber with indescribable cruelties. After the publication of the report of a British consular officer, Sir Roger Casement, sent to Iquitos to investigate, steps were taken to mitigate the lot of the oppressed aborigines. This case, however, was only an extreme manifestation of a state of affairs that prevails in many parts of the upper Amazon country.

When the United States declared war on Germany, Peru in the interests of Pan-American solidarity abstained from announcing her neutrality. A Peruvian ship, the "Lorton," sailing between neutral ports, was sunk by a submarine outside the closed zone. As the German Government refused reparation in adequate form, Peru in October, 1917, severed diplomatic relations, and later seized the German ships interned in Peruvian ports.

ECUADOR

In *Ecuador* since 1895 the Liberals have been most of the time in power, and the excessive privileges of the Roman Catholic Church have one by one been abolished. For fifteen years the dominant political figure in the country was General Eloy Alfaro (President, 1895–1901 and 1906–1911). He gave two constitutions to the republic, in 1897 and in 1906, the latter being still in force. A law of 1899 forbade the appointment of bishops and papal legates, or the circulation of papal decrees, without the sanction of the Government. Other legislation in the years 1903–1905 legalised civil marriage, guaranteed religious toleration, and transferred the rural property of the Church to the State. Since 1912 there have been no successful revolutions, the present executive, José Tamayo, elected in 1920, being the third Liberal President to rule in constitutional succession. There still remains a critical boundary dispute with Peru, concerning possession of the region east of the

cordillera, which more than once has almost led to war. As a consequence, in recent years there has been a *rapprochement* between the Governments of Ecuador and Chile.

An important rôle has been played in the republic by a North American corporation, the Quito and Guayaquil Railway Company. Securing a concession in 1896 to construct a railway into the interior, arrangements were concluded with the Government by which the company took over the foreign debt, while the republic guaranteed interest on the railway bonds for thirty-three years. The line was completed to Quito in 1908. The expense entailed upon the Government was considerable, and when, owing to the demoralisation of national finances caused by the World War, Ecuador was unable to meet its obligations, mutual recriminations followed.

An announcement of great significance for the future was made by the Rockefeller Foundation in 1920, that after a two years' fight yellow fever had been eradicated in Ecuador's principal seaport, Guayaquil. Thus what had been one of the worst plague-spots in the world was opened to foreign enterprise and investment.

COLOMBIA

In *Colombia,* as contrasted with Ecuador, the Conservative party for many years has moulded the form and the policy of the Government. Colombia is a highly centralised republic, in which the Church is restored to much of her former prerogative and privilege. The Jesuits since 1910 have had virtual control over higher education in the liberal arts, and the influence of the clergy as a social and political factor in Colombian society is very great. Yet this conservative order did not bring peace. In 1899-1903 the country was plunged into one of the worst civil wars of its history, and this was followed by the hardest blow of all, the secession of Panama. Between 1904 and 1909 General Rafael Reyes introduced a despotic rule resembling that of Díaz in Mexico. He promoted the economic development of the country, but substituted for Congress an assembly of his own devising. His enforced retirement, however, was not accompanied by the violence that devastated Mexico, and his elected successor, Carlos E. Restrepo, proved to be one of the most intelligent and progressive of Colombia's presidents. On the whole, in recent years party violence has tended to decline, and the country has settled down to a constitutional, if not a democratic, *régime*.

PANAMA

The revolution in *Panama* in 1903 was due to the rejection by the Colombian Senate of the Hay-Herrán Treaty negotiated with the United States. This convention conceded to the United States the perpetual lease of a narrow strip of land across the isthmus for the construction and operation of an inter-oceanic canal. The political leaders at Panama City, fearing that the canal might be diverted to Nicaragua, on November 3 set up a Revolutionary Government. The U. S. gunboat "Nashville" prevented Colombian troops at Colon from crossing to suppress the movement, and after three days the independence of Panama was recognised by President Roosevelt. A fortnight later a treaty similar to that rejected by Colombia was concluded with the embryo republic. The intervention of the United States was a clear violation of Colombian sovereignty, and roused strong resentment in all parts of Latin America. Colombia was very bitter, and sent General Reyes to Washington to seek redress, but the United States Government refused to submit the political questions involved to The Hague for arbitra-

tion. In 1907, when Reyes was President of Colombia, he negotiated a tripartite settlement with the United States and Panama, but a storm of opposition in Colombia prevented its ratification and helped to bring about the President's overthrow. A second treaty, negotiated at Bogotá in 1914, provided for the payment to Colombia of $25,000,000, and for the use of the canal by Colombia and her citizens on the same basis as by the United States. It was rejected by the Senate in Washington, but after modification was finally approved by both Governments and promulgated in March, 1922. It removed a barrier to the restoration of cordial relations between Colombia and the United States, and helped to dispel the feelings of distrust engendered in Latin America by the Panama incident.

Panama, the youngest of the Latin-American republics, is in reality a protectorate of the United States. Its constitution, which dates from February, 1904, states that in return for the guarantee of Panama's sovereignty and independence the United States shall have power to intervene "to reestablish public peace and constitutional order." A close fiscal supervision is at the present time being maintained, and more than once, when domestic disturbances began to threaten, the United States has landed marines, has supervised elections, and has assumed police power in the cities of Panama and Colon.

VENEZUELA

Venezuela is one of the five federal republics of the western hemisphere; its government to-day is still a pure presidential despotism. The century was ushered in by the dictatorship of Cipriano Castro (1899–1908), who has been called "the greatest international nuisance of the early twentieth century." A cattleman from the Andes, rude, capricious, energetic, with the provincial's dislike for the intellectual and the foreigner, he succeeded in embroiling his country in a series of disputes with other Powers over claims for injuries suffered by their nationals in Venezuela's interminable civil wars. In December, 1902, British, German and Italian warships undertook a "pacific" blockade of Venezuelan ports. In the following February, through the mediation of the United States, Castro agreed to submit all foreign claims to mixed commissions sitting at Carácas. England and Italy accepted, Germany only after President Roosevelt's threat to send the United States fleet against her blockading squadron. It was this episode that called from the Argentine Minister of Foreign Affairs, Luis Maria Drago, the enunciation of the doctrine with which his name is associated. By 1905 the Dictator had picked another set of quarrels with half a dozen foreign nations, and the United States suspended diplomatic relations. The Netherlands were constrained to do the same three years later. When toward the close of 1908 Castro departed for Europe for a course of medical treatment, Congress immediately removed him from the presidency and made his Vice-President, Juan Vicente Gómez, head of the State. As he displayed an inclination to straighten out foreign complications, he was soon recognised by other powers, and as president or president-elect he has governed Venezuela ever since. A wealthy landowner, and a vigorous, if unlettered, politician, his rule has been a continuation of "democratic Caesarism." Utterly ruthless toward those suspected of political disaffection, he has done much to promote public improvements. Highways have been built, the administration has been reformed, the national debt reduced. Since 1893 Venezuela has had imposed upon her five successive constitutions, the latest of these dating from the year 1914. But constitutions in Venezuela are as a matter of fact only a political vesture.

CENTRAL AMERICA

The recent history of Central America is notable for the increasing influence exerted by the United States upon its political destinies, and for the efforts made to achieve a federation of the five tiny republics. That the incessant domestic commotions and mutual interference in each other's internal affairs which filled their history in the nineteenth century have somewhat abated, is owing chiefly perhaps to a healthy dread of the North American " big stick."

The first of a series of interventions by the United States occurred in 1906, when a war between Salvador and Guatemala was terminated by the joint mediation of President Roosevelt and President Díaz of Mexico. Peace was signed on board an American warship, and later in the year delegates from all the republics except Nicaragua, meeting in Costa Rica, agreed to a general treaty of peace, commerce and arbitration. In 1907 trouble broke out between Nicaragua on the one hand and Honduras and Salvador on the other. Again the United States and Mexico intervened, and again peace was made aboard an American cruiser. As another conflict threatened between Nicaragua and Salvador, Presidents Roosevelt and Díaz induced the Central American states to send representatives to a conference at Washington, where a series of conventions was signed providing for peace and coöperation.

Still disorders in Central America did not cease. The chief trouble-maker was José Santos Zelaya, President of *Nicaragua* since 1893. A leader of energy and resource, his rule was wholly arbitrary, and to his neighbours he was a thorn in the flesh. In 1909, after his execution of two Americans who had taken part in a current insurrection, the United States handed the Nicaraguan Minister his passports and openly recognised the Opposition or " Conservative " party. Zelaya was forced to resign and leave the country, since when, with military and moral support from Washington, the Conservatives have maintained themselves in power. Meantime progress has been made toward the rehabilitation of Nicaragua's disordered finances. A treaty to this end negotiated with the United States in 1911 was rejected by the United States Senate; but arrangements were concluded with North American bankers by which the currency was reorganised, an American installed as collector-general of the customs, and a favourable adjustment made with foreign bondholders. After long and arduous negotiations, the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty with the United States was ratified in February, 1916, by which Nicaragua was to be paid $3,000,000, to be expended under American direction, in return for the exclusive right to build and operate a trans-isthmian canal through the republic, and for a naval base on the Gulf of Fonseca.

Since 1912 Nicaragua has been relatively quiet, owing chiefly to a legation guard of American marines permanently stationed at Managua. Elections are practically controlled from Washington, and the party in power, associated as it is with foreign intervention, is opposed by a majority of the Nicaraguan people. This situation has caused bitter resentment throughout Central America, where it is construed as a deliberate attempt to exploit the republic for the benefit of American capitalists. The only alternative seems to be the restoration of the Zelaya party and a return to a condition of political and financial anarchy, with the partial or total loss of the money invested by American bankers to save the republic from bankruptcy.

Guatemala in the past has been freer from successful revolution than most of her neighbours, but this apparent stability " was purchased at the cost of the most absolute military despotism on the isthmus." The bulk of

the population is pure-blooded Indian, densely ignorant and grievously oppressed. Plantations and ranching have attracted foreign capital, and business and landowning interests seem willing to exchange political liberty for economic prosperity. Yet Guatemala has recently experienced two changes of government by violence. The long "reign" of Manuel Estrada Cabrera, which began in 1898, came to an end in 1920 when a successful uprising obtained possession of the capital and placed a wealthy sugar planter, Carlos Herrera, at the head of affairs. The new *régime* gave promise of better things, and was recognised by the United States. Economic and fiscal reforms were initiated, and an election was arranged for, in which the provisional president was not to be a candidate! However, a *coup d'état* in December, 1921, staged by General Orellana, overthrew Herrera and restored the old order.

Honduras has a government like that of Guatemala, though elections are sometimes held and revolutions are more frequent. The financial plight of the Government is the worst in Central America. On loans contracted in Europe over fifty years ago for the construction of a short railway, the proceeds of which were mostly diverted into private hands, no interest has been paid since 1872, and in 1924 principal and arrears amount to more than £27,000,000. Efforts made by British and American bankers and diplomats to adjust this debt have so far been unavailing. The United States has endeavoured to secure free elections and has sent gunboats and marines to persuade the politicians to a reasonable state of mind, but it is difficult to associate free elections with Honduras even under the most favourable circumstances.

In *Salvador* the situation is more promising. Interference in her affairs by political leaders in Guatemala and Nicaragua has ceased, and the administration of public affairs has become more stable and less corrupt. More money is spent on schools than in neighbouring states, and the Legislature and Supreme Court are freer from presidential domination. The Government is that of an intelligent, though selfish, oligarchy of the wealthy and landed classes. In foreign affairs Salvador has displayed an initiative and independence of judgment which makes it the spokesman for Central America.

Costa Rica has been the most tranquil and progressive of all the republics. Its constitution is the oldest of those current in Central America, elections if not democratic are yet a reality, and education and public improvements loom larger than the army in the national budget. In 1917, however, the unpopularity of the President's fiscal policy and the intrigues of foreign concession-seekers enabled Tinoco, the Minister of War, to upset the Government by a bloodless revolution. The ex-President, Alfredo González, came to Washington to present his case, and the United States refused to recognise the *de facto régime*. After two years Tinoco was forced to resign, and a new Government, being constitutionally elected, received foreign recognition in August, 1920. Six months later a boundary dispute with Panama threatened to create a miniature war. Although the question had been submitted to arbitration in 1900 and again in 1910, Panama refused to accept part of the award. American marines were sent to preserve the peace, and Panama after many protests was constrained to withdraw from the disputed area.

Although the *federation* of the Central American states has not been consummated, substantial progress has been made toward the attainment of that ideal. Numerous attempts in the nineteenth century to create a union were shattered upon the rock of personal and factional ambitions or vanished before the fear of domination by the autocrat of one or another of the constituent states. At the Washington Conference in 1907, under the auspices of

he United States and Mexico, a number of significant agreements were made. A Central American Court of Justice was to be created in Costa Rica, composed of one judge from each state, to settle all controversies which could not be adjusted through ordinary diplomatic channels. In Costa Rica was also to be established an international institute for the training of Central American teachers; while in Guatemala City a Central American Bureau was to serve as an office of record, maintain an organ of publicity, and foment economic and intellectual coöperation among the five nations. Future conferences were provided for, the territory of Honduras was to be neutralised, and no state was thereafter to recognise any government set up by force. The representatives of Nicaragua and Honduras proposed the reëstablishment of a federal union, but the motion was opposed by the other delegates.

Most of the agencies were immediately put into operation, and on May 25, 1908, the international tribunal was installed in the town of Cartago. The most serious check to this auspicious movement developed out of the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty of 1916. Costa Rica and Salvador, which claimed that the concessions to the United States infringed their respective boundary [illegible] suit against Nicaragua in the Central American Court. The [illegible] exception of the Nicaraguan jurist, upheld the plaintiffs, [illegible] t they had no authority to declare the treaty void since the United States was not subject to their jurisdiction. As both Nicaragua and the United States refused to accept the decision, the prestige of the Court was seriously compromised, and in 1918, after ten years of activity, it was allowed quietly to go out of existence. Thus the United States, chiefly responsible for the Court's establishment, was also the cause of its downfall.

The overthrow in Guatemala of Estrada Cabrera, who had consistently opposed the idea of federal union, paved the way for its revival in 1921. Largely through the initiative of Salvador, delegates from the five republics met at San José, Costa Rica, and on January 19 all except Nicaragua signed a treaty of union to be effective after ratification by any three of the states. The Provisional Constitution called for a plural executive, a bicameral legislature, and a system of federal courts. Each state was to retain such powers as were not granted to the federal government. Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador soon ratified the treaty, in June a Provisional Government was set up at Tegucigalpa, the proposed capital, and a permanent Constitution was promulgated in September. Elections were held in October, and everything was in readiness for the installation of the permanent government in the following January, when the *coup d'état* at Guatemala City and the deposition of President Herrera withdrew Guatemala from the union and prevented its consummation. The Congress of Costa Rica had rejected the treaty by a narrow margin; Nicaragua held aloof largely because of fear that her rights under the Bryan-Chamorro Treaty would be endangered.

The most recent step toward ultimate union was taken early in 1923, following a meeting of the Presidents of Nicaragua, Honduras and Salvador on board the U. S. cruiser "Tacoma" in the previous August. A conference on Central American affairs assembled again in Washington at the invitation of the United States, and drew up another series of treaties and conventions. The respective states have agreed not to enter into secret treaties, not to permit within their borders the organisation of revolutionary movements against the peace of other states, and not to intervene in the civil wars of their neighbours. The Central American Court of Justice is reëstablished, and for a period of five years the republics assent to a limitation of armaments in accordance with a schedule fixed by treaty. If Central America is not yet prepared for political union, these treaties should at least help to remove the principal sources of suspicion and discord.

THE ISLAND REPUBLICS OF THE CARIBBEAN

The tendency of the United States to exert its influence among the backward nations of the Caribbean, in order to rehabilitate their finances, ensure public peace, and avert European intervention, has not been confined to Central America. The island republics have all come to have their affairs, internal and external, supervised by their big northern neighbour. *Cuba*, the last important Spanish colony in the western hemisphere, began her independent career under American auspices at the opening of the century. After three years of American military occupation, following the Spanish War, during which many administrative, educational and sanitary reforms were introduced, in May, 1902, Tomás Estrada Palma was inaugurated as first President of the republic. In their constitution the Cubans had had to insert the celebrated Platt Amendment, which authorised the United States to intervene for the maintenance of public order, limited the financial powers of the new state, and provided for the lease to the United States of naval and coaling stations. President Palma tried to pursue a moderate and conciliatory policy, and extend the administrative reforms begun under American rule. But Congress revealed an intransigent spirit, and the Opposition party, which called itself Liberal, proved hostile to American influence. When Palma was reëlected in 1906, the Liberals launched a revolution; and as efforts by American commissioners to compose the differences were unavailing, another period of American rule was inaugurated in September, which lasted till January, 1909. The republic made its second essay in democracy under a Liberal President, José Miguel Gómez. But his administration followed a very partisan policy, anti-foreign feelings were freely displayed, outbreaks were numerous, and in 1912 American intervention again seemed imminent. Under Mario Menocal (1913–1917), an engineer and business man elected by the Conservatives, political conditions somewhat mended, but when Menocal was a candidate for reëlection, and electoral returns were doubtful, Gómez and his followers again resorted to insurrection. The rebels were warned that Washington would recognise no government set up by force, and when Gómez was captured the movement collapsed.

In the World War Cuba supported loyally the cause of the United States, while the unprecedented demand for sugar brought her immense wealth. After the Armistice political dissensions were removed. With the assistance of Major-General Crowder of the United States army, the electoral law was reformed, but in the elections of 1920 the tension was as great and the result as uncertain as on earlier occasions. The outstanding problems in the political life of Cuba to-day are the extravagance and inefficiency of the national Government, and the unwillingness of parties to settle their political differences by the constitutional means provided.

The history of the negro republic of *Haiti* before 1915 was a story of chronic misrule and disorder, often attended by great barbarism, and of interference by American or European marines to protect foreign interests. If European intervention was to be avoided, it was inevitable that the United States should take charge. In July, 1915, after the expulsion of one President and the assassination of another, American marines were landed to stay; and in September a treaty was signed under pressure, by the terms of which (1) collection and administration of the customs was committed to a receiver-general nominated by the President of the United States; (2) an American adviser was appointed to assist in reforming the national finances; (3) the Haitian Government was to create an efficient constabulary, to be organised in the first instance by United States officers. Haiti agreed

not to enter into any contract or treaty impairing her independence or territorial integrity, in return for which the United States engaged to coöperate in the "maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty." The Haitian Government under this arrangement still functions, and the country has enjoyed peace and material improvement; but the marines still remain, and the republic has become practically a dependency of the United States. Conflicts of authority, failure to develop educational facilities, and lack of observance by the United States of the rights of the Haitian Government under the Treaty of 1915, are criticisms of the American occupation that demand some measure of attention.

In 1904 the Government of *Santo Domingo* was in a condition of hopeless bankruptcy, and as foreign intervention seemed imminent it appealed to the United States for assistance. In February, 1905, a protocol was signed providing for a receivership of Dominican customs under American control, and the segregation of part of the revenues for the payment of foreign creditors. As the United States Senate failed to ratify it, an executive arrangement was made until the sanction by the Senate of another treaty to the same effect in 1907. Political disturbances and financial irregularities, however, continued, and finally in April, 1916, after a military *coup d'état,* the country was occupied by American marines. The United States refused to recognise a new Dominican president unless he agreed to another treaty on the lines of that negotiated the year before with Haiti. A deadlock ensued till November 29, when the American naval commander issued a proclamation placing the republic under the military administration of the United States. This continued for six years, while taxation was reorganised, and the construction of schools, roads and other public works was undertaken on an extensive scale. In June, 1922, an agreement was arrived at with representatives of the political parties in Santo Domingo for the gradual restoration of Dominican control and the withdrawal of the American naval forces.

PAN-AMERICAN CONFERENCES

Conferences of American republics, beginning with the First International Conference at Washington in 1889–1890, and designed to create closer political and economic bonds between the independent states of the western hemisphere, have frequently been held during the past two decades. The second International Conference met in Mexico City in 1901–1902, the third at Rio de Janeiro in 1906, the fourth at Buenos Aires in 1910, the fifth, scheduled to be held at Santiago de Chile in 1915, was in consequence of the World War postponed till 1923. At Mexico City in 1901–1902 a plan of compulsory arbitration between American states, formulated at the first conference in 1889, was again presented, although discussion was strenuously opposed by Chile, and the United States remained lukewarm because of the lack of adequate machinery for enforcement. A convention was agreed to, however, by all the delegates for the arbitration of pecuniary claims that could not be settled through diplomatic channels. At the third International Conference in 1906 the subject of general arbitration was deferred to the Hague Conference in the following year, to which nearly all of the American states had been invited; but provision was made for the creation of a Commission of Jurists to formulate codes of international law for the New World. This Commission held a meeting at Rio de Janeiro in 1912, and would have met again in 1915 but for the distractions of the war. The Commission is now revived, to meet at Rio de Janeiro in 1925, and the results of its labours

may have an important influence in the formulation of that international jurisprudence upon which any League of Nations must be based.

At the fourth and fifth International Conferences the Pan-American Union, established in 1889 for the dissemination of information concerning the general development of the Americas, had its efficacy and usefulness greatly enlarged. It is now invested "with the powers of a sort of permanent committee of the international conferences of the American states," is specifically charged with the compilation and classification of information as to treaties and conventions between American states, and through four permanent committees is entrusted with the fostering of economic relations, labour organisation, hygiene, and international coöperation in all its aspects.

First among the achievements of the recent Conference at Santiago was a Continental Treaty providing for the pacific settlement of all disputes that may arise between American states, by their submission to a commission of investigation, the report in each case to be made within a year, and the parties interested agreeing to make no preparations for hostilities until a report is rendered. The scheme, sponsored by Uruguay, of an American League of Nations, with functions like those of the existing world league but limited to American questions, failed of adoption; and the vexed question of the limitation of armaments, which affected especially the states of Argentina, Brazil and Chile, also failed of a solution, although an understanding between these three Powers is anticipated through diplomatic channels.

At Santiago several commercial conventions were also signed, but the [illegible] ievements in this direction were the work of two Pan-[illegible] Conferences held in Washington in 1915 and 1920. Occasioned by t[illegible] growing out of the World War, they were attend[illegible] and by prominent bankers and merchants of eighteen of the American republics. Recommendations were adopted on such subjects as the establishment of an international gold clearance fund, the improvement of maritime communications, the arbitration of commercial disputes, and uniformity in customs regulations, bills of exchange, port charges, registration of trademarks, etc. To carry these resolutions into effect, a permanent Inter-American High Commission was created; and through this agency many proposals have been translated into legislative action.

Two Pan-American Scientific Congresses, for the establishment of closer intellectual and cultural relations, have assembled in recent years, one at Santiago de Chile in 1907–1908, the other at Washington in 1915–1916. The meeting at Washington is remembered especially for the significant proposal by President Wilson of an expansion of the Monroe Doctrine into a Pan-American Doctrine. All the American nations should collectively guarantee the independence and territorial integrity of the respective states, and submit all American disputes to arbitration. As necessary corollaries, they should prohibit the export of arms to any but legally constituted governments, and adopt neutrality laws to make filibustering expeditions impossible. The proposal was approved by the Congress in principle, but never received any formal recognition. It has been criticised as one-sided, since it could hardly apply in its major provisions to the United States; it was the basic idea, however, behind the efforts at Santiago in 1923 to create an American League.

It may be observed that the matters most successfully dealt with at the various congresses have been those involving commercial, fiscal and intellectual contacts. Yet economic and intellectual relations provide the surest foundation for political coöperation. And apart from concrete achievements, the conferences have contributed greatly to the sentiment of American solidarity. The American states "have outlined a true society of nations in which all retain their independence and sovereignty."

CHAPTER LXII

TWENTIETH-CENTURY LITERATURE

By Henry Seidel Canby, Ph.D.,

Editor of the *Literary Review* of the *New York Evening Post.*
Lecturer in English, Yale University.

The writer who proposes to sketch the outlines of a period in literary history arbitrarily chosen must accept the realities of his task or be foredoomed to error. Literature was never a simple term and is now less so than ever. This chapter must be limited to books that have powerfully affected the imagination of intelligent readers. Journalism, research, historical study, biography, criticism, must be slighted except in so far as they illustrate prevailing tendencies of the modern mind, or are creative in the literary sense.

Furthermore, time in literary history is relative, even when the dates chosen are absolute. In any given moment at least three phases of literary time exist side by side. There is past time continued and bearing with it the thought and imagination of the last era, in which, in a literary sense, many readers have their only being. Literature, for thousands is now still Victorian, notably the literature of the moving pictures and the Western romance in which the mid-nineteenth century, diluted, supplies the thinking and the morality. There is also, of course, present time, especially in the upper currents of contemporary literature which are hurried and ruffled by the events of the day, the prejudices, emotions, and interests of the moment. Topical literature is in the present tense. And again there is time which, if not literally future, is future in its realisation. In this future tense are being written the formative works which will become current literature only when they and the books they influence are read so widely as to become an integral part of civilisation. Thus in the discussion of a given group of years, some writers important in the study may have reached their peak a decade earlier, and others be as yet unknown to general fame.

The date 1900 marks, of course, no more than the end of a century; 1880, when the Victorian age began to alter, 1895, 1910 and 1920 are all more significant; but thanks to the relativity of time, any date is more convenient than accurate.

THE VICTORIAN PERIOD

The great Victorian period, which ended in the 'eighties, is still the immediate background of every twentieth-century reader who has reached middle age. It was characterised in literature by abundant good humour and a moral beauty, [illegible] Puritan age, more elevated, if less subtle, than our own. [illegible] Tennyson, Browning, Arnold, Ruskin, Thackeray, Carlyle, Dickens — erected ideals for living as confident and as rich in dignity as the Roman or the Greek. And Victorian literature had also great scope and variety. It was made spacious by the consciousness of scientific discovery, in this sharing a general European movement; and

vigorous by a sense of national achievement, also international, although Great Britain and America led in the expression of confident energy, with their Walt Whitman, their Mark Twain, their Thackeray, and their Browning. Another vital trait was the renewed sense of personality, which had lost itself in Byronic vagueness or in poetic ecstasy in the last age, but now entered literature again with Dickens and George Eliot and George Meredith, with Tolstoy and Dostoievsky. The end of the century saw the decline of this powerful literature, broad but not deep, more strong than fine, reticent as to sex, even on the Continent, but abundantly expressive of moral ideas and all the attributes of character. Character, indeed, as our fathers used the term, was the quality which their literature most eminently possessed.

THE 'NINETIES

Victorian literature is the background, but not the foundation, of the literature of the twentieth century. Our roots, to change the figure, are in the latter decades of that marvellous nineteenth century, and our writing is fertilised by the dead flowers and broken stems of the brilliant but futile aestheticism of the 'nineties which, ripening too quickly, made way almost in a night for stronger growth beneath.

In so brief a chapter as this it will be necessary to keep mainly to literature in English, although Russia, both as an example and as an influence, has been important in the course we have followed, and the 'nineties are almost unintelligible without reference to France. An observer looking back over the last decades of the nineteenth century must see three marked and very different drifts of the human spirit in literary art; and as these tides flowed on into our century, they must be recorded.

The noble literature of the great Victorians brought its inevitable reaction and consequence. The moral urge spent itself. The high debate of *In Memoriam* and *Heroes and Hero Worship* over evolution and essential greatness and God, outran the facts it built upon. Liberalism — the freeing of the human spirit to reconsider its nature — began to grow wordy with Ruskin and priggish in the later Tennyson. Men desired to be less cosmic, and went for relief to preciosity in the Pre-Raphaelites, beauty for its own sake in Swinburne, craftsmanship and romance in Stevenson, cleverness in Max Beerbohm and Oscar Wilde, and aestheticism generally in Pater, who was spokesman for the cult of art for the individual instead of art for morality, God, and the race. We taste the dregs of this cult still, read its few masterpieces, and profit by its refinements in craftsmanship.

THE CULT OF FORCE

Aestheticism reached the masses only in romance, often debased, and especially in that curious cult of the past which captured the United States in the later 'nineties and gave us the modern best seller. The second foundation-stone of our century was harder. It has been called the cult of force, but the literature of moral (not spiritual) manliness is perhaps a fairer title. In written English it gave us one major author, Kipling, whose best work will outlive his cult, and in spoken English the vigorous phrases of a statesman worthy of the Renaissance, Theodore Roosevelt. Viewed over thirty years it is easy to separate the exoticism and real poetry of Kipling, or the romance of Jack London's stories, from their bases of emotional philosophy. The broad tides of liberalism were sweeping shoreward and contracting. Freed and made generous by liberal ideas, made powerful by science, given

confidence by the sense of national achievement, the Anglo-Saxon particularly began to capitalise his profits and grasp his responsibilities. Having mastered himself, the Englishman's duty was to show the world that

> "Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
> These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

If the American was less imperialistic, it was because he was still too busy with his India at home to dramatise his conquests successfully, although Frank Norris in *The Octopus* (1901) and Theodore Dreiser in *The Financier* (1912) and *The Titan* (1914) were soon to show critical consciousness of what was happening.

In spite of *The Jungle Books* and *Kim* and *Puck of Pook's Hill*, books of myths with a code and a moral as truly as the Greek legends, and despite a long succession of "cave man" stories, and of a side blast of brutal Nietzschian philosophy which seemed to rationalise the force even as it sterilised the stoic morality of Kipling's creed, the cult of manliness was not to be the keystone of our century. Ten years ago we might have said that the war changed all that — the war bled force out of us. But it is clear now that in spite of the wide extension of strong-arm literature into our day, it was not fundamental and has long ceased to move the prime intellects in English-speaking countries. It never moved them elsewhere to fine literature, for German imperialism was not, like the English variety, literary and ethical, the Latin countries and the Slavs were untouched, and the East of Tagore and later Ghandi, was moved to violent reaction.

THE NEW REALISM

No, the dominant literary mood of the new century which even now is still future in its tense, was realistic, realistic as the philosophers use the word. Perhaps the definition in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* of 1911 expresses the meaning: "the practice of regarding things in their true nature and dealing with them as they are, freedom from prejudice and convention, practical views and policy." But we must add to this the fierce determination to square our conceptions of life with the discoveries of science that succeeded the Victorian debates over the first generalisations. We must enrich it by reference to satire, irony, and literary realism as means to an end. And we must differentiate realism in the broad sense from literary realism, an art term applicable to literary work in periods utterly different, in other respects, from our own.

Eighteen hundred and eighty, already noted as the end of Victorianism, is the first of the dominant dates for the new realism of our century. By 1880, the great work of the Victorian liberals was done, and the noble poetry which best expressed it was declining. By 1880, the influence of *Madame Bovary*, published twenty-three years earlier, had begun to affect the divagations and careless abundance of English and American novelists, making their critics feel that the facts of life could be more accurately as well as more frankly presented. By 1880, the great anti-romantic novels of Tolstoy were written, with their intimations of spiritual democracy and their implication that our conceptions of greatness and power and freedom needed revision. Dostoievsky, little known in English, but soon to be accessible, was to reinforce Tolstoy, and give a new view of the common man as material for literature. By 1880, Ibsen had left cloudy symbolism for hard portraits of the conventions which he turned inside out. He became slow poison to the romantic decadents. In 1878, Hardy published *The Return of the*

Native. He was called a pessimist. In the 'eighties, Samuel Butler was at work upon *The Way of all Flesh,* a bitter exaggeration of the evils of that corner-stone of our society, the family. And these men and their books became stronger without abatement of their influence until this day.

It was Shaw a decade later who took the subterranean ideas — anti-conventional, realistic, destructive — and wedding them to the new science of sociology, popularised the result by one of the methods most successful in the 'nineties — verbal cleverness. Sentiment was not in his line, and the irony that Anatole France used for a similar project was a weapon too delicate for his slashing humour. Barrie took to sentiment, but if it were not for his charm, which gives him a purely literary value above all tendencies, he would be clearly seen to belong with these philosophic realists.

Meanwhile in America the first great age of literature was long past, and there was an intense activity of material development with only one resounding voice. Walt Whitman is perhaps the only contribution made by the English-speaking nations to world literature in over a century. Like all American writers of real power, as we are now beginning to understand them, he was both ahead of and behind his times. Time in him, as in Hawthorne and Mark Twain, is not merely relative, it is confused, the future and the past of Europe blending in one American present. Byronic in his egoism, Victorian in his optimism, he also was a realist, looking at human nature oftener than at moral ideas, and hungry for facts. His new rhythms, destined to give expression to much in our century which was too disorderly for formal poetry and much not fit for expression at all, were but a symptom of his war on convention. These, and his exaltation of the instincts against the reason, his appeal for the flesh as a companion to the spirit, were all part of what Elton justly calls an attempt to bring reason back from philosophising in the moral universe to consider facts which had been overlooked.

These men were writing in the future tense even before the strong-arm school had captured the present of the mid-'nineties and while the aesthetes were still building the jasper walls of a literary paradise. Great talents, like George Meredith's, that stood a little aside from the road they were opening, have already suffered neglect. Only such perfection of form and complete grounding in a tradition which outlasts all tendencies, as A. E Housman displayed in *The Shropshire Lad,* has saved genius which did not participate in their conquest of a new reality from depreciation. Indeed it is probable that those who, like Hardy or Dostoievsky, first presented this new realism in its breadth and depth, are given a higher literary eminence now than the future will award them.

Here, then, are the foundations of our century, which built on for its first decade with no dividing line since 1880, unless 1895, when romance and cleverness began to lose caste in England though not in America, be taken as the moment when the strength of the demand for reality began to be consciously felt.

THE FIRST DECADE

Those who read the history of literature after 1900, not in critical retrospects, but in the year-by-year summaries of the year-books and bibliographies, will make several observations that lose nothing by the obvious fact that the compilers of these data were often unaware of what their records proved. They will quickly discover a turning-point which for prose may be set about 1910 and for poetry a year or so later. Not that literature violently changed at just these dates — the revolution had been long under

way — but that at the end of the first decade change became dominant. In the early nineteen hundreds, in England, Kipling was the hope of youth with Stevenson as his rival. Strenuous imagination, or jewelled beauty of words, seemed most desirable in prose. Barrie was still a man of pure sentiment, Wells a romancer. Archer was translating Ibsen; but Ibsen even yet was called exotic, Hardy a pessimist, and Shaw a freak. Poetry was in a decline. Books which complained or scoffed, books which dealt with sex, were deplored; books which left India or the South Seas or English high society to mix with labour and dabble in the new social ideas which the Fabians were spreading, did not succeed. Conrad was beginning, unrecognised, Hardy was writing *The Dynasts*, Kipling had reached his peak in *Kim*.

In the United States, the 'nineties had made the "best seller" a national institution. Some millions of people had acquired enough taste to read books like *Richard Carvel* which were obviously literary, if sweetened and diluted to taste. The wave of historical romance spread well into the nineteen hundreds, and its muddy shore tide still sweeps through the motion pictures. Magazines were being born and were growing with tremendous rapidity. The short story, sentimental like the romance, but more humorous, grew with them. The American hunger for print was increasing.

THE TURNING-POINT

The turn at the end of the first decade began outside of *belles lettres*, but it had been foreshadowed in some respects by the novels of Zola in France. Science and history were weighing upon literature precisely as they had weighed upon it in the mid-nineteenth century. History at the end of that century had become a science, at least in endeavour. It was the age of monographs, which gave way in the nineteen hundreds to the age of coöperative effort. Lord Acton's work bore fruit; the Cambridge histories began, and the American Nation series. History was no longer a story — it was an investigation; and as the field of research broadened, the social and psychological aspects began to be more and more studied. Sociology became the fashionable science as biology had been in the nineteenth century and psychology is to-day. Thoughtful novelists, dramatists, and poets began to see the world from a new angle. It is true that this new view of society was at first intractable for poetry, which in the early years of the century was a decadent echo of the Victorians, beautiful and brief like Stephen Philips' work, or the old lyric flowering in new Irish soil, as with Yeats, or to be found, when sought for, in the strange wrestling rhythms of Hardy. The essay, the drama, and the novel first translated the new social conscience, as they called it then, into art.

A. C. Benson's gentlemanly discourses from a college window represented the essay in those days, a deep declension from Arnold, Ruskin and Carlyle. The very form was discredited for serious thinking, and Shaw, the prime essayist of our time, chose the prefaces of unacted plays as the vehicle for his social thinking. The plays themselves, when given, proved to be dramatic essays, a new way of broadcasting ideas which had unexpected success.

All this was in the first decade. Now the novel, chosen vehicle of ideas since the latter eighteenth century, came to life. Arnold Bennett with *The Old Wives' Tale* in 1908, H. G. Wells with *Tono-Bungay* in 1909 and *Marriage* in 1912, John Galsworthy with *Fraternity* in 1909, brought the social conscience into widely read literature. This was, of course, a reflection of the sociology in which the generation now coming to full maturity had

been trained. It is noteworthy that Shaw had been a professed socialist, Wells had specialised in science, Bennett's formative years were passed in the black belt of the midland counties of England where industrialism had produced its maximum effect. Galsworthy, Oxford trained, and sprung, unlike the others, from the class which had long ruled and thought for England, showed the impact of these new ideas upon the humane spirit of liberalism which had dominated nineteenth-century England and must now adjust itself to a new period or court sterility.

These were the ideas of the new school, but it is as important to note that its purpose was realistic in the sense that its chief energies were used to square literature with what were felt to be the realities of the period. Thus, work as diverse in genre as Shaw's satiric extravaganzas, Bennett's monumental novels of everyday life, Barrie's fantastic comedies surcharged with sentiment, and Wells' narrative tracts all belong in the same category, and carry each in its own fashion the new honesty first proposed by Ibsen, Hardy, and Tolstoy. The power of this new literature is illustrated by the rapidity with which the revival of Victorian sentiment attempted by William De Morgan in *Alice-for-Short* and *Joseph Vance* flourished and died, by the sudden passage of vapid historical romance as a literary form, by the decline of Stevenson's vogue, and the relative oblivion which overtook Kipling while his powers still seemed to be crescent. Western civilisation began to seek new realities even before the World War upset all complacency, and literature sometimes followed and sometimes led.

It should be noted in passing how much the stage shared in this evolution. In the 'nineties, the success of *Cyrano de Bergerac* in France, and Maeterlinck's international reputation a little later, seemed to indicate a revival of dramatic romance. Quite the contrary, it was the English not the French stage that had a great revival, and it was the realists, Pinero, Jones, Shaw. Galsworthy, and their many successors, that were the fathers of the extraordinarily vigorous and versatile dramatists who are now making the theatre literary again in English-speaking countries.

Poetry lagged behind, and its condition as "magazine verse" or as "filler" was deplorable. Its turning-point in England is best indicated by John Masefield's startling *Everlasting Mercy* in *The English Review* of 1911, a fervid poem, noteworthy for its dogged determination to get at the beauty of the coarse and lowly. At first despised or deplored, Masefield was soon felt, rather than understood, to be in tune with his times. His little *Cargoes*, in which the argosy of amethysts and the tramp steamer loaded with cheap tin trays find themselves in an antithesis which is really a harmony, is Shavian in a true sense, and self-explanatory.

And now America, which had contained no poetical movement of high interest, though several remarkable writers, like William Vaughn Moody, since the turn of the century, began a poetical revival which was supposed to spring from Whitman, but was actually a response to the search for new reality. Amy Lowell's experiments in rhythm, in imagery, and in subject-matter, represented the intellectual awakening, which her criticism stimulated. *Sword Blades and Poppy Seed* and *Six French Poets* (1915) are significant. The highly original powers of Robert Frost in *North of Boston* (1914), the sometimes poignant *Spoon River Anthology* (1915), in which Edgar Lee Masters recorded the failures of a supposedly progressive civilisation, the homely ballads of Vachel Lindsay, *General Booth enters into Heaven*, for example, in 1913 — these broke up the American indifference to poetry, made it read and heard again, and gave new life to pure lyricism of more orthodox varieties, by the mere fact that poetry again was in accord with life.

Indeed, "let us take account of facts" became the current motto before

the war made us face facts which were not yet suspected. What people were reading, whether in English or other languages, was significant. The pacifist movement, also anti-conventional, had its prose monument in Romain Rolland's *Jean Christophe*. Bergson was the popular philosopher because he accepted the mechanistic principle as something not to be scoffed at, but struggled with and overcome by its own weapons. Chekhov and Gorky had followed Tolstoy from Russia, Hauptmann, either in bitter realism or monitory symbolism, crossed the world out of Germany. There were still romantic and sentimental best sellers in America and elsewhere, but critics no longer took them seriously, and about 1910 the year-books cease to list their statistics. The great middle class population had begun to read more variously. Its attention had shifted to the more serious literature already available in translations, and also beginning to be produced in original American works.

Side currents, sometimes carrying finer examples of pure literature than the main stream, there were of course. Synge in Ireland was writing his marvellous Anglo-Irish, and like Yeats creating sheer beauty. Maeterlinck was a refuge for aesthetics and mystics oppressed by the growing flatness of industrialism. Claudel in France was to succeed him. There were the nationalists, such as Maurice Barrès, the exotics inspired by Loti, the nature writers, also oppressed by industrialism, W. H. Hudson and John Burroughs, the symbolists, such as Henri de Régnier, mystics like Francis Thompson — but we must keep to the chief tendency; to be too inclusive in a sketch like this is to be merely confusing.

THE WAR AND LITERATURE

Then came the World War. Its immediate effect upon literature has been inaccurately reported. The year 1914 marks no dividing line in our imagination, and no more than an intensification in the nature of our thinking. If the war has deeply affected literature, the evidence is not yet visible, nor will be until this period of disturbance has run its course. The immediate influence of the war upon pure literature was negative. Authors stopped writing, or stopped writing literature. Young men, like Rupert Brooke, under the stress of urgent experience, became unexpectedly lyrical, and English was enriched by some poems filched from death; but upon prose, and upon literary conceptions of magnitude, the effect was restrictive. Barbusse's striking *Le Feu* of 1916, is now, as we remember it, a brilliant contribution to the psychology of war, but it is doubtful whether it will ever be read as a novel. The war, said Thomas Hardy, was too big for literature. It was also too destructive of literary energy. Except in so far as it violently increased the desire to get at reality, it had little effect on pure literature as far as present indications go.

An immediate effect, however, was a shift of interest from fiction and drama, the popular genres, to history, sociology, biography, and politics. There was a vast popularisation of social and political theory, and of science in so far as social interests were involved. Thanks to the importance of the struggle, and the willingness of first-rate minds to write for the public, this popular scholarship was of a rather high order, although it is doubtful whether a single book of first importance resulted. And to this new literature of serious books was quickly added in every language a vast library of experience, remembrance, biography, and opinion which is still collecting; but only occasionally, as in the *Letters* of Walter Hines Page, was there some actual literary merit achieved by the skill and personality of the author. The powerfully phrased idealism of Woodrow Wilson went round the world.

LITERATURE AFTER THE WAR

It is, of course, too soon to speak with even tentative assurance of the years from 1918 to 1924. Yet the general course of literature since the war is already clear, and there are several important developments and a few writers of real significance, which demand attention. The main issues are the sudden passion for the correlation of knowledge, the course of so-called expressionism in international art and literature, the influence of psychology, the coming to self-expression of the mid-western heart of the United States, and, most important of all, the rapid increase in the cosmopolitan exchange of all art, but especially literature, throughout the western world.

THE OUTLINE

It was certainly the war which made the outline of knowledge popular, but again, H. G. Wells' *The Outline of History* (1920) and other correlations as Van Loon's *The Story of Mankind,* and Wassermann's *The World's Illusion,* were a logical result of the progress of knowledge in the previous decades. Specialisation had proceeded at such a rate that there were no longer men who could master all, or even much, that was known. The competent scholar knew his own narrow field, and little outside of it. It had become difficult, if not impossible, for the layman to learn what bearing the discoveries in Crete might have upon the history of civilisation, or the relation between physics and biology. The intellectual life threatened to disintegrate into a congeries of special investigations. As often, the greatest clerks were not the wisest men, and the application of new science to old human nature and its methods of living, which was a prime objective with the realists, was threatened by the sheer inability to find out what scholarship and science had discovered. The pseudo-science of the Sunday Supplement was being absorbed in place of sound education. It is not surprising that in history a layman rushed in where specialists feared to tread, and that the layman was H. G. Wells, one of the advance guard of the pioneering realists. He was, of course, not the first to attempt to correlate knowledge — educators on both sides of the Atlantic had already begun the task, and historians had given him his material — but he made the gesture which brought our English-speaking world to attention. As history swung from politics to sociology and economics, and began to accumulate great funds of new information, the outline idea in history was particularly valuable. Science lagged behind, and is paying for its stupidity by an outburst of popular intolerance no less dangerous because it repeats prejudices of a dozen earlier centuries.

EXPRESSIONISM

The search for a new reality which had its beginning in the nineteenth century was by no means confined to history, science, and literature. Before the war it had manifested itself in the fine arts. In painting it led to strange schools determined to escape from the conventional methods of presenting beauty. Of these, the cubists, who attempted to see more truly by seeing in planes, were characteristic and have perhaps been most influential. In music, there was experiment with what had been called discords. In architecture, which felt more responsibility to the immediate needs of humanity, there was developed the steel skyscraper.

The general course of this movement has been indicated in the fiction

and poetry which, without being popular in the large sense, came nearest to the will of our most active brains. But literature, especially a literature still powerfully influenced by aestheticism, was bound to experiment with technique and subject-matter, especially at a time of change in mood and ideas. It was the relaxation or the breaking down of convention which accompanied the war that favoured those researches into the forbidden fields of sex which have been so characteristic, and sometimes so startling, in our own time. Yet the books of D. H. Lawrence in England and of Sherwood Anderson in the United States much more truly represent a step ahead in the search for reality, of which the war was not the cause. The one a social philosopher with sometimes a golden prose, the other a mystic so interested in the bases of life that nothing, not even occasional incapability, stops him from sounding its mysteries, are both realists in the sense of this chapter, with their sex obsessions only incidental and perhaps inevitable. In a true sense they are expressionists, but that term was coined to fit the writers who, as anti-conventionalism progressed, felt a need for complete expression more urgent than the value of whatever they may have had to express. These threw reticence, and form as the past had known it, to the free air. In so far as this expressionism has brought the sense of new possibilities in technique and new fields for expression, it has been a good influence, although there have been no major artists that can be called expressionists. The thing has been international. Werfel, Unruh, Kaiser in Germany, Marcel Proust in France, although experimentalist would be a better name for him than expressionist, the curious mind patterns studied for English novels by Dorothy Richardson, the rather absurd playing upon the connotation of words by the expatriate American, Gertrude Stein, the vivid and novel imagery of such younger poets as E. E. Cummings, the power of ugliness in Carl Sandburg, most of all that strange, half-mad story of one man's day, fully told to the last half-conscious quiver and disgraceful wish — James Joyce's *Ulysses*, all are examples. There is no masterpiece of the school, although the influence of the technical method of *Ulysses* is likely to be great, but much of this expressionist work is significant of new energies. A wind of freedom is blowing through literature; a willingness to greet and try to understand the unexpected is increasing in readers of our day. The future tense in current literature — on the stage, in poetry, and in fiction — is deeply concerned with expressiveness and its technique.

PSYCHOLOGY AND LITERATURE

Current literature is still more concerned with psychology, and one finds it quite impossible to understand the advanced literature of the last few years without reference to the rapid development of the science of psychology in the past decade. Although the creative artists, precisely as in Darwin's day, imperfectly comprehend the problems at issue for scientists, they well understand that the studies of Freud and Jung have made what used to be called instinct, and is now popularly discussed as the subconsciousness, a factor to be reckoned with in every action. Every vital book now shows intuition reaching out along this new path towards new interpretations. With almost equal readiness, the writers have apprehended the behaviourists' very different discoveries, and are transferring responsibility, in their plays and novels, from the soul to the environment, with suspicious celerity. Much bad science has gone into contemporary literature, but the possibilities of fiction and drama particularly have been definitely and considerably enlarged.

THE AMERICAN MIDDLE WEST

Expressionism was one phase of a movement that included the passionate strivings of scientists to capture the realities of the human machine. The discovery of itself in literature by the Middle West of America was a much simpler phenomenon, but no better illustration could be offered of the drive toward reality worked upon by the nationalistic impulses of the war. New England had become articulate in the first half of the nineteenth century. The West was often described but actually dumb. Frank Norris' attempts at epic interpretation in *The Octopus* and *The Pit* at the turn of the century, Theodore Dreiser's later stories were quite as much American experiments in zolaism as western self-expression. But with such poetry as *Spoon River Anthology*, and such novels as Sinclair Lewis' *Main Street* (1920) and *Babbitt* (1922), there began a real western school very different from the western stuff of movies and cheap magazines.

Main Street was an attempt to view critically the distinctively American civilisation made in the Middle West, and now seen by Americans who had become race conscious in the war. Miss Willa Cather, in a remarkable series of novels, of which *A Lost Lady* (1923) is perhaps the finest, gives the sudden self-consciousness of interior America without the propaganda of social criticism which Lewis had learned from Wells. Miss Zona Gale's *Miss Lulu Bett* (1920) is another example of the coming of age of a great community, to which that easy humorist, Booth Tarkington, will be seen to have been an important contributor. Books more really important than contemporary English work of the kind, although not necessarily finer, have resulted. When the shadow of Zola, which the two women mentioned have escaped, but which rests upon the men of the Middle West, is lifted, we may expect what we will from this troubled heart of a nation in which the struggle of man with his industrialism is going to be fiercest.

The relative importance of American literature was, indeed, greater in the last years of the period under discussion than at any time since the great New Englanders of the nineteenth century. In the interim, America had contributed only two great names to English literature, Mark Twain and Walt Whitman, with a reservation for Henry James, if he be called American. The difference to-day is marked not by the emergence of first-rate geniuses, but by the vigour of the national literature, which exceeds that of any of the European races. An intense activity in criticism, a versatile acted drama, rich in technique, supplying the London as well as the New York stage, a widely read poetry, and the presence in fiction of a subject-matter more novel and more vital than in contemporary French or British work of equal or greater competence, is evidence of vitality if not of genius. Only the short story, preëminent in the nineteenth century, has been standardised into a dead level of mechanical excellence. A discussion of literary excellence rather than broad tendencies would have to include the fine satiric fiction of Mrs. Edith Wharton, the intensely intellectual poetry of Edwin Arlington Robinson, the poignant lyrics of Edna St. Vincent Millay, the ironic phantasy of James Branch Cabell, the penetrating humour of Booth Tarkington, and other items which, like the long and equivalent list of eminent names in other countries, must be omitted from a chapter dealing with direction rather than quality.

COSMOPOLITANISM

Most striking of all these current phenomena, and world-wide in its effects, is the exchange of books, growing yearly more rapid, among all the great

literatures. In this, of course, the war was an inciting factor of magnitude, but the barter of ideas and imagination was extensive before and has probably only just begun. Poetry is translated only with difficulty, but fiction and drama and books of fact and opinion (like Papini's *Life of Christ* which became a best seller in America) are now international in the best sense, for without losing the characteristics which race or environment may have given them, they become the literature of other races. The effect has been a perceptible increase in the flexibility of the British and American mind, and presumably of the Continental mind also. The popular success in English of perhaps the most interesting writer of the period, Joseph Conrad, is almost inconceivable in the nineteenth century, certainly in America. In a language that in spite of its gorgeous texture is often unidiomatic, he has written with a Slavic intensity foreign to his adopted literature; and without any of the tricks of popular fiction, has got a reading circle as large as those of the old best sellers. His example is probably too difficult to be followed; but we shall have more and more writers who, like Henry James, write for the cosmopolitan; and more and more authors like Ibáñez, Ibsen, Cournos, Rolland, D'Annunzio, Nexö, Chekhov, Dostoievsky, Molnar, Hamsun, Bojer, who have at least two languages in which they are eminent.

CONCLUSION

Thus the outstanding characteristic of literature at the beginning of the century was a revolt against conventions, especially the conventions of bourgeois liberalism. The outstanding characteristic of important literature throughout the period has been a new search for reality, conducted by satire, by phantasy, by psychological analysis, by literary realism, and, with Conrad, in the very medium of romance. Science, and particularly the science of society and psychology, has been as influential throughout as the classics in the eighteenth century or the philosophy of Rousseau or the theory of evolution later. It is apparently not a literature of great names that we have discussed, although Hardy, Shaw, Anatole France, Conrad, James, give pause, and we are too close to the product to make such an assertion with any conviction. Yet no one can reconsider and compare the books of the early years of the twentieth century with that part of contemporary literature in which the intellectual fire of our day burns and quivers, without realising that we have crossed from one world to another. The years of the youth of those who came to maturity in the 'nineties are as historical now as the era of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or the bounding humour and easy acceptance of a confident theory of living in Dickens and Thackeray. Ours is still an age of experiment, perhaps close to its end. Its chief problem is industrialism, its chief question the bearing of powerfully advancing science upon the meaning of life. It is an age in which means have been stressed more than ends. If the search for reality which has been the chief subject of this chapter should reach out toward final objectives, literature would reach with it, and without loss of vigour or reality, nobility and scope, now lacking (for variety is not breadth), might both come back.

CHAPTER LXIII

THE NEW POETRY

By John Gould Fletcher

Poet and Critic. Author of *Fire and Wine; The Tree of Life; Breakers and Granite; Some Contemporary American Poets.*

I. France

The opening of the twentieth century found France approaching the close of what is known as the Symbolist Movement. By 1900 a return to a stricter form of classicism, and a more conventional type of metre began to make itself felt. The most important precursor of this development was Albert Samain, who died in that year. A number of other poets, not inferior in accomplishment, continued his work. Among them should be cited, as of the first rank, Henri de Régnier, whose poetry fuses the cold classical objectivity of the Parnassians, like Heredia, with the rich colour-sensation and nervous impressionism of Mallarmé. Also to be mentioned are the American-born poets, Francis Vièle-Griffin and Stuart Merrill, the former influenced in his *vers libres* equally by the Greeks and Walt Whitman, the latter largely influenced by Swinburne. The Symbolist Movement may be said to have come to an end in 1910; in that year died Jean Moréas, a naturalised Greek, whose poetical career had begun with formal adhesion to Symbolism, but who had rapidly passed on to a neo-classicism founded on Ronsard, and from this to Virgil.

POETS OF INDUSTRIALISM

Meanwhile, while Symbolism was working itself out, a voice from the neighbouring country of Belgium made itself heard, which electrified and shocked French taste, accustomed to classical restraint and measure. Emile Verhaeren, a pure Fleming, a "barbarian" from the Scheldt, constituted himself the poet of modern industrialism. His work with its uncompromising modernity, immediately influenced the poetry of Russia, of Germany, of England, of America — of the whole world. Its effect on France was less; but Paul Fort, the leader of the second generation of Symbolists, attempted to accomplish for France what Verhaeren had already achieved for Belgium. At his best, he is a combination of a brilliant narrator and a glorified *chansonnier*. He is able to reconstruct a moment of Life, or an epoch of history, in a few swift vivid phrases.

THE SYMBOLISTS TURN TO THE CHURCH

About the early years of the century, as a result largely of the Dreyfus affair and its sequels, which shook political France to its foundations, a number of the younger generation of Symbolists began to look with anxious

eyes towards the Roman Catholic Church. Symbolism had been definitely sceptical, pagan and extra-national. Now it began to be felt that poetry must rest on foundations of faith and nationalism. The precursors of this movement were Charles Guérin (d. 1907) and Francis Jammes. The work of the former is sombre, northern, melancholy; that of the latter owes a great part of its claim to the fact that its author is a native of the Pyrenees, with Creole blood from the Antilles in his veins. Exotic, sensual, and sentimental by turns, Jammes is one of the most seductive of French poets; his conversion to the faith of his fathers, and the passing of the years, have sobered him somewhat, but have not suppressed the ingenious candour of his heart.

The two greatest Catholic poets are still to be mentioned. Charles Péguy, who closed a stormy career as political journalist, polemist and philosopher, by giving his life for France at the battle of the Marne, recalls to mind Villon, Dante, and the monastic litanies of the middle ages. Nothing reveals the strength of the Catholic tradition in France better than the emergence of so mediaeval a soul in the twentieth century. Immensely national, democratic, peasant-like as Péguy was, there is in his work the very soul of his country. It is a pity that it has been obscured by the far more international, brilliant, barbarically violent, but less structural effort of Paul Claudel. This poet, whose life has been spent in the diplomatic service of his country in China, Japan, North and South America, seeks to combine in his odes and dramaturgy the moral intensity of Aeschylus, the dramatic movement of Shakespeare, the violent metaphor of Rimbaud, the passionate dogmatism of Dante and the Roman liturgy, the exoticism of all the Symbolists rolled into one. He is unquestionably the greatest French poet now living.

Other poets of Catholic inspiration are the Fleming, Charles Van Lerberghe who combined the sensuality of Verhaeren with a more delicate technique; Max Elskamp and Victor Braun, also Flemings; and above all the astounding poet whose work under the pseudonym of "Humilis" was first given to the world in 1910, when the author, a contemporary of Verlaine, had for many years become a beggar at church doors.

THE ABBAYE SCHOOL

In 1906, a number of young poets, artists and thinkers purchased a desecrated abbey at Creteil, and established there a colony of plain living and high thinking, with a printing-press attached for the publication of their works. This was the germ of the famous *Abbaye* school, the influence of which on French literature is felt to the present day. The members of this group were influenced in literature above all by Verhaeren and Whitman, in politics they were definitely international and Socialistic; in philosophy they were deeply stirred by the great revival of thinking, associated with the name of Henri Bergson. It is interesting to note that just as the whole Symbolist Movement had sprung from Poe and his continuator, Baudelaire, so another great American poet — Whitman — was responsible for the movement which culminated in what is called Unanimism. The leader of this group is unquestionably Jules Romains, poet, playwright, novelist and philosopher. Unanimism may be defined as the search for the divine principle underlying groups of men in association. Thus there is a god of the couple, a god of crowds, and finally a god of cities. He has been followed by René Arcos, Pierre-Jean Jouve and a still later poet, Pierre Drieu la Rochelle, who has tried to fuse Claudel and Romains in

a closer alliance with Whitman. The other Unanimistes have given but a limited adherence to Romains' gospel. Charles Vildrac is more tender, humanitarian, subdued. Georges Duhamel, who like Romains has attempted all the different fields of literature — novels, plays, polemics — as well as poetry, seeks rather a certitude within himself than in the crowd about him. The Abbaye group is, on the whole, one of the most living phenomena still in contemporary French literature, and their influence abroad has been even greater than at home.

THE FANTAISISTES — DADAISM

On one side, the work of Francis Jammes, already mentioned, had a great influence on the Fantaisistes. This was a term employed during the years 1910–1916 to designate a very loosely coördinated movement manifest in a number of young poets. The aim of the Fantaisistes was irony, even mockery — with a dash of exoticism. In this respect the most important founders of Fantaisism were the Frenchmen, Georges Fourest, whose book *La Négresse Blonde* is a classical example of buffoonery; and the Polish cosmopolite, Guillaume Apollinaire, who up to the day of his death in 1919 was the leader of the extreme left wing of French literature. Apollinaire was, in his way, a great poet, almost the only French poet with a fund of Heine-like irony, but possessed by a demoniac desire to mystify, to insult, to mock at his readers, and even himself. Thus he became the inventor of literary "cubism," which consists in the suppression of punctuation and capitals, and this in turn led on to the movement known as Dada, an extraordinary product of the war, which had its brief hour of life around about 1920, and already is almost forgotten.

Those who have been more radically affected by Apollinaire and the later innovations are Max Jacob, Blaise Cendrars, Paul Morand, and Jean Cocteau. A love of America as the *dernier cri* of exoticism may be discerned in this group: they have been powerfully affected by the fox-trot, the dance-hall, the cowboy film, the motor-car and the aeroplane. But in one or two, a return to Classicism, always the underlying preoccupation of the French genius, makes itself felt. It is manifest in the later work of Cocteau, whose poetical effort extends from the undisguised "cubism" of *Le Potomak* to the Ronsardism of his latest phase.

THE RETURN TO CLASSICISM

The latest tendency in French poetry proper is its marked return to Classicism. The leader of this movement is undoubtedly Paul Valéry, who was born in 1872, was known up to the war only as one of the more obscure and fastidious followers of Mallarmé, but whose recent works *Le Jeune Parque* and *Charmes* have put him in the fore-front of the Classicists. Valéry is admittedly not a poet for popular taste. He holds the view that it is too easy to conceive of new ideas in literature, and that the only merit a writer can display is in heaping up and overcoming technical obstacles of style and expression in his statement of them.

II. England

While France was producing the largest and richest body of new and varied verse of any European nation, England was striving to reconcile the insistent claims of the coming century with her fidelity to a dying tradition.

Schools, groups and movements have never counted for much with the English temperament. The national independence of the Anglo-Saxon, no less than the very nature of the language itself, seem to call for individual effort. At the outset of the century, Swinburne and Meredith, of the Victorians, still survived; but their work was done. Francis Thompson was still alive, but his best work was accomplished; Mrs. Meynell had practically given up writing; and in select literary circles the elaborate filigree-like technique of Gerald Manley Hopkins was beginning to be talked about. The Boer War, with its aftermath of disillusion, had suddenly eclipsed the glories of Henley and Kipling, who had become spokesmen of the Imperial idea; and the work which now enjoyed an increasing vogue was Housman's *Shropshire Lad* with its restrained and bitter pessimism, which had been published five years before, but was slow in finding its audience. Meanwhile there were few to note that Thomas Hardy had in 1898 abandoned his novel-writing for his first love, poetry. Yet it was his voice that was destined to dominate English poetry for the next twenty years.

TWO GIANTS: HARDY AND DOUGHTY

Rich in observation, passionately humanitarian, sardonic and pitiful by turns, Hardy has summed up and carried forward into the future the ideals of the Victorian age which produced him. *The Dynasts*, the love-lyrics of 1912–1913, the *Satires of Circumstance*, the war-poems, are the most authentic masterpieces that England has produced in poetry in the twentieth century. A brooding love of the heroic past, the sense of the dying of the old values, a tragic sadness that yet leaves room for hope, a sense, above all, of the "tears of things," inform them. Hardy is above all a reflective poet; the after-glow of his country's greatness saturates his work, and makes his style contorted and even harsh. *The Dynasts* reveals how great is his debt to Aeschylus and to the Greek dramatists. Yet this immense panorama, in which the riddle of human destiny is examined as few poets have had the patience and ability to examine it, points backwards to the past rather than forward to the future.

In 1906 another work which points even further backward to the past, made its appearance. Charles Montagu Doughty, author of one of the greatest travel books in the English language, published his epic *The Dawn in Britain.* Doughty is wilfully, almost pedantically archaic. He claims to derive from Spenser; in reality his work with its blend of lyric, narrative and didactic poetry, recalls Homer as seen by the eyes of some contemporary of Chaucer and Langland. Doughty's work will never be popular; it was born three hundred years too late. Yet despite the obstacle of a wilfully archaic style, it has found an increasing number of readers and admirers.

Compared to such giants as these, the best of the so-called "Georgian poets" shrink to very small proportions. The pervading influences upon the Georgian Movement, which began in 1912, were probably Wordsworth, Doughty, and the revival of pure lyric promoted chiefly by Robert Bridges. To the Wordsworth tradition belong such poets as Wilfred Wilson Gibson and John Drinkwater; the academic influence of Doughty is perceptible in Lascelles Abercrombie and Gorden Bottomley; the lyric tradition of Bridges was continued by W. H. Davies, Ralph Hodgson, and Walter de la Mare. The latter group alone is the more important. If their work sacrifices strength, it at least displays freshness and grace, and a considerable range of variation in the lyric key. Somewhat apart from the rest, yet loosely allied to them, is the more experimental poet, Harold Monro.

Two young poets, both of whom died during the war, stand out head and shoulders above the rest of the Georgian group: Rupert Brooke and James Elroy Flecker. Both had read the Elizabethans; Flecker at least was aware of what was going on in France. Of the two, Brooke's fame was the more immediate, but not the more lasting. There is a vein of almost Byronic improvisation about his work — a brilliant facility which soon fades. Flecker with his experiments in the objective and Parnassian manner, and in oriental metres and metaphors, is nearer the root of the matter. *Hassan* is, though obviously the work of an immature talent, the most genuinely interesting and bold attempt at restoring the poetic drama that our generation has seen in England.

THE CELTIC RENAISSANCE

Meanwhile, in Ireland the poets of the Celtic renaissance were completing their work. Dreamily mystical or contemptuously aristocratic, in the case of W. B. Yeats; harshly realistic and tragically human in the case of Synge or James Stephens, imbued with a mystic patriotism in the case of A. E., Padraic Pearse, Thomas McDonagh, and the Irish-American Padraic Colum, what they had to say was in any case individual and not without its effect on English literature, as may be traced in the sincere realism of such poets as Anna Wickham, Charlotte Mew, or in the Irish-Devonian, L. A. G. Strong. An even greater example of the Celtic influence is to be found in John Masefield, who after writing for a number of years, made his startling leap into fame with *The Everlasting Mercy* in 1912. He combines in almost mathematical proportion, Chaucer, Synge, and the old ballad singers. Like the great Polish novelist, Joseph Conrad, he has made the sea his theme; in this vein *Dauber* represents his best work. He is also the poet of the old and decaying countryside, as witness *Reynard the Fox*, and the elegist of England's vanished glories in *August, 1914*, and other lyrics. He is one of the very few Englishmen now living who have definitely influenced to any extent American poetry.

Another English poet who has influenced American technique is G. K. Chesterton, whose *Lepanto* undoubtedly helped Lindsay to his discovery of syncopated metre. The *Ballad of the White Horse* does not lack its note of Celticism, but is in its way finer work than Masefield's. Another English poet who turned back to balladry was the late Maurice Hewlett, whose folk-epic *The Song of the Plow* is as sober and restrained as Chesterton's ballad is vivid and exuberant.

THE WAR POETS

During the years 1914–1919, a remarkable group of war-poets made its appearance. Whether the English, owing to the fact that they were fighting defensive battles on foreign soil, felt the war more than other nations, I cannot say; at all events they were less behindhand in the expression of their feelings. Brooke and Flecker started the vogue for war poetry; Robert Graves and Robert Nichols continued it. Nichols is Brooke's real successor; Graves has a more Celtic touch of fantasy. More important than either was the bitterly passionate Wilfrid Owen, whose *Strange Meeting* is unforgettably a masterpiece; the simpler and more [illegible] Edward Thomas and Edward Blunden, and the intellectual and obscure Isaac Rosenberg, whose *Moses* strikes a unique note in English literature, are also among the war-poets whose work may be classed as of permanent importance. Among the minor war-poets may be mentioned the imagistic T. E. Hulme, F. S. Flint and Richard Aldington.

DECLINE OF INTEREST IN POETRY

Since the war, the popular interest in poetry, which began with Masefield and rose during the course of the struggle to quite respectable proportions, has declined. Few new names have come to the fore-front; English poetry seems to halt between the barren academicism of Sir William Watson, Henry Newbolt, Laurence Binyon and the younger group of the Georgians on the one hand and the dazzling but artificial sophistication of the three Sitwells on the other. England's political position between insurgent America and disintegrating Europe, closely corresponds to her poetical position. Only a genius of the first order could surmount the difficulties of this situation, and produce work destined to take its place beside Hardy and Doughty, but unlike theirs, not dependent solely on traditional memories for its inspiration. But it is impossible to abandon the subject of English poetry without referring to the sole English poet who has deliberately outlawed himself from his own tradition. I am referring to David Herbert Lawrence. In his work the influence of Whitman, together with influence of a mysticism that is half-Teutonic, half-Slav, play a preponderating part. He is profoundly the most interesting of contemporary English poets, but his affinities are not English, but rather American or German. Whether he is the poet to lead England out of the charmed circle of her own tradition, only the future can decide.

III. America

Nothing is more startling, or more inexplicable, than the sudden outburst of poetry in America, which has largely taken place in the last ten years. European critics and observers had rashly assumed that nothing of literary value could be born in such a commercial country, when lo! as by magic, the situation was changed. Whitman's prediction of a "new breed of bards" had come true at last, in a way unforeseen by its maker; and the new poetry of America, despite its failings, is far and away the most interesting body of work that any modern nation has produced, with the exception of France.

At the opening of the century the works that were most generally talked about were the *Songs from Vagabondia* by Bliss Carman and Richard Hovey (who died in 1900), the violently Miltonic and rhetorical dramas of William Vaughn Moody, the *Man with the Hoe* of Edwin Markham. All these works were academic in form, socialistic and even didactic in spirit.

BEGINNINGS OF THE NEW MOVEMENT IN AMERICA — THE WORK OF ROBINSON, FROST AND CRANE

Meanwhile, though this group held the field, a few were aware that a new note had been struck by the publication in 1897 of *Children of the Night* by Edwin Arlington Robinson. And fewer still had been interested in two small volumes of free verse entitled *The Black Riders* and *War is Kind* which the brilliant short-story writer, Stephen Crane, produced before his premature death in 1900. Yet from these two authors emerged the entire poetical movement in America.

Robinson has developed, to a very high point, the realism, the irony, the acid analysis that lie at the bottom of the New England character. These he has rather subdued than openly stated. He shares with his more popular contemporary, Frost, a love for the traditional forms, but these forms (notably

the sonnet) have been slowly and patiently transformed in his hands, in order to convey a message that is all the more deep for being understated. Moreover, his ingrained Puritanism leads him always to prefer the oblique and implied, rather than the direct method of attack. In his own field he is supreme, whether in rustic character-sketches like *Isaac and Archibald*, or in ironic portraits like *Richard Cory* and *The Master* or in the more mystical and universal note of *The Man Against the Sky* or *Merlin*. He is the first and foremost of American poets, and the debt of the present generation to him is immense.

Crane, on the other hand, was a far more restless and dissatisfied seeker. His two books, written in the heat of labour in other fields, rather sketch out a new art of poetry than state it. Yet the author of *War is Kind* had an immense gift of irony, of sharp vivid colouring and epigrammatic phrase, of broken irregular rhythm that continually recalls the far later work of the Imagists. The whole free-verse movement in America starts from Crane rather than from the more rolling psalmody of Whitman.

Robert Frost, as has been already noted, directly follows Robinson in his technique and New England outlook. His greater popularity may be due to the fact that he is less sharply ironical and less coldly analytical. There is a gift of warm humour, almost of drollery, in his work, as well as an unforced and simple pathos, which Robinson has always shunned, in such poems as *The Death of the Hired Man*. *North of Boston* contains his best work; and it is agreeable to think that Frost has not been without his influence on certain English poets, notably on Edward Thomas.

EZRA POUND, AN EXPONENT OF IMAGISM

Crane's influence has been predominant in the formation of Ezra Pound. This poet began with an aesthetic Bohemianism which strongly recalls the pre-Raphaelites, the 'nineties, and the *Songs of Vagabondia*. Early an expatriate, he fell under the influence of Browning, and produced his first works in London, creating thereby a small sensation. A little later he suddenly became attracted to Imagism, a new method of writing closely akin to that practiced by Crane which was greatly discussed in London about 1910–1912. Pound was, if not precisely the founder of Imagism, at least its most vocal exponent. His later works have been a queer blend of Gallic impudence, echoes and scraps from Chinese, Greek, Latin and Provençal sources, and American bluntness. He has unfortunately become a cosmopolitan in culture; and in the process, has overwhelmed his original talents and impulse, which were not inconsiderable. The earlier Pound is the better, and the poet of *The Goodly Fere* and *Sestina for Isolt* will be remembered when the author of the *Cantos* is forgotten.

AMY LOWELL

Pound was followed in his Imagism by a number of American poets who lived or had travelled abroad. Foremost among these is Miss Amy Lowell, considerably his senior in years, and before her adhesion to Imagism a New England disciple of Keats and the French Parnassians. Her work, far richer in range than that of any other Imagist, experimental in a dozen different directions, abounds in energy, dynamic contrast, and technical versatility. Yet it lacks somehow the brooding sympathy, the rich humanity which are present in Frost or in Robinson, and despite her recent return to a more mellowed and less violently aggressive technique, the impression one

gains from reading Miss Lowell's books is of a cold, cruel, almost detached talent: she still is at heart a Parnassian. Her technical equipment is literally enormous, and is displayed with prodigal carelessness. In a mingling of narrative and descriptive verse she has no equal, in America or in France, with the sole possible exception of Paul Fort. Her services to literature do not end with her creative work; she has translated or adapted from the Chinese, has written a book on French poetry, and has been one of the first to discuss the new movement in American poetry as well.

Among the younger Imagists, the work of the lady who writes under the initials of H. D. stands foremost. The spirit of Ancient Greece has come alive again in the soul of this Pennsylvanian. But it is not the Greece of Homer or of the Dramatists, but the Greece of the Melic poets of the seventh century and later; Sappho, Alcaeus, Simonides, and the authors of the Greek Anthology. And even this Greece is seen by a reticent, almost New England spirit — sharp, clear, almost ascetic. H. D. has produced very little, but her position is secure. No one has written free verse of more sharp intensity than the poet of *Sea-Gods, Hymen, The Shrine.*

THE MIDDLE-WESTERN GROUP

But while the strictly New England group of Robinson and Frost were producing their most mature work, and while the Imagists were upsetting all the critics with their *vers libres* and polyphonic prose-poems, other currents were starting in America. In 1913, Miss Harriet Monroe, herself a poet of the Markham–Moody tradition, founded in Chicago a paper called *Poetry.* To this paper began to contribute Vachel Lindsay of Springfield in Illinois, Carl Sandburg, the son of a Swedish immigrant who lives in Chicago, and Edgar Lee Masters of Kansas and Chicago. These three poets form the Middle-Western group. Masters has something of the qualities of a Robinson transplanted to the prairies. He has all the predilections of his New England predecessor except — and this is an important exception — the sense of style and of proportion. *Spoon River Anthology,* the book by which he attained immediate fame, is crudely written, but is an unforgettable portrait-gallery of the inhabitants of an American small town. His later work is serious, but almost unreadable. Lindsay, on the other hand, has the perpetual immaturity of an adolescent fervour and yearning. His poems are suffused with a juvenile intensity; his technique recalls Chesterton. His best works are the remarkable chants, *The Congo, General William Booth, The Chinese Nightingale.* Carl Sandburg is more akin to Whitman, but bitterly resentful of social injustice, and broodingly mystical. His work reveals America, in all its heroic effort and sham idealism, as seen through the eyes of the immigrant.

PREDOMINANT INFLUENCE OF IMAGISM

Over the younger school, the influence of Imagism is predominant. Somewhat apart from the rest stand the figures of T. S. Eliot and Conrad Aiken, both cosmopolitan eclectics, both saturated with influences from France, Italy and the Elizabethans. Aiken's prevailing mood of emotional languour and melancholy is akin to that of Poe; Eliot has a sharper intellectual curiosity, a deeper sophistication, and has learned better to stifle his emotions under a mask of irony. These two poets may be said to have set the fashion for twentieth-century sophistication, and for an aestheticism even more bloodless than that of the 'nineties.

REACTION FROM EXPERIMENTALISM

In the last few years a reaction from the experimental period has made itself felt in American poetry. This reaction has its precursors, certain poets who have been omitted so far from this survey, as they could only be classified together. Thus there are the two Catholic women-poets, Louise Imogen Guiney, now dead, whose work was solely inspired by the seventeenth century; and the far more remarkable Anna Hempstead Branch, who has been influenced by Milton and Coleridge. One might also mention Sara Teasdale, whose work in the domain of the pure Lyric has Classic simplicity and directness.

The present leaders of the reaction are two women-poets, Edna St. Vincent Millay and Elinor Wylie. Both write in conventional metres, including the ballad and the sonnet, and both have done work of some value. But frankly I find Miss Millay's sonnets when set beside a master's, such as Robinson's, to be empty of content; her work only appeals to me in its earlier phase of *Renaissance* when still full of lyrical ecstasy. And even so, it is less full of ecstasy than the work of Edwin Curran, who merits here mention as the authentic Christopher Smart and William Blake among American poets. Miss Wylie has studied the Imagists, from Pound to Eliot, and has made good use of the discipline they have taught her. Her irony is more chiselled, her thought more contained. American poetry is still flourishing, though the single successor to Whitman has not arrived and probably never will arrive. The field is altogether too vast, the material to be made use of too overwhelming.

IV. GERMANY

The poetical development of modern Germany up to the outbreak of the war has been analogous to that of France, with certain important differences, which are inherent in the temper of the race, in the quality of the climate and landscape, and possibly in the language itself. The German character is dreamily sentimental or melancholy in youth, grossly realistic or bitterly disillusioned in manhood; for this reason the German poet, like the English poet, frequently starts as lyricist, but his lyricism seems often to evaporate, and become shallow. And the language itself lacks the plastic suavity of the French, or the rich emotional vibrance of the English. There seem no other notes in it between the very soft and the very hard. What the German poet possesses is either a nervous shrinking delicacy of subdued music, or an energy that recalls that of the American poets.

At the beginning of the century, Friedrich Nietzsche, whose dithyrambic poems had played an enormous part in the revival of German lyricism, was dead. Two poets, Detlev von Liliencron and Richard Dehmel, vastly different in upbringing and outlook, but both influenced by the creative pessimism and fatalism of Nietzsche, held the field.

FREE VERSE AND FRENCH INFLUENCE

They set the tone for German poetry up to the outbreak of the war, but there were others not less remarkable. Arno Holz deserves mention as having first started a violent discussion on the merits of full verse.

Alfred Mombert also attempted to extend the bounds of German poetry in a violently dithyrambic style modelled on Nietzsche. He is a Fantaisist,

a dreamer of extraordinary visions. The more strictly French influence is to be found in Stephan Georg and the Austrian poet Hugo von Hoffmannsthal. Georg is a pupil of Baudelaire, Verlaine, Mallarmé, and of all the Symbolists and decadents. His work recalls the early W. B. Yeats in its dreamy mysticism, its aristocratic aloofness, its delicately vibrant technique. A still more shadowy melancholy, a deeper regret, pulses through the verses of the Austrian, Hugo von Hoffmannsthal, who early abandoned his lyrics for the poetic drama. His *Ballad of the Outer Life* is one of the most striking and most frequently imitated of modern German poems.

Max Dauthendey began, like Georg and Hoffmannsthal, under the influence of the Symbolists and Maeterlinck, but has developed into a singer of optimistic hope in the style of Dehmel. Rainer Maria Rilke is an avowed follower of Georg, who, thanks to long sojourns abroad in Russia and France, has avoided some of the grey monotony of pessimism that is perceptible in most of the school. His *Buch der Bilder* and *Buch der Stunden* reveal the spirit of a dissatsified God-seeker, an introspective dreamer on the verge of life. In sheer artistic accomplishment he is probably even greater than Hoffmannsthal, and miles above the more popular Dehmel.

CARL SPITTELER, A GREAT EPIC POET

But the poet who was to fuse Nietzsche's aristocratic idealism and philosophic scepticism into a great work of classic writing was not born in Germany itself, but in Switzerland. I refer to Carl Spitteler. Though the recipient of the Nobel Prize in 1919, his work is practically unknown outside of Germany. That is a pity. He is the one great epic poet of modern times, except Doughty; and his *Olympian Spring*, though it belongs neither to the old nor to the modern school, is a masterpiece that some day will be universally recognised by the "happy few" who have the love of great literature at heart.

EXPRESSIONISM

A short time before the war a new current arose in German literature. The generation which was born after the unification of the empire in 1870, and the tremendous industrial development which followed, was no longer able to accept the social optimism of Dehmel, nor the aristocratic shrinking from life expressed by Georg and his followers. They were obliged to sing of the modern industrial Germany, the Germany that was to plunge the world into war, but they knew that modern civilisation and mechanism was the Moloch that would crush that Germany even while they sang of it. Thus was born Expressionism, which was to combine the apocalyptic fury of Nietzsche in his latest phase, or the Hebrew prophets, with that love for the macabre and the grotesque that is so essentially a German characteristic. The forerunners of this movement were George Heym, the son of a Protestant pastor, whose life came to a premature end through death by drowning in 1912; Jacob van Hoddis, said to be still living, but an inmate of a lunatic asylum; George Trakl who committed suicide shortly after the outbreak of the war; and August Stramm who was killed in the Russian campaign of 1915. It will be seen that a violent destiny ruled over the birth of Expressionism, and a violent destiny has continued it.

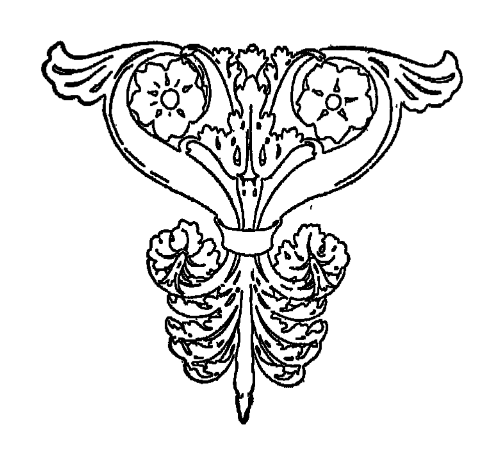
Heym is the poet of shadows and menace. His work is sharply influenced by Baudelaire and the earlier Verhaeren. Hoddis, who has written very little, is at once more sardonic and more apocalyptic. Trakl, a drug-eater and a vagabond, lived and wrote perpetually on the borderland of insanity.

Stramm's epigrammatic verses have an iron ring of naked fatalism and despair.

These poets have their successors. Most of them have served in the war, unwillingly, since most of them before the war were social and political revolutionaries. Franz Werfel is the greatest of them, and one of the greatest poets of our time. An immense love for humanity, an immense despair of humanity as it is to-day, inspire his ringing appeals to the future. He might be called, without exaggeration, the German Whitman.

At the present moment the movement of Expressionism seems to be culminating in drama; and here Werfel and the social agitator Ernest Toller hold the field.

Enough has been said to show that German literature is now in a state to take its place among the most advanced and vital literatures of the world. The small group of the Expressionists have added an entirely new note to European literature. They have neither yielded to reactionary influences, nor to despair. It is not infrequent that a defeated nation obtains through its sufferings some insight into the reality of life that at once sets its artists on a far higher level than that of other nations. This may be the reason for Greece's great Renaissance after the Persian wars; it certainly explains modern Germany. Germany deserves to live, if for no other reason than for the sake of the originality, the fervour, the energy, the intensity of her poets. And despite Germany's desperate straits, it is worth noting that the most representative anthology of these young Expressionists — published in 1919 — is or was over a year ago in its twentieth thousand.



CHAPTER LXIV

DECAY OF THE DRAMA

By ST. JOHN ERVINE

For several years Dramatic Critic of *The Observer*. Sometime Manager of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin. Author of numerous plays and novels, including: *Changing Winds; John Ferguson;* and *Jane Clegg*.

THE history of the drama, especially in English-speaking countries, has, since the beginning of the twentieth century, been a singularly diversified one. It has ranged, in 25 years, from a vigorous, but perhaps over-intellectual, condition to one of complete mental collapse, from which it is now slowly recovering. Early in the eighteenth century, authors who, prior to that time, had mainly expressed themselves in poems and plays, began to express themselves in newspapers and novels. Novels had been published, chiefly in Spain and Italy, for several centuries before this. The greatest of them all, Cervantes' *Don Quixote,* was being composed while Shakespeare was putting *Hamlet* on the stage, and the first part of it was printed in the same year in which *Othello* was performed for the first time. But in any wide and general sense, the novel, particularly among English-speaking people, did not begin to be published until long after the play had been established in popularity. The printing-press was still in a crude condition and, more importantly, the mass of the people were illiterate. Plays, therefore, which are meant to be *heard,* whereas novels are meant to be *read,* were more likely to be profitable to authors than any other sort of writing, since the number of persons who could not read was considerably greater than the number who could. The collection of books was the concern of a small, highly-cultured class who resented any attempts to increase their number; and the whole business of publication, because of the feeble laws of copyright, was so mixed up with rascality that authors were inclined to regard publishers as villains to be suppressed, rather than as colleagues to be encouraged. Shakespeare, who troubled himself very little about posthumous fame, scarcely bothered to print his work. Most of his plays were published after his death, and might have been lost to us for ever if it had not been for the devotion of his friends, Heminges and Condell. Ben Jonson was considered by his contemporaries to be a preposterous egotist because he was at pains to get his plays printed, but we could wish that Shakespeare had been afflicted with some of his conceit.

THE LONG DECLINE OF THE THEATRE

As the printing-press was improved, so the illiteracy of mankind decreased; and in the eighteenth century there were a sufficient number of educated persons in the world to make the publication of books profitable. Man wanted opinions, as well as news, and so the modern newspaper was founded. Man had always wished to hear stories, and now he (and par-

ticularly woman) wished to read them, so the novel began to appear in the booksellers' shops. A bookseller, indeed, Samuel Richardson, was the most popular novelist, "the best-seller," of his time. The immediate effect of the founding of newspapers and the rise of the novel was immense injury to the play. It was easier to stay in a comfortable home and read a novel than go through cheerless streets, possibly damp, certainly dark, to a stuffy and congested theatre to see a play which might or might not be worth all the trouble taken to see it; and so it came about that the theatre, in England, became the place to which only those people went who were unhappy or uncomfortable at home. Between the time of Sheridan and Goldsmith and the time of Pinero and Henry Arthur Jones, the drama in England and throughout Europe steadily dropped into disfavour and disrepute. Everywhere in the civilised world, great writers were expressing themselves chiefly in novels. In the first third of the nineteenth century, the English theatre ceased to have any excuse for existing, and, barring the period when the small talent of Tom Robertson was displayed, it continued to be without any excuse for existing until the last third of that century. In France, the theatre was intellectually and spiritually bankrupt, in which condition it continues, but it was kept in some seemliness of shape through the mechanical skill of the dramatists, one of whom, Scribe, actually founded a factory, in which he employed a number of "hands" or collaborators, for the manufacture of plays. What saved the theatre in both these countries from extinction was the high quality of the acting, a fact which has misled many persons into the belief that great acting only flourishes on bad plays.

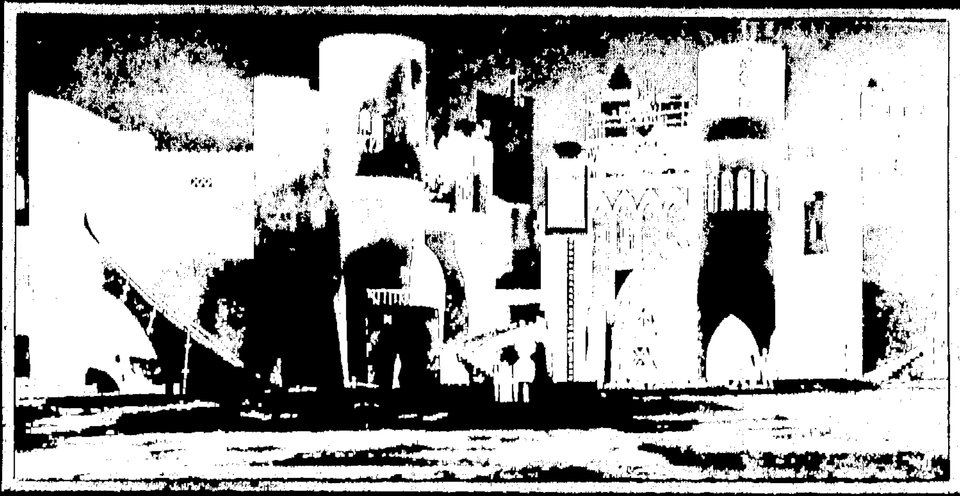
THE REVIVIFYING INFLUENCE OF IBSEN

This state of affairs could not last for ever. Either the theatre must perish or recover some of its lost glory. Great institutions do not die easily, and the theatre had been great. Just as it was on the point of expiring, a poet who had turned sociologist, Henrik Ibsen, came and restored its mind to activity. Indeed, he overworked its mind. He forgot that the creature had been half-starved for nearly a century, and he [illegible] improving its mind before he had improved its body. It is [illegible] he ever thought of its body at all. He filled its head with [illegible] taught it to ask questions and to discuss policies and points of view, but he did not [illegible] with nourishing meat. The result was that the theatre, [illegible] was thrown into a fever of the mind, and became slightly [illegible] France, it remained in a fever of the body, and became [illegible].

Ibsen himself never had any great popular success in the theatre, but his influence on the minds of other dramatists was enormous, particularly in Germany, where his system of stimulating the mind in a starved body ended in the demented drama of Frank Wedekind and the medico-salacity of Arthur Schnitzler. The whole moral and social system of England, where religion was being conducted strictly on business principles, was beginning to look shaky; and Pinero and Jones, after a prosperous passage through the ordinary channels of theatrical traffic — farces and sentimental comedy — followed the fashion set by Ibsen and began to ask questions, too. Industrialism, which had had a long start in England, had now established itself in America and in the rest of Europe, with precisely the same results, and the conscience of two continents was deeply perturbed. All this mechanical progress was not making mankind any happier or, the generality of it, even better off. It was arguable that mankind was in many respects worse off.

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The marvels of the cinematograph. A photograph showing the elaborate appliances and lighting effects required in the production of moving pictures.



© *Keystone View Co.*

The scenic effects of the modern "movie." This fantastic set represents the city of Bagdad and was built for Douglas Fairbanks for his photoplay, *The Thief of Bagdad*.

What was to be done about it? Pinero argued chiefly about marriage and the social customs of the upper classes. Jones also argued about marriage, but confined his criticism mainly to the customs of the middle classes, expressing himself very angrily about the narrow-mindedness of the Nonconformists. Then Oscar Wilde, who never argued, but always asserted, tried to prove that the world was pleasantly inhabited by epigrammatic duchesses with a polite taste for theoretic adultery, a world in which there was no poverty, and even the footmen had charming manners; but he mixed his paradoxes and his morality so inextricably that he was put in prison and eventually died in Paris of a dismal disease. His attempt to restore the polish of Congreve and Sheridan to an exhausted society by plastering commonplace melodramas with irrelevant epigrams could hardly have succeeded in any circumstances, but in such circumstances as his it was certain to fail.

MAKING A "PLATFORM" OF THE STAGE

The uneasiness of England and of Europe, and, by reflection, of America, continued. Questions were raised in greater numbers about more fundamental matters, and raised with the greater persistency because answers were seldom returned to them. The big voice of Ibsen boomed all over Europe, provoking jeers and denials from Strindberg in Sweden, and his questions were repeated less resonantly, but more didactically by Hauptmann and Sudermann and a hundred others in Germany. Jacinto Benavente made brilliant pictures of Spanish society which hurt conventional feelings more than if he had made plain, blunt assertions about it. In France, Brieux boldly kicked drama off the stage and put sociology in its place. Ibsen had been vague in his references to sexual disease in *Ghosts*, but Brieux was determined that there should not be any doubt about his meaning in *Damaged Goods:* he insisted that the manager of the theatre should inform the audience, before the performance began, "that the object of this play is a study of the disease of syphilis in its bearing on marriage." This plainness of speech and intention caused Mr. Bernard Shaw to proclaim Brieux as "the most important dramatist west of Russia" who had "confronted Europe" since "the death of Ibsen," and "incomparably the greatest writer France has produced since Molière." (*Writer*, be it observed, not dramatist!) In England, Bernard Shaw and John Galsworthy and Harley Granville-Barker and many others, engaged in the argument. Mr. Shaw made a platform of the stage, and did the job so brilliantly that many persons were convinced that a stage ought to be a platform. Mr. Galsworthy cast doubts upon the Law and was impatient with the strong. Mr. Granville-Barker derided the moral standard of the Later Victorians who seemed to believe that a man who became a co-respondent in a divorce suit was capable of all sorts of infamy and must therefore be debarred from any share in the government of his country. Plays were written about sweated labour, about industrial strife, about religious dissensions, about the treatment of lunatics, about the reform of the divorce laws, about the enfranchisement of women, about the upbringing and education of children, about the tyranny of the family and the disproportion between a father's authority over his wife and children and his ability to exercise it. The earlier English sociological dramatists, Pinero and Jones, had been content to criticise the behaviour of a single class, but their successors, Shaw and Galsworthy and Granville-Barker, criticised the whole society: its organisation and social arrangements, its morals, and its religion. In Russia, Anton Chekhov was prophesying the downfall of his country in plays like *The Cherry Orchard,* which were

startlingly exact in their forecasts. In Belgium, Verhaeren; in Italy, Pirandello — wherever one went to the theatre in Europe one heard much argument and uneasy discussion.

UNEASINESS THE DOMINANT NOTE

Not all, or indeed, the majority, of the dramatists were of this critical character. Some were content to tell stories; more were content to exploit the general love of comfort or to pander to the senses; but a few, dismayed perhaps by the disaster they foresaw, attempted to withdraw from any responsibility for it. They washed their hands of their generation. If Italy had Pirandello, the greatest of contemporary Italian dramatists, it also had D'Annunzio, the most flamboyant of all dramatists, alive or dead, in whom delicacy and refinement of manner became positively disgusting. Belgium, the most practical of the nations, produced a thin-minded dramatist in Maeterlinck who tried to make plays out of wisps of exhausted emotion; and did it so well that some uncritical enthusiasts immediately hailed him as "the Belgian Shakespeare," although anyone less like Shakespeare could hardly be imagined. France set Rostand in the same age as Brieux; Barrie and Shaw are contemporaries in England. Ireland, beginning a renaissance of her own, which speedily perished from lack of staying power, found an exhausted Elizabethan in John Millington Synge who flavoured fine prose with the scent of bitter aloes. These were the reactionaries, but they were without virility, and they soon died. The dominant note in European drama was that sounded by Ibsen: the note of uneasiness. The times were out of joint, but no one appeared to set them right, although many appeared to say how wrong they were.

NEW METHODS OF STAGECRAFT

While this note was being sounded, a revolution was made in the methods of stage production by Gordon Craig, the son of Ellen Terry, and Adolphe Appia, two artists whose investigations into stage-craft developed with something of the simultaneity with which the investigations of Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace developed in a very different matter. Their influence was profound, especially that of Craig. In America, Germany, Russia and even in England, Craig, directly and indirectly (but chiefly indirectly), made a large change in the theory of stage-production. France, in this as in other affairs the most insular nation in the world, remains almost impervious to the new ideas: plays are still produced there with scenery which would be considered obsolete in a penny-gaff in any other country. A mistaken theory of realistic production had caused the stage to be cluttered up with furniture and "sets" which were heavy to handle, expensive to make, and tedious to shift. Sir Henry Irving and, later, Sir Herbert Tree, in England, used scenery which took so long to shift that large numbers of stage-hands had to be employed to get it shifted at all in a reasonable time; and even then Shakespearean plays had to be "cut" and mishandled to make them fit in with the requirements of the carpenters. The reaction from this sort of production brought a demand for more manageable scenery; and Mr. Craig, who had been experimenting for years, attempted to satisfy the demand. He founded a school in Italy which has undeniably influenced the most active minds among producers and artists of the theatre throughout the world. He dealt in simplicity, and achieved his effects by means of long curtains and columns and the manipulation of light. It is plain, now, that theatrical production

in the future will become more and more a matter of manipulated light and less and less a matter of machinery. There will hardly be many more theatres built in the likeness of Drury Lane in London which, on its mechanical side, suggests an engineering works rather than a theatre. This new movement has many faults and it is dominated by too many impractical and cranky persons, but its importance is immense. Reinhardt, in Germany, is the most eminent of Craig's followers, who are to be found at work in all the most interesting theatres in the world.

THE RISE OF THE CINEMATOGRAPH

Simultaneously with this revolution in stage production, there was a great development of the cinematograph, and moving-pictures in a very short space of time became the most popular form of entertainment among civilised men. (Some of the South Sea savages are reported to have dismissed the "movies" with contempt as "white men's stuff.") The business of manufacturing moving-pictures is chiefly conducted in California and it is now one of the principal industries of the United States, so far as the amount of capital invested in it is concerned. The popularity of the "pictures" or "movies" was considerable before the World War: it became enormous during the war; and continues to be great now, although a more critical judgment on them is being manifested. Suburban and provincial theatres, in America and England, were turned into "movie-houses" or "picture-palaces," and for a time grave concern was felt by the theatrical profession lest the silent drama should completely supplant the spoken. Movie-theatres were cheaper and more comfortable than other theatres, and, more important, as good a film of Charlie Chaplin could be seen by an audience in Peoria, as was to be seen in New York. Playgoers in Peoria could not hope to see as good a performance of a play as was to be seen in Broadway. Fortunately for the theatre, the moving-picture business was controlled by men of low mentality who were infected with a fever for quickly-made fortunes. The result was that a form of entertainment which might have been of considerable value became exceptionally vapid. The majority of film-plays seemed to have been written by the half-educated for the half-witted. The mechanical side of film-production was exceedingly skilful, and puerile themes were made tolerable by excellent photography and expensive settings. The taste of the movie-goer, however, is improving, especially in England, and he is beginning to demand pictures which will offer less insult to his intelligence than is commonly offered to it at present.

The principal characteristics of the drama, then, up to the time of the World War, were intellectual and critical activity among the dramatists who, however, were lacking in poetic imagination and romantic realism; a general uneasiness about the condition of human society; a revolution in the method of staging plays made by artists who had a great sense of beauty but were often impractical and sometimes freakish; and the rise to swift and universal popularity of the moving-picture, made by men of great mechanical ingenuity, but sterile imagination and low standards.

CULTURE, THE FIRST WAR CASUALTY

In August, 1914, the disaster fell, and the drama immediately descended to the gutter. It became plain that in the War of Culture, culture was the first casualty, and it remains plain that the first casualty of the war was the most grievously wounded, for it has not yet recovered its health. In

France, the theatre was closed for the greater part of the war; but, when we remember the quality of most of the French plays, this was no great loss. In England, spectacular pieces and "revues" of an unusually imbecile character were the principal productions. An empty-minded spectacle, called *Chu Chin Chow,* was continuously performed in London for nearly five years. The demand for amusement was so great and so indiscriminating that get-rich-quick persons were drawn to theatrical management by the prospect of making easy fortunes very rapidly. Much money was made but more was lost, for the public taste, having first been debased, became sickened, and after a period of intensive gambling, during which the rents of theatres, the salaries of actors and the general costs of production enormously increased, a slump ensued and many bankruptcies occurred. The end of that phase, though near, has not yet come. In Germany, the theatre, during the war, remained steadier than it had done in the Allied countries, but after the war it collapsed and is now in a state of flux. In America the demand for light and frothy stuff was as strong, during the war, as it was in Europe. It seemed that the onlookers, as much as the participants, had to have some distraction, however frivolous, from the events of the war. But the theatre recovered more swiftly in New York than anywhere else in the world, principally because the New Yorkers are deeply in love with the theatre and more willing to make experiments with it than people elsewhere. The sensational success of a deliberately "highbrow" organisation like the Theatre Guild of New York first stunned, and then stimulated, the Broadway commercial managers so effectively that New York has now become the most interesting of all great cities to those who are interested in the theatre. A young Irish-American dramatist, Eugene Gladstone O'Neill, began to write plays which had great vigour and beauty, despite a crudeness of conception and design that has not yet been conquered.

"EXPRESSIONISM" AND THE THEATRE OF TO-DAY

All the European countries were too exhausted by the war to show signs of vigour in the theatre. France began again in 1918 where she had left off in 1914; and the same dreary group of dismal lovers conducted the same dull and dirty love affair. In England, after a brief revival of the intellectual drama, the gamblers continued to supply puerilities on a very expensive scale, despite the fact that audiences were steadily diminishing, partly through disgust with the plays produced, but principally through the lack of money due to high taxes and widespread unemployment. In Germany, a new form of drama was created out of the despair and neurosis of a defeated people, and the general term of "Expressionism" was applied to it. The principal exponents in English of this theory of the theatre are Mr. Stark Young and Mr. Kenneth MacGowan, two American dramatic critics, the latter of whom has published his explanations and opinions in two books, *The Theatre of To-Morrow* and *Continental Stagecraft.* Both these authors, but especially Mr. MacGowan, indulge in vague rhetoric so extensively that their readers have difficulty in understanding what all the pother is about; and they are so in love with their theory that they narrowly imagine that it supersedes all other theories: in their belief, the Expressionist has abolished all other dramatists. Georg Kaiser, the German dramatist, is regarded as the most prominent of the Expressionists, and his plays, *Von Morgen bis Mitternacht* (done by the Theatre Guild of New York under the title of "From Morn to Midnight"), *Die Bürger von Calais* and *Die Koralle,* are considered to be the models for other Expressionists. Another

German dramatist, Ernst Toller, is claimed for the Expressionists by Mr. MacGowan, but the claim is not supported by Toller's translator, Mr. Ashley Dukes. Mr. Eugene O'Neill's *The Hairy Ape* is also claimed for the Expressionists, but the claim is not very convincing. Precisely what Expressionism is, is not easy to say. Judged by the plays, an Expressionist must first be neurotic. *Von Morgen bis Mitternacht* is a prolonged scream by a very overwrought man. Mr. MacGowan does not help us much, for he has the Expressionist's trick of running away from anything more definite than his own personal predilections, and covering up his retreat with a smoke screen of the vaguest words. He tells us that the new techinque will be one which:

> "applies to realistic plays as well as to plays of spiritual emphasis, plays of colour, imagination, exaltation, inner truth. It can create illusion as well as understanding. It can perfect the old theatres as well as launch the new. It does in fact range from a beautiful realism to absolute, abstract form. Its one definite limit cuts it off from the theatre of photographic realism. It is always and utterly opposed to the copying upon the stage of the confusion and detail of actuality,"

which is merely a burst of meaningless rhetoric, full of the adjectives of extremity. What is "absolute, abstract form?" And how is something which is absolute and abstract to be presented relatively and concretely, as it must be if it is to be presented at all? But even if we pass this passage as a mere effort at eloquence which must not be too closely examined, we are entitled to ask for examples of the new technique. Is *Von Morgen bis Mitternacht* an example of it? If so, it is a perfect example of a play in which the author commits the crime against which Mr. MacGowan so passionately protests, the crime of "copying upon the stage . . . the confusion and details of actuality." In the region of the novel, precisely the same crime has been committed by Mr. James Joyce in *Ulysses*, a work which will one day gravely embarrass those hasty persons who proclaimed it to be immortal. Nor does Mr. MacGowan's description of the play of to-morrow help us much more than his description of the new technique:

> ". . . the play of to-morrow will take a loose, free shape with many scenes, less talk and more vitality in its production. It is not so easy to grasp its content. . . . Perhaps the simplest and surest statement that I should risk is this: It will attempt to transfer to dramatic art the illumination of those deep and vigorous and eternal processes of the human soul which the psychology of Freud and Jung has given us through the study of the unconscious, striking to the heart of emotion and linking our commonest life to-day with the emanations of the primitive racial mind,"

all of which means exactly nothing.

There we must leave the matter. The theatre is very sick, but so is the whole civilised world. There was a great letting of blood between 1914 and 1918, and until mankind has recovered its strength the theatre will remain in an enfeebled condition, for the drama, of all the arts, is most dependent upon the well-being of the community. A great race will demand great entertainment, but a mean race will not be entertained with anything but mean performances. Nor can a sick man be expected to enjoy what pleased him in health. No one with any warranty can prophesy what will be done in the theatre when the nations are well again, but it is not unlikely that our arid intellectualism and empty shows will be followed by shapelier poetic plays and a truer romance than the world has yet seen.

CHAPTER LXV

MAIN CURRENTS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY MUSIC

By Henry T. Finck

Musical Critic of the *New York Evening Post* since 1881. Author of *Songs and Song* [illegible] *and How It's Won; Grieg and His Music; Chopin and Other Musical Essays;* etc.

The most astonishing half-decade in musical history is that of 1809–1813. In those five years were born six of the greatest of all composers: Mendelssohn, Chopin, Schumann, Liszt, Wagner and Verdi. Possibly a similar galaxy of geniuses came into the world in the years 1909–1913. *Possibly* — but when we compare the men who gave their mature best a century ago — among them Haydn, Weber, Schubert and Beethoven — with the four men most prominent in the first two decades of the twentieth century: Debussy, Strauss, Puccini, Stravinsky, we must admit that this, at any rate, does not represent progress. Nevertheless, a bird's-eye view of these two decades will show us much that is of interest. Let us begin with France, because the situation there in 1902 attracted particular attention.

IN FRANCE

It was in that year that Debussy's gossamer opera, *Pelléas et Mélisande*, was given to the world. It was a protest against the robust Wagnerism, which for some years had enslaved France. In the words of Romain Rolland: "During the last ten or twenty years scarcely one French musician has escaped Wagner's influence." And not only the musicians. There was a *Revue Wagnérienne* to which the most eminent French men of letters contributed: "In a word, the whole universe was seen and judged by the thought of Bayreuth."

Debussy undertook patriotically to demolish this nimbus. He was not a big enough man to do it; Wagner continued to be an idol of the French opera-goers by the side of Bizet, Gounod and Massenet, while *Pelléas et Mélisande* was not a popular success. And yet Debussy accomplished a wonderful thing: he created a new harmonic atmosphere in music — an atmosphere so novel and alluring that minor composers everywhere began to copy him instead of Wagner.

This result he achieved by using, besides the joyous major and the sad minor, other modes that had been in vogue in the mediæval days of the Gregorian chant. He also adopted some of the numerous oriental scales; and, in addition to all these, a whole-tone scale from which all half-tones are excluded. Frequent augmented chords (like C E G sharp instead of C E G) added still further to the strangeness of his harmonies.

Other composers, notably Liszt and the Russians, had made use of all these devices, but only now and then, whereas Debussy made them the basis of his whole shimmering and iridescent harmonic system.

A French chef, you have often heard, can make a palatable dish out of thistle tops. Debussy was that kind of a chef. His substitutes for melody are usually as insipid as thistles, but the harmonic and orchestral sauces he serves them with are delectable. In his orchestral works, his songs, his opera and particularly his piano pieces, in which he is at his best, you find the musical equivalents of onions, garlic, lemon, anchovies, truffles, tomatoes and diverse aromatic herbs, and that's what makes these things enjoyable — for a time at any rate — in spite of their lack of melody.

Musical impressionism, another thing which Debussy made fashionable, is easily defined. It consists in the avoidance of set forms or patterns, letting the music flow on like ever-changing clouds, with a sunset sky as a background. The sunset sky is represented by the orchestral colouring, which is often enchanting.

Beside Debussy, the acid Ravel and the more melodious Dukas are the most prominent French composers of the first two decades. The ultra-modernists, like Satie and Milhaud, do not differ essentially from the futurists of other countries. They are clever musicians, but their audacities, eccentricities and tomfooleries are extremely tiresome, childish and unimportant. All music in which melody is not predominant is unimportant, for it will not live. The whole history of music proves that.

IN GERMANY AND AUSTRIA

After Wagner's death a wag wrote that he "was a great and a good man but he left behind him the Wagnerites, which was most unkind." Among the composers, "monkey Wagners" (as Romain Rolland called them) abounded, as they did in France. But there was one man, Engelbert Humperdinck, two of whose operas, *Hänsel und Gretel* and *Königskinder* (1908), while saturated with Wagnerian harmonies and orchestral colours, were melodically so original and dramatically so emotional, that they must not be overlooked in this bird's-eye view.

Brahms, whose roots are in Schumann, also unkindly left behind him the Brahmsites, who, in their passion for passionless and unpoetic "absolute" music have, in recent decades, made almost as tiresome nuisances of themselves as the "monkey Wagners." There is among them no Humperdinck deserving honourable mention; but a conspicuous figure among the makers of polyphonically complicated absolute music was Max Reger. In his mastery of technic he was almost as clever as Bach, but in his appalling poverty of invention he is directly the opposite of Bach. And he never knew when to stop; the less he had to say the longer it took him to say it. As one of a type he deserves mention, not particularly honourable. His organ works may survive; they are amazingly clever.

Richard Strauss's best orchestral works and songs belong to the last century, but his best opera, the *Rosenkavalier*, falls, with *Salome* and *Elektra*, into the twentieth. For three decades he has been the outstanding musical personality in Germany and elsewhere, wielding a tremendous influence on the world of composers. Much of the credit for this belongs, to be sure, to Liszt, in whose footsteps he followed in writing his symphonic poems, or "tone poems" as he preferred to call them.

In Germany as in France (Saint-Saëns, Dukas, Franck, etc.), composers tumbled over each other in their eagerness to adopt Liszt's great improvement on the artificial symphony in four unconnected movements; and this emancipation constitutes one of the main currents of twentieth-century music. Strauss began as an imitator of Brahms, but soon concluded that there was

a greater future along the Lisztian lines of programme, or pictorial music. In his later works he unfortunately sacrificed the Lisztian merit of brevity. In these works, too, he committed suicide (so far as public performances are concerned) by subjecting uninspired themes to bombastic polyphonic elaboration and smothering them still further in the volcanic din of a mammoth orchestra, always working overtime.

This lack of true melody combined with over-elaboration, over-orchestration and excessive length was also the rock on which the great conductor and ambitious composer, Gustav Mahler, split. Like Reger, he never knew when to stop; one of his symphonies lasts an hour and forty minutes. And in some of these nine symphonies the most hideous noises run riot.

In this, Mahler is a disciple of Strauss at his worst, and the precursor of Arnold Schönberg, the king of cacophonists, whom he befriended. Schönberg is the author of an elaborate text-book on harmony. He is a tremendously clever composer, and he uses his terrific technical skin to rub salt into aural wounds made by hideous clashes of sounds excogitated with diabolical, Apache-like cunning. In the words of James Huneker, "he mingles with his music sharp daggers at white heat, with which he pares away tiny slices of his victim's flesh. Anon he twists the knife in the fresh wound and you receive another horrible thrill."

This is not a rhetorical exaggeration. It is literally true. To be sure, not all of the Schönberg works are physically so torturesome. Some, like *Pierrot Lunaire*, with its squeaks and grunts, are simply silly; but his followers (a small but noisy crew) tell us we shall learn to "understand" them in years to come! Well, a group of his admirers in Vienna got together in a suburb and sang and played his *Pierrot* a hundred times in a frantic endeavour to justify their belief in it. Does Schönberg himself believe in it? There is a wicked suspicion in this writer's mind that, just as he has horrified hearers with his cacophonies, so, one day, he will horrify his admirers by confessing that it's all a hoax—an attempt to see *how* gullible the world is. But this Schönbergism, one is ashamed to write it down, is rampant among the younger composers of many countries—particularly in—yes:

IN ITALY

Italy, the land of musical milk and honey, the home of the tuneful Rossini, Donizetti, Bellini, Verdi, has within the last two decades harboured an epidemic of musical measles more virulent even than the German measles just described.

Just as, near the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Camerata, a Florentine club of men interested in Greek art and life, originated Italian opera, so conversely, a group of twentieth-century Italian composers: Casella, Malipiero, Pizzetti, Respighi, Pratella, Tommasini, and others have put their heads together and issued their defiance of what has been for three centuries the glory of their country. "Italy," they tromboned from the housetops, "has too long been the home of tuneful opera, pretty enough in its way, but quite unworthy of so great a country. *We* are going to show our neighbours for the first time what *real* music is."

So they invaded the field of non-operatic, purely instrumental music, in which, confessedly, Italy had always been weak. The mountain laboured and there issued forth the most ridiculous mouse that ever tried to roar like a lion.

Take Alfredo Casella, for example. He is a very good pianist, and a thorough musical scholar; his excellent edition of Beethoven's sonatas alone

would prove that; he has written some agreeable compositions, too, but in those of his works in which he apparently tries to help wipe out Italy's shameful operatic past he is like a naughty child, always doing the wrong thing.

The whole tendency of Italian "futurism" has been neatly summed up by Henry Bellamann in these words: "Casella has a fashion of speech and a vocabulary singularly strident, acrid and penetrant." He "sings lullabies to the bitter harmonies of the *funèbre*, the *macabre* and the barbaric." When his *Notte di Maggio* was done in Paris a critic wrote: "The final chord, if chord it can be called, belongs simultaneously to all the twenty-four possible tonalities." Musical progress!

Poor Italy! But maybe in the near future a musical Mussolini will happen along and cure the Bolshevikian disorder from which the futurists seem to be suffering.

One of the admirers of Malipiero writes that this composer "does not hesitate to have recourse to the most *consonant* chords when he considers it necessary." How bold! How noble! But why should it be "necessary" ever to be agreeable in music?

Lack of a sense of humour is also, one fears, the reason why such "speech-song" operas as Wolff-Ferrari's *Le Donne Curiose* came into existence. They are based on Verdi's equally unmelodious *Falstaff*. But the reason why Verdi put no tunes into that opera was that at the age of eighty he had no more up his sleeve.

Real Italian opera of the good old kind, though with delectable harmonic and orchestral improvements, fortunately has in recent decades continued to charm music lovers the world over. Puccini has come to the rescue with his delightfully melodious operas, *La Bohème, Tosca, Butterfly.* Even Mascagni and Leoncavallo, with their cheaper grades of melody, loom up like giants by the side of the "modernists."

IN RUSSIA

In Russia two names have been particularly outstanding during the first two decades of the twentieth century: Alexander Scriabin and Igor Stravinsky. According to A. Eagefield Hull, who wrote a book on him, Scriabin "has brought about an artistic revolution unequalled in the whole history of the arts"; but in the opinion of others, he was a composer who, having nothing new to say in a truly musical way, ran amuck with dagger and pistol among the rules and practices of the past; camouflaging his lack of melodic inspiration furthermore by mingling music with theosophy, coloured lights, and perfumes. Oddly enough, it did not occur to him that, to go properly with his acrid music, the accompanying colours should be shriekingly glaring and the "perfumes" malodorous.

It is pleasant to turn from him to Stravinsky, the most original composer of our period, a genuine melodist. He admired Tchaikovsky as "a creator of *melody*, an extremely rare and precious gift"; and Paul Dukas might have had in mind Stravinsky when he wrote that the future belongs to the composer who can write twenty bars of real melody.

The importance of the melodic element in Stravinsky cannot be emphasised too much; it makes his music evolutionary as well as revolutionary. He, too, commits cacophonic outrages and deviltries and tomfooleries, but he usually has reasons for doing so and underlying them are real musical ideas, some of them strokes of genius.

The reasons for his tonal deviltries are usually humorous. He is the first composer who has made a specialty of musical humour. Rimsky-Korsakoff,

in his delightful *Golden Cock,* has amusing and satirical touches which showed the way to the new world of tonal fun created by Stravinsky, particularly in his ballets *Petruchka* and *The Fire Bird.* He calls his opera *Renard* "a burlesque to be sung and acted," and that, too, is replete with things that are screamingly funny.

It cannot be denied that some of his purely instrumental jokes and cacophonic unpleasantries are rather feeble, but well — was Mark Twain always at his best? It was real fun though to hear the Flonzaley Quartet play three one-minute pieces by Stravinsky. The violins squeaked, the viola wailed, the cello grunted like two pigs, and then they all fell to tearing out each others' hair and spitting at each other like midnight cats.

In his *Fire Bird,* what a riot of deliriously enchanting sound and fury! Here is proletarian jazz ennobled by genius and raised to the rank of a Bach fugue. Stravinsky's wit, his imagination, his ability to make cacophony agreeable, his inexhaustible fund of harmonic and orchestral tricks — why, this Russian can do more with twenty players than Richard Strauss or Gustav Mahler with a hundred and twenty! That way lies the future of music. There has been too much piling of Pelion on Ossa.

IN GREAT BRITAIN AND AMERICA

A few years ago a group of young Norwegian musicians loudly proclaimed that Grieg did *not* represent the Norse spirit in music and that he was really a Scotchman. There is, indeed, quite a little that is Scotch in his music; his grandfather was a Scotchman. A fine feather in the British cap! For Griegism is one of the twentieth-century musical currents we are trying to locate. Percy Grainger, Frederick Delius, Eugene D'Albert and, in Paris, César Franck, with MacDowell in America, were strongly influenced by that Scotch-Norwegian. Some of his less-known pieces seem, as Grainger has pointed out, "written somewhat like the most modern French ones to-day."

Conspicuous among the English composers who swim — or swam — in this French current is Cyril Scott. He even goes beyond Debussy in some of his dissonances and his "infantile habit," as one critic has called it, of changing the time signature with almost every bar. Some of his futuristic colleagues in Italy, France and Germany have also complicated matters frightfully by eliminating key signatures, thus making printed music a perfect jungle of sharps and flats with the notes timidly peeping out between them.

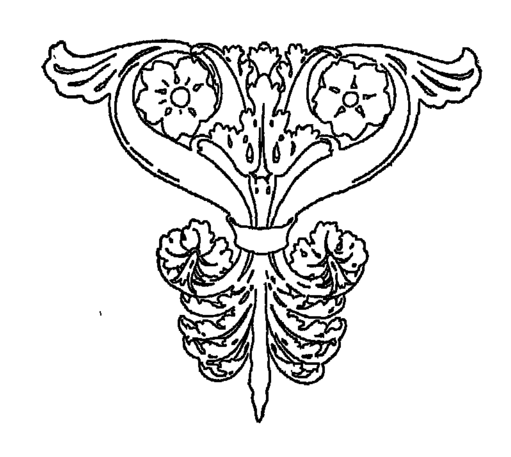
On the whole, the British composers have not been specially guilty of superimposed chords and other cacophonous excesses, though Eugene Goosens does flirt with them rather violently. Such recent composers as Von Holst, Vaughn Williams, Arnold Bax, Frank Bridge, as well as Sir Edward Elgar, have been surprisingly conservative, especially in their copying of German symphonic models; which are out of date. And the prolixity which this symphonic form — in four movements — invites, is as much outmoded as three-volume novels and two-hour sermons. The method of the future has been thus summed up aphoristically: "Say what you have to say in as few bars as you can, without padding, and then shut up."

Most of the composers named have been in the swim in another current — the habit of utilising English folk-songs in their compositions or making new settings. In this sphere Percy Grainger is easily first. His settings of folk-tunes are as exuberantly and delightfully English as Grieg's are Norse.

Jewish music in modernist garb (including quarter-tones) has been provided in America by Ernest Bloch, while the young Russian Ornstein, im-

ported as a youth, wrote his *Dance of Wild Men* and other extravagant things in Bolshevikian defiance of all conventions. Concerning his *Marche Grotesque* an admirer wrote: "If we have the music of butterflies, why not of toads?" Why not, indeed? Or of crocodiles, and angleworms, and snakes, and skunks? To real men of genius a glorious vista is open along these lines! What if Sir Hubert Parry *did* say that "ugliness in musical composition is chiefly the makeshift of melodic incapacity"!

Red music and black music are currents only to be found in American waters. Edward MacDowell — whose influence among young Americans still prevails — started the Red Indian current; prominent among his followers are Harvey Worthington Loomis and Charles Wakefield Cadman. The fascinating negroid music of John Powell and others is at most of the quadroon or octoroon type, being, like the so-called negro spirituals, three-fourths or seven-eighths white. More distinctly African is the American jazz, which has been noisily welcomed in European countries. Originally, jazz was the noise made by black men in cottonfields. Then it was musicalised, more or less, till it became little more than ragtime, or syncopated music, with picturesque noises for spice. The real jazz band is made up chiefly of saxophones, although cornets and trombones are not excluded.



CHAPTER LXVI

AESTHETIC TRUTH AND FUTURIST NONSENSE

By Clive Bell

Art Critic. Author of *Art; Poems; Since Cézanne.*

THE CONTEMPORARY MOVEMENT IN ART PURELY FRENCH

The twentieth century dawned on the death-bed of Impressionism and the discovery of Cézanne. Thus the movement, which since it is not exhausted yet (1924) we shall call the Contemporary Movement, is roughly of the same age as the century. Though European — and in discussing painting at any rate we may reckon Europe and America as one — it was of origin purely French. In Paris it was born, in Paris it grew and developed: and, since to Paris it drew many of the most gifted and original artists of other countries, if — while not ignoring local agitations in Italy, Germany and Great Britain — one can describe in outline what during the last twenty years has been doing at headquarters, one may hope to have indicated the shape of the Contemporary Movement.

IMPRESSIONISM AND ITS DESCENDANTS

Though Impressionism was moribund in 1901, three of the greatest Impressionist painters were still alive — Claude Monet, Degas and Renoir. Of these Renoir continued to cultivate intensely his magnificent genius to the very end; so that, in 1920, the year of his death, he was generally recognised as the greatest living painter. Nevertheless, his influence on the period of which we are writing has been inconsiderable. Bonnard and Vuillard alone of our eminent contemporaries are sometimes described as his descendants, and even in their case the justice of the affiliation is doubtful.

Direct descendants of the Impressionist movement proper — the movement which sprang into glorious and agitated existence in 1863 — still linger on in the *Nationale* at Paris and *The New English Art Club* of London and, we make no doubt, in similar societies elsewhere. Amongst them may be found such excellent painters as Albert André, D'Espagnat, Sickert and Steer. As individuals these merit attention; but the critic, compelled to deal with a great subject in a small compass, must devote what space he has to movements and tendencies rather than to individual and, in the strictest sense of the word, eccentric talents.

IMPRESSIONISM AND NEO-IMPRESSIONISM

Distinct from this normal movement from ardent youth to weary age, there arose towards the close of the last century a movement within Impressionism, called roughly enough Neo-Impressionism. To the public this movement is best known through the paintings of Signac and Cross and by their rather tiresome insistence on the scientific division of tones; but also are

associated with it the names of three men who have left some mark on the present age — Seurat (d. 1891), Van Gogh (d. 1890), Gauguin (d. 1903). Summarising brutally, one may say: that Seurat, a very great artist, who dreamt of vast communal decorations such as the middle-ages had produced, wished to give a monumental character to Impressionism by giving greater definition to form: that Gauguin, by flattening forms and massing colours, wished to give Impressionism some of the decorative qualities of tapestry: and that Van Gogh felt that painters were getting into a habit of depending too much on their finger-tips and too little on their heads and hearts. All three influenced the generation that was adolescent in 1900; and to their names may be added that of the *douanier* (custom house officer) Rousseau (d. 1910), a pure, self-taught genius, who by a combination of sensibility and sincerity created works which recall the happiest achievements of the Italian primitives. For the rising generation he was a living object-lesson in artistic integrity.

INFLUENCE OF CÉZANNE

These four painters all had their influence, but we may be quite sure that alone they would never have produced that revolution in painting which swept over Europe with the new century and under the influence of which art still flourishes. What produced that was the discovery of Cézanne (d. 1906). From 1870 or thereabouts Cézanne had been known and respected as an Impressionist; as such you will find him represented along with the other Impressionists in the Caillebotte collection at the Luxembourg. Soon after 1880 he left Paris — where he had never felt completely at ease — and retired to his native town of Aix-èn-Provence. Here it would certainly be untrue to say that he worked out a theory; but here he painted pictures which were destined to revolutionise visual art as perhaps it had not been revolutionised since the beginning of the sixteenth century. How far he realised the implications of what he was about is uncertain, his life at Aix having become legendary almost. He is supposed to have said that he wished to make of Impressionism "quelque chose de solide et de durable comme l'art des Musées" (something solid and lasting, like the art in Museums). Certainly he did. A masterpiece by Cézanne and a masterpiece by Renoir, hanging side by side, often have surprisingly much in common — real masters of the same age always have: but in his way of reducing forms to their simplest and most expressive elements, of seeing spheres, cylinders and cones where others see a mass of detail, above all in his way of using forms and their three-dimensional relations as means of expressing a pure aesthetic experience which has nothing to do with the emotions of life, Cézanne is nearer to Greco, Masaccio, Giotto even than to his great contemporaries.

What the generation of 1900 deduced from the revelation of Cézanne may be summarised as follows: Pictures are beautiful, not because they remind us of something else that is beautiful, but because, like buildings, pottery and textiles they are beautiful in themselves. No genuine artist has ever in his heart believed in the theory of representation; but many have done lip-service to it. From Cézanne the new generation learnt once and for all to abandon the unequal contest with the camera. Even the Impressionists had claimed that they were "representing scientifically"; the descendants of Cézanne reaffirmed — a trifle violently may be — a truth as old as art itself — that it is the artist's business, not to copy, but to express. From the study of Cézanne's work, and of that primitive art to which Cézanne naturally led them, the men of the new generation deduced another truism —

that an artist can express his emotion through form alone. The young painters insisted above all things on form, on design. You can have neither flesh nor blood, nor hair, nor teeth, nor a pretty complexion, let alone pretty frocks — said they — until you have got a skeleton, a frame. The new artists — *Fauves* they were called in Paris — gloried in their skeletons. They emphasised the design of their pictures; they indicated it even by thick black lines. They simplified — that is to say they reduced the complex forms of nature to the barest statements of essential characteristics; and by simplification they stylised — that is to say they reduced natural forms to forms that could be easily and harmoniously combined. An artist, they argued, is a man with something to express and the power of creating a form in which to express it. That is all the equipment he needs — and enough too. Technique — the craft of picture-making — is otiose. The well-made picture — the picture that has nothing in particular to say and says it admirably — became anathema. Pure emotion was the first requisite, the power to create forms in which to express it, the second: all that was needed were sincerity and power. The artist had conquered — or thought he had conquered — freedom; freedom to express in any form that seemed to him appropriate the aesthetic truth that was in him.

PICASSO AND CUBISM

The new doctrine fell into the hands of, and was ardently exploited by, a group of exceptionally gifted men. Matisse was the eldest and is still the best known; a little younger were Marquet, Rouault, Dufy, Derain, Vlaminck and Friesz — great names all in the history of modern painting. These were *les Fauves*. About 1904 arrived in Paris from Malaga a young Spaniard. His name was Pablo Picasso; and he was destined, as the saying goes, to *remettre tout en question* (reopen every question). In 1908 Picasso invented Cubism. Nothing could be more logical. Art is not representation but expression. Architecture and Music are not only the purest but perhaps the most moving of the arts. Had the *Fauves* gone far enough? Was it not possible that the representative element they retained in their work hampered them in expressing and communicating their profoundest and purest conceptions? Why not construct pictures out of purely abstract forms which would carry nothing but an unalloyed aesthetic content? A picture might have the pure and profound significance of a Bach fugue; and some of Picasso's have.

Around Picasso gathered a group of intensely sincere and able artists, several of whom are now amongst the leaders of modern painting: we cite the names of Braque, Léger, the Spaniard Juan Gris, Marcoussis (a Pole), with Manolo (Spanish) and Laurens, sculptors. Their effort and their doctrine, with its insistence on the paramount importance of pure form, has been the determining factor in modern painting and will inevitably condition the immediate development of visual art; nevertheless, Cubism proper is dead. Picasso, perhaps the most inventive mind in Europe, continues, amongst many other things, to create Cubist pictures which are a match for the products of no matter what living painter; but it may be doubted whether any painter but Picasso has produced a completely satisfactory Cubist picture. The explanation is simple. The cubist doctrine is perfectly sound. Why should a picture not move us by the same means that architecture and music move? Why not, indeed? Only, a man to whom it comes naturally to express himself in abstract form naturally becomes, not a painter, but an architect or a musician. Painters, as a rule, are people whose raw aesthetic experience

comes to them through the external world, through natural forms that is to say, and who therefore tend through natural forms to express that experience. No wonder then, if most Cubist pictures seem a little empty. The born Cubist painter probably becomes an architect.

FUTURISM IN PAINTING AND SCULPTURE SHEER NONSENSE

Cubism, however, with its easily grasped theory, spread like wild-fire over Europe. The theory was soon perverted into nonsense by people who imagined that there was some mystico-mathematical virtue in geometrical forms. Such notions, needless to say, were as remote from Picasso's mind as they are from art or common sense. In a work of art the value of a form, be it geometrical or natural, depends entirely on how it is drawn and how combined with other forms: intrinsically there is nothing to choose between a tree and a triangle. In Italy the journalistic possibilities of Cubism were seized upon and exploited with prodigious energy, and incorporated forthwith in Futurism. Futurism is far from being a purely artistic business; it is a more or less complete theory of life, the vitality of which may be inferred from recent developments in Italian politics. So far as painting and sculpture go it is sheer nonsense. The Italian futurists never understood what Picasso was about. They could not understand that he was using forms — abstract forms it so happened — precisely as every genuine artist has used them — to express an aesthetic experience. They thought he was using them to make statements about life and philosophy. In practice, all they did was to take the rather crude, realistic pictures which they had for some years been producing under the influence of Besnard and the *École des beaux arts,* cut them into bits as though they were making jig-saw puzzles, and put them together again higgledy-piggledy. The new product — Futurist painting — was, considered as art, precisely as valuable and significant as the old. The best known of the Italian Futurists were Severini, Carra, Boccioni and Soffici. Of these only Severini has obtained or deserved a European reputation: he is not a great artist, but in his drawing he shows a characteristically Italian ability, and in all he does, an engaging sense of decoration.

Futurism, as an artistic movement, is a thing of the past. Since the World War the more enterprising Italian painters have gone to school with the draughtsmen of their own seventeenth century, from whom they have picked up a number of impressive tricks. Essentially, however, Italian painting is much where it was at the beginning of the century. It is not of the centre; and the most interesting manifestation of Italian art is, at this moment, industrial architecture. Anyone approaching Milan from the north can judge of that for himself; from the carriage window he will see plenty of factories and warehouses to remind him that in Italy the Latin tradition never died.

Germany and Russia were the first countries to appreciate at their true value the masters of the contemporary movement. Matisse and Picasso were admired in Moscow and Berlin before they were generally recognised in Paris and long before they were heard of in London or New York. The revolutionary aspect of the movement was what appealed most strongly to the artists of central and eastern Europe: they revelled in expressing themselves unconventionally, and in Germany founded a new school, derived mainly from *les Fauves,* called Expressionist. Their art, as you would expect, is something over-literary and over-emphatic. Compare the work of Chagal, perhaps the best known of the younger Russians, with that of almost

any of his French contemporaries and our meaning will become clear. In painting, as in literature, Russian artists are tempted, it seems, to press on a tragic and rather obvious note till they fall through art into melodrama. In Germany, material difficulties notwithstanding, the artistic movement is extremely vigorous. Unhappily, the writer knows very little of it; but the work of at least five of its leaders — Kokoschka, Lehmbruch (a sculptor showing the influence of Maillol and of Vienna), Hofer, Klee and Pechstein — is said to deserve more attention than it has yet received from Western Europe and America. Kandinsky, a Pole, who before the war was working in Germany, is generally known and respected; and Hodler and Pellegrini, two of the better-known Swiss painters, may be claimed fairly by the German school.

One Russian, living and working in England, must have a line to himself. The contemporary movement, preoccupied with simplification and stylisation, naturally turned admiring eyes back towards Byzantium. The [illegible] and significance of the Byzantine mosaics were at [illegible] and out of Ravenna and Cézanne came Boris Aurep [illegible] with the best contemporary painting, and who has restored to that glorious art its ancient splendour. Neither should we omit the name of Natalie Goncharova (working in Paris), whose decorations — well known through the Russian ballet — are amongst the significant manifestations of contemporary art.

VORTICISM

Cubism was taken up by a few painters in England much as it was taken up by scores in Italy — only later; and out of Cubist and Futurist theories was concocted a doctrine dubbed Vorticism. The theory of Vorticism need not detain us since it never had the luck to be applied by a painter of talent; and theory without practice counts for nothing in art. There exists no single Vorticist work of importance. The ex-chief of the school now makes drawings for the fashion-papers.

THE LONDON GROUP

The contemporary movement in England is represented rather by the London Group, where a growing school of sincere and able painters is producing work of considerable interest. Speaking roughly, one may say that this school, while accepting eagerly the heritage of Cézanne, endeavours to graft the new plant on to the English tradition. By the English tradition they mean, of course, the tradition of English painting, not that ludicrous literary escapade called Pre-Raphaelism. They cultivate the new lands discovered by Cézanne and Picasso with the implements bequeathed them by Gainsborough, Constable and Turner. Of this group Duncan Grant is deservedly the best known and most admired; unquestionably he is an artist who takes his place amongst the pick of his European contemporaries. Roger Fry — writer and painter — is also a prominent member; and, amongst others to be remarked, we would name Gertler, Vanessa Bell and that interesting sculptor, Dobson. Two of the most popular artists in England — Augustus John and the sculptor Epstein — though by no means of this group — are yet children of the revolution, both having been profoundly, if indirectly, influenced by the discoveries of Cézanne and Picasso.

We must return to France. During the ten years before the World War the earlier Fauves and Cubists were joined by a slightly younger generation along with whom came some other painters who had hesitated at first to break with Impressionism. Of this brilliant accession we will name a few

— Utrillo, de Segonzac, Marchand, Marie Laurencin, Kisling (a Pole), Lhote, Delaunay, the Italian Modigliani, and — grandchild almost of the revolution — Per Krohg, a young Norwegian of great promise, which promise he is splendidly fulfilling. Having pronounced his name, we would add that of his quasi-compatriot, the Swedish architect Ragnar Ostberg, who alone in Europe has given us, in the new Town Hall at Stockholm, contemporary architecture at once sufficiently harmonious and original to be worthy of a place beside contemporary painting.

THE AMERICAN SKY-SCRAPERS

During this period (1908–1914) Fauves and Cubists, on excellent terms with each other, worked side by side; neither was there then any sharp line of division between them. On the whole, it may be said that Cubist theory steadily influenced the painters of the older generation, compelling them to attend more and more to abstract design, to put construction first. It is significant that Matisse even made experiments in Cubism. Picasso was the dominant influence in Europe. Meanwhile, two sculptors added lustre to an already illustrious age: Despiau, a pupil of Rodin who finished his education in the school of Cézanne; and Maillol, eldest child of the revolution and the classical tradition, who is now generally reckoned our greatest living sculptor. We wish we could claim, as America's contribution to the movement, the sky-scrapers. But, though modern American architecture has been consistently admired by the modern painters, though they were the first to hail in it a genuine architectural style comparable with the style of the Italian renaissance, there seem to be no grounds for supposing that contemporary American architecture has been in any way affected by contemporary plastic theories. All we can say is that the great style and originality of this modern manifestation helped to excuse those of us who imagined, not altogether absurdly perhaps, in the spring of 1914, that we were on the threshold of an age which was to rank with the Florentine fifteenth century: in 1923 it seems more reasonable to suppose that it will rank with the last days of the Western Empire.

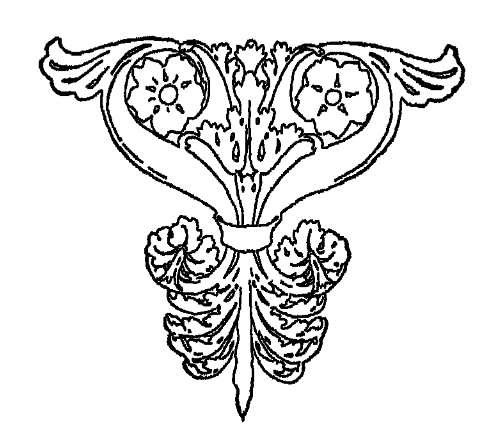
THE BIG FOUR

By one means or another the war destroyed or maimed or deflected from their course millions of young men. Amongst these were certainly unknown, untried but greatly gifted artists. That is the only certain effect which the war has had on art; but it is an immense one. Manifestly the new generation lacks leaders of its own — doubtless they were killed. The old leaders go alarmingly unchallenged. Bonnard, Matisse, Picasso and Derain remain unmistakably "the big four." Of these, Bonnard never had a following: Matisse has perfected a peculiarly personal style of his own, and if he finds plenty of imitators finds few worthy to be called disciples: Picasso, inventive and brilliant as ever, seems to be at the greatest pains to avoid becoming again a *chef d'école:* the eyes of those in need of a guide turn naturally towards Derain. Will he give them what they want? What do they want? In the first place, the lesson of Cubism has been well learnt; no artist of account is likely nowadays to forget that a formal harmony is the indispensable basis of every work of art. Design is the first requisite, and in the matter of design young painters have much to learn from Derain. It is when it comes to filling the design that the young show signs of parting company with their elders: for better or for worse young painters are losing their

horror of being literary. From Derain they hope to learn the secret which, they believe, was known to Corot and Poussin and Rembrandt and Raphael and the Athenian sculptors — the secret of so perfectly fusing a human emotion with an aesthetic that the form shall remain as pure as if it were abstract. Whether their beliefs are well founded, whether their ambitions are attainable, time alone can show. But clearly, their aspirations being what they are, Derain is their natural leader.

ONE RESULT OF THE WORLD WAR

In conclusion, one probable consequence of the war should be noted. During the first years of this century and the last of the nineteenth art had become, what it has often been before, international. The war may well change that. Indeed, it seems unlikely that in 1944 a critic dealing, as we have tried to deal, with the European and American art of the two preceding decades, will be able, as we have been able, to treat it as a unit. It is improbable that, without ever leaving Paris, he will be able to get — as anyone might have got — a tolerably complete idea of the contemporary movement. But whether this new provincialism will have a good or bad effect on art is another of those questions which must be left for time to answer.



CHAPTER LXVII

WHAT SCIENCE CAN DO FOR MAN

By J. Arthur Thomson, M.A., LL.D.

Professor of Natural History, Aberdeen University. Editor of *The Outline of Science.* Author of *Progress of Science in the Nineteenth Century; The Wonder of Life; the System of Animate Nature.*

We are too much in the middle of things to have true perspective, but it is safe to say that the twentieth century has already to its credit many scientific advances of high importance.

DIFFERENT KINDS OF SCIENTIFIC ADVANCE

An advance may mean a new discovery, and this may be illustrated by the investigations which have Radium for their centre. Or it may mean the fresh appreciation of what was already known, as in the case of the ductless glands. Physiologists were aware of the thyroid gland, the suprarenal capsule, the pituitary body and so on, but it was not discerned that these ductless or endocrine glands produced chemical messengers or hormones which the blood distributes throughout the body with the result that the harmonious working of the various organs is secured. It was a great advance to discover the regulative function of glands which had long been known but never understood. Another kind of advance depends on a new idea, and this may be well illustrated by Mendelism. For although Mendel's work goes back to 1865, it was buried till the beginning of the twentieth century; and although his work rests on the discovery of concrete facts, its importance is mainly, as we shall see, in giving us a new idea of heredity. Similarly, though perhaps more debatably, there is advance in Einstein's idea of relativity. Another kind of advance depends on a new contact between two different sciences or between two different departments of science. Thus it has been characteristic of the twentieth century that psychology has joined hands with physiology, and the result has been the rapid growth of a precise science of behaviour. Sometimes, however, the hungry physiological lion has devoured the psychological lamb. The twentieth century has also seen great strides in Bio-chemistry, another of these relatively new contacts, and the auspicious beginnings of Bio-physics. Finally, there is a kind of advance that depends on the invention of some new instrument of research, and this might be illustrated by the ultra-microscope, the electro-cardiograph, and the radiograph. The invention of scientific instruments which make new knowledge possible is to be distinguished, of course, from the unending inventions and applications which have only a practical purpose — and that not necessarily a good one.

In this chapter we shall begin with chemistry and physics, the hardly separable sciences of matter and energy, and work upwards through biology, the science of organisms, to psychology and the science of man. All that

can be done is to select a few representative instances of scientific advance. To attempt a comprehensive survey within our limits would crowd the canvas hopelessly and defeat its own object. For the same reason we must give most prominence to the central sciences dealing with matter and energy, life and mind, for it would give a confused impression if we attempted to deal systematically with such sub-sciences as metallurgy, spectroscopy, palaeontology, or with such combined sciences as geography, meteorology, and agriculture. In selecting examples we have given prominence to those that have meant much or are beginning to mean much to mankind, always keeping in mind Bacon's warning that more understanding may be of greater value than more wealth or power.

ATOMICITY

The theory that matter consists of atoms is as old as the science of chemistry or older, but the demonstration of the reality of the atom is modern. Thus the great German chemist Ostwald was for many years an opponent of the theory of atoms. But the idea of the atomicity of matter, now universally accepted, could not stop there; it had to be followed by the atomicity of electricity. This idea was stated simultaneously in 1881 by Helmholtz and by Stoney. Both positive and negative electricity consist of elementary units or quanta, but there is a difference in the two cases. When electricity is discharged through a fluid that can be chemically split up by it, wandering dissociated constituents of the fluid or electrolyte move in the direction of the two poles. These wandering constituents are called "ions". Those that carry a charge of positive electricity and move in the direction of the positive current are called "cations", while those that are negatively charged are called "anions". Now positive electricity is known only as an ion; it is inseparable from ordinary matter. But while negative electricity may also, as in electrolysis, present itself in the form of ions, it may occur in a free state, separated from ordinary matter. These pure atoms of negative electricity are called "electrons" and they are universal structural units in all kinds of matter.

An electron appears to be, as Sommerfeld puts it, "essentially nothing more than a place at which the electric lines of force from every direction end." In a positively charged ion, however, the lines of force are to be pictured as proceeding outwards from a central "nucleus."

THE CONSTITUTION OF MATTER

A great advance characteristic of the first quarter of the twentieth century has to do with an old problem — the constitution of matter. We have not yet heard the whole story, and there is more than one theory of the atom, but this big result is clear: that matter is more complicated and more ethereal than was formerly supposed. As Mr. Bertrand Russell remarks, the modern conception of matter recalls the Irishman's definition of a net as "a number of holes tied together with pieces of string," only it would be necessary to imagine the strings cut away until only the knots were left.

The smallest particle of water that can exist as water is called a molecule; it consists of two atoms of hydrogen and one of oxygen (H_2O) united in such a way that they form a new thing very different from either of them. But the atom has an extraordinary complexity. Of recent years it has been compared often to a solar system, with "electrons" revolving round a "nucleus" as planets round a sun. The electrons are charges of

negative electricity; the nucleus consists of positively electrified units called protons. The words positive and negative mean that each kind attracts its opposite and repels its like. The simplest atom is that of hydrogen, which consists of one proton (the hydrogen-nucleus) and one electron, the latter revolving round the former. The two have equal amounts of the opposite kinds of electricity and are probably of about the same size, but practically all the weight of the hydrogen atom is due to the nucleus. The nuclei of other elements are more complicated and probably consist of hydrogen nuclei and inner electrons. An electron is very minute compared with an atom — like a fly in a cathedral, as Sir Oliver Lodge said. But it travels round its tiny orbit at a prodigious rate, covering about 1,400 miles in a second. All electrons are the same, with the same amounts of negative electricity, with the same "mass" and size, if these words may be used at this level. They represent one of the two kinds of ultimate constituents that build up matter.

But while all electrons are exactly alike, the nuclei of the atoms of different kinds of chemical elements are different. But the differences are quantitative rather than qualitative, for many considerations point to the conclusion that all nuclei consist of hydrogen nuclei and electrons and helium nuclei; and some would add that the last can be resolved into the first. If so, all matter consists of hydrogen nuclei and electrons.

THE PERIODIC TABLE OF THE CHEMICAL ELEMENTS

One of the greatest achievements of nineteenth-century chemistry was the arrangement of the elements in the Periodic Table by Mendeléeff and others. When the chemical elements were written down in the order of their atomic weights or combining proportions, from hydrogen, the lowest, to uranium, the highest, it was found that elements chemically similar recurred in the table in a peculiar way. Thus the second, tenth and eighteenth elements were of the family of the rare gases, while the third, eleventh and nineteenth also belonged to one family, that of the alkali metals: and so on. Further down the list, similar elements are separated by a gap of eighteen, not eight, places. By writing his list of the elements in order of atomic weight in such a way that similar elements (for example the rare gases) fell into vertical columns, Mendeléeff obtained the Periodic Table of the elements, which at that time was an invaluable classification. It actually enabled chemists to predict successfully the existence and properties of elements then unknown, corresponding to blanks left in the table. Nothing justifies a scientific generalisation more than power of exact prediction.

It was well known that the presence of an element could be detected by means of its spectrum. That is to say, each element can be caused, by heating it to incandescence, to give off particular kinds of light. To employ the familiar analogy of the pianoforte, each element strikes its own chord upon the keyboard. Chemically similar elements, which are grouped together in the Periodic Table, strike similar chords.

Just before the World War, a remarkable discovery was made by Moseley, a young English scientist. He found that each element could also emit an entirely different spectrum, not of visible light rays, but of X-rays. When these X-ray spectra were examined, they were found to be simple in nature, and to correspond, not with the chemical properties of the substance but with its atomic number, the number of its place in the list of elements. It was, essentially, as though hydrogen, number one, struck the lowest note on a keyboard, the next element struck the next note, and so on up to

uranium, number ninety-two. Where an element was missing, one "note" was found to be skipped. It became clear that the "atomic number" of an element was of the greatest importance.

All these facts are very well interpreted by the modern picture of the atom, with its nucleus made up of positively charged hydrogen nuclei (or "protons") and negative electrons, while outside the nucleus are inner and outer layers of whirling electrons. Since the hydrogen nucleus weighs so much more than the electron, the atomic weight of an element is a measure of the number of hydrogen nuclei contained in the nucleus of the element. The nucleus of the element uranium, whose atomic weight is 238, contains that number of hydrogen nuclei; each of these bears a positive charge of electricity. But the nucleus of uranium also contains a number of negative electrons, which neutralise more than half of these positive charges. A number, however, are still left unaccounted for; and this number of surplus positively charged hydrogen nuclei in the nucleus of the element is the same as the atomic number of the element: in the case of uranium, ninety-two.

It is not difficult to see how two elements might have different atomic weights, that is, different total numbers of hydrogen nuclei, yet have the same number of surplus, un-neutralised hydrogen nuclei, and therefore the same atomic number, the same place in the Periodic Table, the same chemical and physical properties and be too much alike to be separated. The existence of a number of these twin elements or "isotopes" has been proved by F. W. Aston.

The surplus positive charges of the nucleus of an element are neutralised by the negative charges of the electrons which whirl round outside, which must therefore also be equal in number to the atomic number of the element. Only the outermost electrons are concerned in chemical processes and in ordinary spectra; there can never be more than eight of them, which explains why similar elements are separated by a gap of eight places in the Periodic Table. The elements which have got the maximum number of eight electrons in the outermost ring are the rare gases, which are unable to combine with other elements. The inner rings of electrons play the chief part in the absorption and emission of X-rays; while the nucleus of the element is only disturbed by the deep-seated changes in the atom which we term "radio-activity."

RADIO-ACTIVITY

This phenomenon, which was discovered by Becquerel in 1896, appears to be due to an overcrowding in the nucleus of the atom. With few exceptions, it occurs only in those elements, like uranium, thorium, and radium, whose nuclei contain large numbers of hydrogen nuclei and electrons.

The overcrowding is relieved in two ways: sometimes by the escape of negatively charged electrons, called β-rays; at other times, by the escape of positively charged hydrogen nuclei, not singly, but grouped together in fours to form helium nuclei; these are called α-rays. The loss of an α-particle from an atom reduces its atomic number by two and its atomic weight by four. Hence all radio-active elements are tending to move down the Periodic Table, and the last stage is their transformation into lead. But while some steps in the process last but a fraction of a second, others are extremely slow; thus only half of a quantity of uranium has broken up at the end of five thousand million years. Radium is half used up in fifteen hundred years. As well as emitting α-rays or helium nuclei, and β-rays or electrons, radio-active substances also emit γ-rays, which are not material particles at all but are akin to light. In an ordinary X-ray tube there are

emitted "canal rays" of helium nuclei, "cathode rays" of electrons (but no power at man's disposal can give to these the velocity of the β-ray electrons shot out of the nucleus of radium), and X-rays or Röntgen rays, which again are akin to light. It should be noted that the long Hertzian waves of wireless telegraphy, the waves of heat rays, the waves of visible light and of the chemically active ultra-violet rays, and the short waves of Röntgen or X-rays, are all similar in kind, all travel at the same speed, and are all produced alike by the vibrations or uneven movement of electrons. The γ-rays of radium belong to the same family, but are even shorter than X-rays. They form the highest known notes in a vast keyboard of four thousand octaves, of which only one is visible to us as light.

THE QUANTUM THEORY

Not only are these various waves produced by vibrating electrons, but the impact of light or X-rays upon metal plates can cause electrons to vibrate and to be shot out. The plates then become positively charged through losing negative electrons. A very interesting point is that the brightness of the light does not affect the speed at which the freed electrons travel: though fewer electrons are liberated by a dim light, their speed is not reduced. This led Einstein to apply to light a theory developed by Planck for heat radiation, the Quantum Theory. This supplements the ideas of atomicity of matter and atomicity of electric charge with the idea of atomicity of *action;* that is, the idea that there is a minimum amount of energy, the smallest that can exist: just as no electric charge less than that of the electron can exist. This idea of the parcelling-up of energy enables us to understand why when light liberates an electron, it always sends it flying with the same velocity. Fewer "parcels" of light mean fewer freed electrons, but the "parcels" are all of the same size.

The value of the quantum of action has been worked out in various ingenious ways by Millikan, and the result is always the same. The theory has led Bohr and Sommerfeld to brilliantly ingenious work on the paths of the planet electrons of the atom, by means of which they explain in detail the lines of the visible spectra of hydrogen and helium. It is clearly a theory destined to render the greatest services to physics in years to come.

STRUCTURE OF CRYSTALS

Much of what is known about crystals is of old standing — that crystals of the same kind have always the same angles between the faces; that crystals, if symmetrical at all, have a varying number (1–9) of planes of symmetry by which they can be cut into mirroring halves; that their elasticity is the same in all parallel directions but different in different directions; and so on. But the internal atomic architecture of a crystal remained hidden till 1912 when Von Laue thought of passing X-rays through a thin slice. His idea was that these X-rays, being of much shorter wave-length than those of ordinary light, might be affected by the atoms on their way through the crystal, just as sunlight is altered in passing through a dusty atmosphere. It was soon shown that an X-radiogram of a crystal has a different pattern for different kinds of crystalline material. There may be, for instance, a central spot where the beam of rays has passed right through, and an orderly arrangement of surrounding smaller spots which indicate that some of the rays have been deflected by the atoms they encountered. An X-ray spectrometer was invented by Sir William Bragg and this has been used by

himself and by his son, Prof. W. L. Bragg, with great effect in disclosing the invisible architecture of crystals. Thus it has been proved that the atomic architecture of a crystal of common salt is like a lattice-work of cubes with the atoms of sodium and of chlorine at the alternate corners of each cube. In the case of a diamond, there is a lattice-work of regular tetrahedrons with a carbon-atom occupying each corner and another in the centre. This is a good instance of seeing the invisible.

WEGENER'S HYPOTHESIS OF CONTINENTAL DRIFT

Even the most casual survey of the distribution of animals and plants on the surface of the earth compels one to admit that the continents have not always been separated from each other as they are to-day. Geology has generally assumed that in ancient times there existed transient bridges of land along which animals and plants were able to pass from continent to continent. Thus many species and families are found to-day common to the widely separated lands of Australia, India, Africa and South America: we may take as an example the family of the Blind Snakes (Typhlopidae); and at the period when the coal measures were laid down in the northern hemisphere, there flourished throughout the southern half of the globe a characteristic assemblage of primitive plants.

It was therefore supposed that at this time a continent of enormous size stretched from Australia westwards across Africa to America. Stranger still, its whole extent appeared to have been held in the grip of a great Ice Age. Many other smaller but not less peculiar bridges were postulated. In Cambrian times, for instance, the south of England was submerged by a sea, while three hundred miles farther north lay another sea, peopled by entirely different creatures; but as the same arrangement was found in North America, an imaginary dividing ridge, two thousand miles long, had to be constructed across the Atlantic to separate the northern from the southern waters.

Another difficulty of this theory of land-bridges is that it assumes that continents and oceans are interchangeable, whereas there is considerable evidence to the contrary. For instance, there is known to be a mean level of the ocean-floors (at a depth of 2,000 fathoms), and a mean level of the continents (at a height of 300 feet), and these figures suggest that continents and oceans are fundamentally different in origin. There is evidence, moreover, that the seas, which at one time or another covered large areas of the continents existing to-day, were shallow, and comparable to ripples washing over a floating plank.

It is indeed from a similar picture that Professor Wegener constructs his theory of continents. He regards them as masses of lighter, granitic rock, "floating" like ice-floe in water, on heavier basaltic rocks which form the floor of the oceans. He believes that the continents are slowly drifting westwards at different rates, and that formerly they lay much more closely together than they do to-day. There are, indeed, actual measurements which show that Greenland is moving away from the Old World, but their accuracy has been challenged by Professor H. H. Turner. Wegener supports his theory by showing how well the continents can be fitted together, like pieces of a jig-saw puzzle. The coast of Brazil exactly matches the opposite coast of Africa, in its geology as well as in its shape.

We thus no longer require to imagine a vast ancient southern continent. Instead, we make of South Africa a hub, which may at that time have formed the south pole of the earth. Beside it, lay an elongated, tongue-like India, and round it America, Antarctica and Australia formed a close-fitting hook,

which has since broken up into its constituent continents. In the general westward movement of the New World, the weaker links — the West Indies and Falkland Islands — have been retarded and the advancing front of the continent has been puckered up into the mountain chains of the Rockies and Andes.

The whole theory forms a novel and complex picture, very helpful in the study of distribution of species and of ancient climates, but with undeniable physical difficulties. Until more convincing explanations are forthcoming of the manner in which the continents drift, and of the cause which compels them, the theory cannot be accepted without reservations.

PROTOPLASM AND THE CELL

One of the foundation stones of biology is the cell-theory. All but the simple non-cellular organisms are built up of cells and modifications of cells. A very minute animal, like a wheel-animalcule or Rotifer which would pass through the eye of a needle, has about 1,000 cells in its body; in most animals there are millions. In all ordinary cases these cells arise from the division and re-division of a fertilised ovum, and they exhibit division of labour or differentiation as they build up the various tissues and organs of the body. This is an old story, but some changes have come about in recent times. On the one hand the cell or living unit turns out to be much more complicated than was previously supposed. On the other hand, the intricacy of structure observable under the microscope in the general cell-substance or cytoplasm turns out to be in the main a post-mortem effect of staining and fixing. The living matter is microscopically structureless.

First, as to the intricacy of the cell; it is a microcosm in itself. We must think of a minute area of great chemical complexity, a variety of protein substances suspended in a fluid along with other materials, both starchy and fatty, and waste products besides. In the centre of the whirlpool there floats the nucleus, and it is also a little world. Inside its membrane, through which there is continual give and take, there are readily stainable chromosomes, usually definite in number for each species. Then there may be a nucleolus or several nucleoli, and there is the complex nuclear sap that bathes them. Outside the nucleus in the general cell-substance or cytoplasm there are in many cells definitely formed granules or rods called mitochondria, which a few heretics regard as little partner organisms like bacteria. There are chromidia which seem like migrants from the nucleus trying to colonise the cytoplasm. That is not nearly all; but we must conclude by mentioning the tiny centrosomes which play an important part when the cell divides into two, as must always happen in growing tissue. This cell-division is one of the most extraordinary processes in the world, for each of the nuclear bodies or chromosomes — each like a row of beads on a string — is split up the middle with meticulous precision, and each daughter-cell gets an exact half of everything!

THE COLLOIDAL STATE OF MATTER

When protoplasm, which Huxley called "the physical basis of life," is looked at under the high power of the microscope, it shows numerous very minute particles in a perpetual dance, which is called the "Brownian movement." This can be best studied by means of the "ultra-microscope," by which a beam from a strong lamp is sent sideways through the slide. The rays are caught and reflected by the minute dancing particles, which thus become more visible. They are evidently moving in a fluid, and it is one

of the most important of modern conclusions that living matter has the properties of a liquid system in which there is a constant movement of solid particles and unmixing droplets. In other words, to the ultra-microscope living protoplasm presents the characteristics of a colloidal system. The Brownian movement of the minutest particles which we can see is due to their being unequally bombarded by the molecular movements in the liquid itself. Living matter often contains more than 70% of water; when it dies it takes on a rigid structure like jelly when it "sets."

It was Thomas Graham in 1861 who first described the colloidal state and recognised the importance of studying it, but the pursuit of this study by chemists, physicists and physiologists has been peculiarly characteristic of the early twentieth century. There has been no more momentous advance. In its typical form the colloidal state is a suspension of very minute separate particles or liquid globules in a continuous medium of a different kind. The properties of matter in this state account for many phenomena previously inexplicable. Most of the characteristic properties depend on the fact that the very numerous particles and droplets in suspension afford an enormous development of surface in proportion to the total masses. There come into play what are called interfacial phenomena, especially surface tension and adsorption, which are fundamentally concerned with that remarkable kind of activity that we call "life."

PHOTOSYNTHESIS

The most important process in the world is what takes place every day in every green leaf — the building up of carbon-dioxide and water into carbohydrates. This is called photosynthesis, and it is the fundamental means of supplying the animal and human world with food. The energy utilised by the living matter of the leaf in building up carbohydrates is obtained from the sunlight, especially from the orange rays, and the green pigment chlorophyll is indispensable in the process. It absorbs the light; it acts as an "optical sensitiser" for the complex and still obscure up-building reactions that go on. Certain electrical changes also occur in the green leaf when the photosynthesis is in process and they probably have some share in what happens. It seems practically certain that the first product of the synthesis is formaldehyde, from which higher carbohydrates may be afterwards evolved in the same process.

In what we have just said there is nothing new, but it was necessary as a setting for a recent investigation on what has been well called "the true key industry of all life." In 1921 it was announced by Professor Baly and his collaborators that the non-vital synthesis of formaldehyde was effected when light of very short wave-length, obtained from a mercury-vapour lamp acted upon water and carbon-dioxide. As in the green leaf there was liberation of free oxygen. Light of a somewhat longer wave-length caused the molecules of formaldehyde to unite to form simple sugars, and Professor Baly also succeeded in bringing about the union of nitrites with formaldehyde. Thus, apart from organisms altogether, except the ingenious chemists, of course, there were brought about reactions which are fundamental characteristics of life. It is true that light of such short wave-lengths as Professor Baly used does not occur in sunlight as it reaches the earth to-day, but it seems that ordinary sunlight can bring about the same reactions if assisted by the presence of certain substances known as photo-catalysts. In any case this mimicry of the magic of the green leaf is a discovery of extraordinary interest.

VITAMINS

One of the important advances on the biochemical line has to do with food. Luxuries, like tobacco and tea, are sometimes more necessary than necessities until the starvation-point is approached, but it is an even deeper fact that many foods contain very small quantities of subtle "extras" which are almost more important than the aliment itself. This came into prominence in connection with a mysterious Eastern disease called beriberi (common in Japan and the Philippines), which was found to be due to feeding too exclusively on polished rice. The disease was artificially induced in birds by a similarly restricted diet, and it was discovered that an extract of the rejected polishings had a curative effect on the patients, both avian and human. It becomes clear that the outer part and the germ of the rice-seed contains a "something" that is essential. Its absence means disease or death; its presence means health and life. In recognition of its vital importance the elusive substance was called a vitamin.

Beriberi is not confined to rice-eaters, but may occur in any persons who have to depend too exclusively on over-milled cereals or over-heated (*e.g.* tinned) foodstuffs. The instinctive liking that hungry and healthy people have often shown for "whole meal" cereals (like Quaker Oats) and fresh vegetable food is thoroughly justified, for the counteractives to beriberi and similar diseased conditions are present when the cereals are not too much refined. They are known as vitamins "B"; and are abundant in peas and beans, in seeds with the germ or embryo intact, in eggs and yeast, in milk and whey, and in green vegetables. They are soluble in water and they can be kept in a dried state.

A further advance has been made. It was found that when theoretically perfect and well-mixed food was given to growing animals (conveniently rats), the result was not always satisfactory. In certain cases the animals stopped growing; they even lost weight; they did not make good their wear and tear. But this was remedied when the animals in question got a little milk every day in addition to their normal diet. This pointed to the existence of another set of vitamins, essential to normal growth. These are called vitamins "A"; they are soluble in butter and yolk of egg; and they are not counteractive of beriberi and the like.

But there is, at least, another group of vitamins, if we dare speak so definitely about "somethings" that have not been isolated. Everyone has read at least of the disease of scurvy, but perhaps we are apt to think of it too much in connection with sailors and soldiers, explorers and gold-diggers, whereas it was often rife in stay-at-home people before the days of potatoes. It is due to a deficiency in certain subtle extras. Its counteractives are found in green vegetables, in fruits like oranges and lemons, and in many forms of fresh food, including potatoes not too well pared and not over-cooked. Of great practical importance is the fact that if the Indian's *dhal* (peas, beans, and other forms of pulse) be soaked for a day and sprouted for a day, and yet not allowed to ferment, there is an abundant development of water-soluble vitamins "C", which are of life-saving value.

It must not be supposed that what we have indicated is all plain-sailing. The biochemist has not isolated these "accessory food-factors" in a pure state; he is only groping after their chemical composition; he has named them though he does not know how they work. Some very cautious investigators would say, indeed, that "vitamin" is only a long way of writing "x", an unknown quantity; and that a vitamin may represent a quality of a substance rather than a substance itself. But this justifiable caution hardly

affects our present point, which is simply to illustrate how the advance of science dispels clouds. There were mysterious diseases and unwholesome conditions; we know now that these are due to something unnatural in the food. But, more than that, we know how the diseases can be cured and health preserved by utilising fresh and natural foods, such as fruit and vegetables, milk and eggs.

CONTRACTION OF MUSCLES

Most of the movements of animals are due to the contraction of muscles, and the studies on this subject would form a good-sized library. Yet it does not seem too much to say that the interpretations given previous to the work of Fletcher and Hopkins, in the early years of the twentieth century, were somewhat wide of the mark. The two investigators whom we have named showed that it was necessary to divide the familiar process of muscle-contraction into two chapters — one predominantly physical, the other predominantly chemical. In the first chapter, when each living thread or fibre of flesh becomes shorter and broader, and thus does work, there is no combustion, no using up of oxygen, no formation of carbon-dioxide, only a dislocation of molecules of lactic acid from their association with the muscle substance. It seems like a physical change, comparable to the uncoiling of a released spring, except that the muscle spring becomes shorter not longer. It is probable that the lactic acid induces surface tension changes on the muscle fibrils. But if the muscle is to be restored to its state of tension or contractility, there must be a second chapter in which there is a reinstating of lactic acid or its chemical precursor in the muscle substance. It is probable that the energy derived from a combustion or oxidation of some of the lactic acid set free from the contracting muscle is utilised to synthetise glycogen from the rest of the lactic acid. From this glycogen more lactic acid can be produced. It is in the second or chemical chapter that there is a using up of oxygen and a production of carbon-dioxide. But the muscle is not an internal combustion engine as used to be supposed. As Sir William Bayliss has stated it, "the muscular system is analogous to that of a gas engine used to compress air into a reservoir, from which it is taken to drive, by its pressure, various machines and tools. The energy of the oxidation of the fuel is not used from the engine directly." The lactic acid which is set free from the contracting muscle is probably in part burned and in part re-synthetised into higher compounds. The lactic acid required to replace the amount that is lost is probably derived from glycogen. What was begun by Fletcher and Hopkins has been continued by A. V. Hill, Meyerhof and others, and yet no physiologist would say that he quite understands the contraction of a muscle, which is the most familiar activity in animal life. One cannot expect an understanding of the process to be easy for, as Sir C. S. Sherrington has said, "the engineer would find it difficult to make a motive machine out of white of egg, some dissolved salts and thin membrane," which is practically what Nature has done in muscle.

INTRICACY OF VITAL INTERRELATIONS

If one may use the old-fashioned term Natural History as a designation for the study of the habits and surroundings of living creatures, and their interrelations with one another, one may say that there has been an advance in the past quarter of a century in the appreciation of the central Darwinian idea of the Web of Life. For it was characteristic of Mr. Darwin that he recognised very vividly the big fact of the correlation of organisms, the

linking of one life to another. He showed how the earthworms have made most of the vegetable mould of the world, how cats influence the clover crop, or how birds scatter seeds by transporting clodlets on their wet feet. This idea of the web of life has been deepened by post-Darwinian studies, and every year brings some important fresh illustration of vital linkages. The minnow nurses the young of the freshwater mussel, and the young of the fish called the bitterling must sojourn for a while in the freshwater mussel. The water-wagtail helps the sheep-farmer when it swallows the small freshwater snail within which the liver-fluke, often destructive to sheep, passes the early chapters of its complicated life-history. When the squirrel, so often injurious to the forest, is tempted from its vegetarian habits to devour the young squabs of the wood-pigeon, it is incidentally helping the harvest, for it is checking the over-multiplication of a bird which is anything but a friend to the farmer. These linkages are often very important in connection with those parasites that affect man. The animalcule (Plasmodium) that causes malaria is carried from one man to another by a kind of mosquito, and the introduction of little fishes into the water-reservoirs where the larvæ of the mosquito live has proved of avail in keeping down the adult insects apart from which there can be no malaria. Similarly the tse-tse fly transmits from some wild animal to man, or from an infected man to his neighbour, another microscopic animal, a trypanosome, which causes sleeping sickness. In the course of the World War, Major Leiper discovered the life-history of the formidable worm Bilharzia which causes serious disease in many warm countries. The microscopic juvenile stages live in various freshwater snails; the final larvae swim in the water and usually enter man through minute cracks in the skin. But happily they die in the water if that is kept perfectly still for 36 hours, and they cannot pass through really good filters. This is a good instance of zoölogical discovery clearing up a puzzling life-history, and at the same time showing how the spread of the disease in man can be baulked by comparatively simple precautions.

Some of the modern instances of the interrelations of organisms are truly surprising. The heather owes its success to the fact that it has entered into partnership with a fungus which penetrates it through and through and makes its nutrition practicable in the very poor or unready soil characteristic of heather-clad mountains and moorland. Many beetles and other insects that live on dry wood and the like have partner yeast-plants in their food-canal which cause fermentation of the Spartan fare. The death-watch and the cockroach are peripatetic breweries. Sometimes there is a remarkable triple alliance. Thus there are gall-midges which attack the flowers of mullein, scrophularias and capers, and produce galls, and inside these there grows a crop of a mould called ambrosia. Mr. C. W. Beebe and others have shown that the leaf-segments which the leaf-cutter ants cut from the trees and carry home to their underground nest, are not exactly eaten, but are assiduously chewed into a green paste which serves as the culture-bed for a peculiar kind of palatable mould on which the ants depend when they are underground. Professor W. M. Wheeler has described an interesting triple alliance in a leguminous tree of the Guianas called Tachygalia. There are thorns containing an amber-coloured nutritive tissue and many of these come to be inhabited either by ants or by minute beetles. But both beetles and ants enter into partnership with small mealy bugs which devour the nutritive tissue inside the thorn and yield a kind of honey-dew in response to their partners' massage. Mealy bug, beetle or ant, and Tachygalia tree — a triple alliance.

Such linkages are only samples of a multitude, and we cite them not as curiosities of natural history, but because they indicate a trend in organic

evolution — a tendency to link lives together. This is of much theoretical and also practical import. When the linkages do not mean, as in thoroughgoing parasitism, a loss of independence on the part of any of the organisms concerned, the result will be to establish an intricate economy or system in relation to which new departures small in amount can be tested and sifted. The external linkages that are established will tend to secure progress; they will work against retrogression and towards further advance. To give a concrete example, certain insects and certain flowers have been, so to speak, tied up together. The Yucca flower requires the Yucca moth which effects its cross-fertilisation; but the Yucca moth requires the Yucca flower, for its eggs are laid in a certain number — not too large a number — of the ovules within the seed-box. The inter-linkage of the moth and the flowering plant will tend to prevent either from retrogressing. The external linkages which Natural History increasingly discloses have an evolutionary importance, making on the whole for integration.

The practical import of the Web of Life is plain. If man is to continue conquering his kingdom of Nature, he must have a growing knowledge and respect for the system of linkages. Familiar cases like the rabbits in Australia or the sparrows in the United States show how dangerous it is to interfere carelessly with the Balance of Nature. It is this consideration, as well as sound sentiment, that makes the safeguarding of "wild life" so imperative. As in playing chess, one must think not only of the immediate consequences of a move but of remoter issues.

ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR

Another line of biological advance which marks the first quarter of the twentieth century is the rise of a reputable science of animal behaviour. There were earlier pioneers like Lord Avebury (on ants, bees, and wasps) and Romanes, who saw the urgency of an experimental basis, but we should associate the main advance more definitely with the work of C. Lloyd Morgan and Jacques Loeb. By careful experiments Lloyd Morgan laid the foundation of a sound comparative psychology and did much to clear away the clouds from the concept of instinct. He was also rigorous in insisting on the principle that no act should be ascribed to a higher mental faculty if it can be satisfactorily described in terms of a lower one. On another tack is the work of Loeb, especially in connection with what are called "forced movements" or "tropisms," for he presses physiological interpretation to its limit — or beyond it — as distinguished from psychological interpretation. In any case, the advance has meant a gradual emergence from anecdotalism to precise science, a stricter definition of terms, and a refusal any longer to allow the temperament of the observer to decide whether a particular piece of behaviour is instinctive or intelligent. Furthermore, there has been, we think, great advance in recognising that there are many different grades of animal behaviour, which may be arranged as offshoots on an ascending curve or inclined plane.

As to this inclined plane we may say that in the lower reaches of the animal kingdom the physiological activities count for most, whereas in the higher reaches the psychical aspect — the Mind — becomes more and more dominant. But this is not to say that the two sides of the shield, — the neural and the psychic, the physiological and the psychological, the bodily and the mental — can never be separated. Our personal view is that the advance of science tends towards the monistic conception of the evolution of one reality that we know — with human limitations — and profitably study

in two aspects — metabolic and mental; but every scientific investigator and thinker will agree that in any case the objective life of chemical and physical changes (metabolism) is inextricably, so far as scientific experience goes, bound up with the subjective life of more or less conscious mentality. Obviously, however, we know a good deal about the mind of the dog, whereas we know very little about the mind of the Amœba. Yet the two aspects may be like convex and concave, like the outer and inner surfaces of a dome.

An Amœba, one of the unicellular or non-cellular animals, is known to go on the hunt; and there are many similar expressions of simple, tentative or experimental behaviour at a very low level. We watch an infusorian exploring a corner of the microscopic field in search of food. It has initiative; it exhibits the beginning of a kind of behaviour which rises through the manoeuvres of the brainless starfish in attacking the equally brainless, but very formidable, sea-urchin, to the earthworm dealing effectively with strange leaves which it drags into its burrow and to the hermit-crab securing sea-anemones as useful partners in its strenuous life. In many cases there is a simple kind of "learning" which consists in linking a particular signal — a sight, a sound, an odour — with a particular action or inhibition of action. The young rabbit associates the danger-signal with an unquestioning bolt for the burrow; a young chick associates a particular cluck with cowering under the maternal wing. In some cases there is plainly "learning," and yet we do not clearly understand the method involved. Thus even a frog will "learn" to find its way out of a maze and a rat may become very expert after a short course of lessons. There may be visual memoranda in some cases, but these are not essential. We may probably exclude the hypothesis of the rat forming an idea of the plan of the Hampton Court maze; it is much more likely that it retains and revives some memory-like registrations of its muscular movements. But all that we are concerned with here is the recognition of "learning" below the level of intelligence. For it increases clearness if we restrict the term "intelligent behaviour" to cases where there is evidence of judgment, of putting two and two together, of understanding a situation, or of making what Romanes called a "perceptual inference." We see this most clearly in the big-brained mammals.

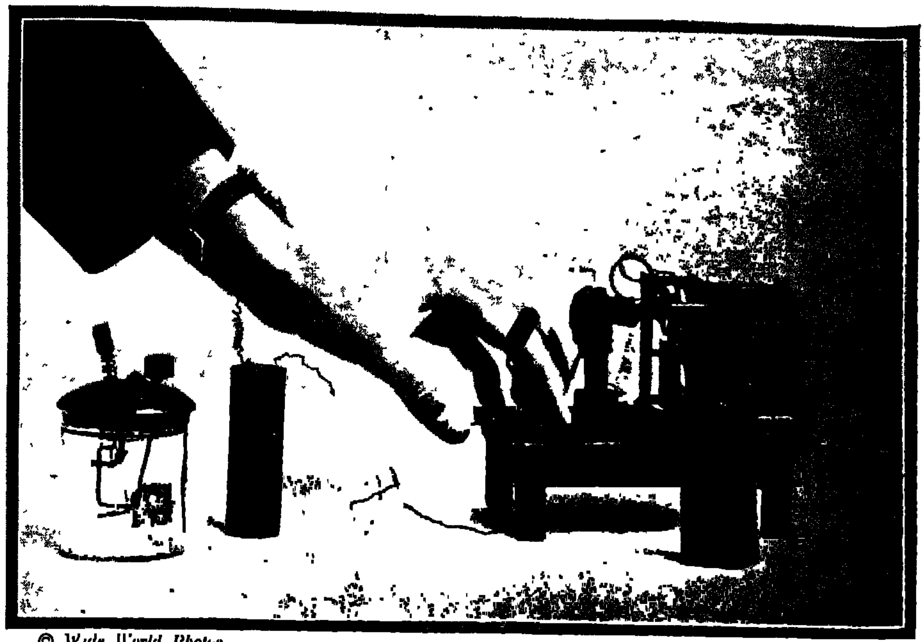
But there is another line of behaviour which depends on inborn pre-arrangements of certain nerve-cells and certain muscle-cells — engrained capacities of great efficiency — which do not require more than a liberating stimulus. Here we have to deal with simple reflex actions, as when the earthworm retreats into its burrow when the ground vibrates under the light footstep of the thrush; and more complex reflexes as when the nestling opens its bill at the touch of food and proceeds to swallow it at a gulp, thus saving much time and avoiding all fumbling.

Here also are "tropisms" — engrained constitutional obligations to adjust the body so that the two sides — it may be the two eyes, ears, or nostrils — are equally stimulated. It is an automatic means of securing physiological equilibrium. When a moth flies past a candle and has its right eye much more intensely illumined than its left, the changes induced in the nervous and muscular systems are unequal on the two sides, and this automatically brings about an adjustment of the pose of the body so that equilibrium of stimulus is attained. This works well in natural conditions, but it is often fatal in the case of the candle, for the adjustment of the pose of the body so that the two eyes are equally illumined, often brings the moth into the flame. If it were not flying quickly there would be time for a natural recoil from the heat, but the tropism is urgent. To take a more natural instance, it seems that when a male mosquito hears the hum of the female, he automatically adjusts the two antennae so that they are uniformly stimulated. If he then flies

straight ahead, or adjusts the direction so that the antennae continue to be equally influenced, he is almost certain to find his mate. There is no doubt that "tropisms" or "forced movements," which Loeb has studied in a masterly way, are very important in the behaviour of the lower animals.

Higher in the scale is the behaviour of the newly hatched Loggerhead Turtle, which hurries from its sandy cradle on the beach and makes for the unknown sea, even against obstacles. It has been carefully studied by Professor G. H. Parker of Harvard, who has shown, in the first place, that the young reptile is not guided by the sight, or sound, or smell of the sea. It has an inborn tropism to go down a slope rather than up, being "positively geotropic," but it will make for the sea when placed on a quite horizontal board. It seems to be influenced by blue rather than by other colours, and it is possible that it may be attracted by the blue sky above the sea. But the main reaction of the young Loggerhead is that it moves away from the more blocked and interrupted horizon and towards that which is open and free. Inside a tub, out of which it cannot see, it moves anyhow if the tub is flat, and it does the same in the dark. But on top of an inverted tub, with a fair prospect, it moves round in a little tentative circle and then makes towards the more open horizon, which is usually in the direction of the sea. If there is a copse between the tub and the sea, and an open field on the landward side, the turtle will go the wrong way—the kind of exception that proves the rule. We have given space to this investigation because it furnishes such a good instance of the precise experimental study of behaviour which may almost be said to have been characteristic of the first quarter of this century.

At higher levels are the various grades of instinctive behaviour, seen in their finest expression in the ways of ants, bees and wasps. A bee that has not previously had any experience beyond the hive and its semi-darkness, emerges into a new world of sunshine and flowers. It flies to a blossom that may present, one would think, some difficulty, and it collects nectar and pollen as if it had been doing it all its life. The spider makes a web true to type the very first time it tries. When the large yellow bells of the Yucca open, each for a single night, the silvery Yucca moth, not long emerged from her chrysalis, sets forth to visit them. From the anthers of one she collects pollen, which she kneads into a ball and holds beneath her head. She flies to another Yucca flower, pierces the pistil with her ovipositor, lays her eggs among the ovules, and then places the fertilising pollen-pellet in the funnel-shaped opening of the stigma. Without the pollen thus brought by the moth to the pistil the ovules would not develop. The larvæ of the moth eat a share of the developing ovules, but not more than about half are required. Here is a chain of actions, performed but once in the moth's life, and performed without instruction, imitation, or apprenticeship. The theory of intelligent prevision is unworkable; the moth is obeying a ready-made hereditary capacity for doing apparently clever things. It is characteristic of instinctive behaviour that it depends, like a reflex action, on inborn pre-arrangements of certain nerve-cells and certain muscle-cells—and that, though it may be suffused with awareness and backed by endeavour, it does not require to be learned. It has very little in common with habituation—the facility of action that comes to an individual from frequently repeating what originally required attention and control at every step. Most naturalists are agreed that instinctive behaviour and intelligent behaviour are on divergent lines, though both are sometimes exhibited in a particular performance. But our object is simply to indicate that one of the characteristic advances of the first quarter of the twentieth century has been the persistent effort to discern the long inclined plane of different kinds of animal behaviour. It was a great



© *Wide World Photos*

Above is shown what is said to have been the first wireless set, invented by David Hughes in 1879.



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The wireless music man. A unique wireless receiving set exhibited at a Leipzig fair in 1923, which catches the music from the large broadcasting stations of Germany.

step, we think, when Sir Ray Lankester emphasised the deep difference between the "little brain" type, as in ants and bees, rich in inborn capacities for instinctive behaviour, but very far from "educable," and the "big brain" type, as in dogs and monkeys, with few true instincts, but with great capacity for intelligent learning. These two types are on different tacks in evolution.

HORMONES

A great step in physiology has been the discovery of the significance of the ductless or endocrine glands, such as the thyroid and the suprarenal. The discovery was on the horizon towards the end of the nineteenth century, but its importance was hardly realised before the work of Professors Bayliss and Starling in 1902. The endocrine glands have no outlet, but the secretions they produce are carried away by the blood and distributed throughout the body, thus finding their way to tissues that are susceptible to their influence. These specific secretions are often called chemical messengers, and they may be compared to keys in search of appropriate locks. Those that are of the nature of excitants are called "hormones" (which means stirrers-up); those that put on a brake are called "chalones." What "internal secretions" in general effect is the harmonious regulation of bodily functions; they make it easier for the various parts of the body to be members one of another. It is not too much to say that their discovery has changed the whole face of physiology. Let us take a few illustrations. Deficiency in the activity of the thyroid gland which lies on each side of our larynx, spells cretinism, goitre and arrest of development. An exaggeration of the activity of the gland is soon marked by the bulging eyes and other disagreeable symptoms of exophthalmic goitre. In a wide way the hormones of the thyroid may be said to regulate the chemical routine of the body especially of nervous tissues; and it is one of the miracles of modern therapeutics that unwholesome states due to the thyroid going out of gear can be counteracted successfully by giving the patient injections of the thyroid gland of the sheep or some similar mammal. The adrenalin produced by the central part of the suprarenal bodies, which lie just in front of the kidneys, is a very potent hormone, the secretion of which is greatly increased by strong emotion, such as fear or rage. It brings about a rapid increase in blood pressure; it affects the distribution of the blood and the breathing movements; it increases the excitability of the skeletal muscles and their power of resisting fatigue; it increases the amount of sugar in the blood and its coagulability. If we suppose that righteous anger has served to stimulate the secretory activity of the suprarenal bodies, the result will be the preparation of the body for a fight. Similarly, the useful effect of adrenalin is familiarly illustrated when a startled cat faces up to an obtrusive dog, for the increased secretion almost instantaneously contracts the tiny muscles that erect the hairs and the cat automatically increases the formidable element in its appearance. Adrenalin is interesting as being the only hormone that has as yet been made artificially by the synthetic chemist. It is sold in the shops and used for stopping slight haemorrhages, such as nose-bleeding. It may be mentioned that hormones are at present little known except in backboned animals; but there are discoveries ahead.

The secretion of the pituitary body, which projects from the under-surface of the brain, has much to do with the regulation of growth. Too much of it is apt to mean an unhealthy giant; too little of it leads to the development of an unhealthy dwarf, slow of pulse and weak in energy. But the pituitary body is also concerned with the regulation of what happens to carbohydrates

in the body. This illustrates the complexity of the situation, for one and the same endocrinal gland may produce more than one hormone. Not only do they make for the smooth working of the other organs of the body, but they often seem to corroborate or counteract one another.

Of great interest and importance are the hormones which pass from the reproductive organs into the blood, and are distributed throughout the body. They serve to provoke into activity certain tissues which have been previously like the sleeping buds on trees. Thus when the blood carries certain hormones to the forehead of the lusty stag at the appropriate season, there begins the remarkable process of antler-growth. Similarly in a mother mammal it is a hormonic message that wakens the milk-glands to activity when that is needed. The great fact is that the binding of the body into smoothly-working unity is effected not by the nervous system only, but by these "chemical messengers" or hormones as well.

EXPERIMENTAL EMBRYOLOGY

Embryology is the story of the development of the individual, and it must consist in part of pictures of the successive stages. The butterfly's egg develops into a caterpillar, and that changes into a chrysalis, out of which the fully formed butterfly emerges. The frog's egg develops into a tadpole, and that changes into a miniature frog. In development the latent becomes patent, the invisible visible, the potential real — it is one of the most remarkable, as it is one of the most familiar, processes in the world. But while embryology has been and must continue to be a description of successive stages, there is a modern kind of embryology, which we may particularly associate with the name of Roux — a physiological and experimental embryology, that seeks to understand the factors that actually operate in development.

This may be illustrated by the modern inquiries into the nature of fertilisation. What happens when a spermatozoön enters an egg or when the nucleus of the pollen grain enters into intimate and orderly union with the nucleus of the plant egg-cell which lies well-hidden within the ovule or potential seed? The inquiries have led to many remarkable results. Thus there is the discovery, by Delage and Loeb independently, of artificial parthenogenesis. That is to say, an egg-cell which normally requires to be fertilised by a sperm-cell may be launched on a voyage of aspermic development — the result being an offspring with a mother but with no father. Professor Loeb subjects the eggs of various marine animals, such as sea-urchins and starfish, for a short time to the influence of a minute quantity of some fatty acid, like butyric acid, which somehow sets them developing, and then puts them into sea-water rather denser than usual, which somehow keeps them on lines of safety. Eventually, they are restored to ordinary sea-water, where they develop successfully and may give rise not merely to larvæ, but to small sea-urchins. Parthenogenesis is familiar in natural conditions, as in the summer generations of green-flies or aphids, in most wheel-animalcules or rotifers, or in the eggs which develop into drone-bees. But the cases described by Loeb and by Delage are cases in which natural parthenogenesis is unknown. Hence the term artificial parthenogenesis. There are many different ways of inducing the aspermic development, but there are usually two events — the first, a trigger-pulling stimulus which sets the egg a-going, but is apt to lead to disintegration; the second, a counteractive which serves as a life-saving brake. Very striking is Professor Bataillon's method, used in dealing with the eggs of frogs, which are the highest animals to show artificial parthenogenesis. He pricks the frog's eggs

with a fine needle of glass or platinum, in conditions where spermatozoa are absolutely excluded; he then washes them with blood, which need not be that of a frog. The pricking with the needle pulls the trigger of development, while the entrance of a blood-corpuscle serves as a corrective. When the developing eggs are transferred to ordinary conditions, they result in normal and vigorous tadpoles. Several fatherless frogs, of both sexes, have thus been reared. From the basis of such experiments a vigorous attempt has been made to solve the problem of what actually occurs in natural fertilisation, and important results have already been reached. In a great variety of ways embryologists have been playing tricks with eggs, and many of the results make for a clearer understanding. When an ovum has divided into a ball of cells, it is in some cases possible to disarrange the component units very radically, yet without there being eventually any abnormality. An unsegmented ovum may be centrifuged, and its living substance thereby disarranged, and yet a normal embryo may result. Such experiments suggest that what is essential in an egg of any particular kind is an ultra-microscopic architecture, what might be called a stereo-chemical specificity, which on its dynamical side means a certain routine or rhythm of characteristic chemical processes of great complexity. In some cases a fraction of an egg is as good as the whole and will develop into a complete embryo, whereas, in other types the microscopic excision of a minute corner will result in the absence of some definite organ. The second case means that there is a very early localisation of specific "organ-forming substances." There is another quaint set of experiments which consist in shaking the segmented egg. Thus if the lancelet's egg, floating in sea water, is vigorously shaken at the two-cell stage, there may result a kind of Siamese twin embryo, or, if the shaking is yet more vigorous, two quite separate embryos. This can be continued to the four-cell stage, from which there may be obtained by shaking, either four separate embryos, or a quaint Siamese quadruplet. Beyond this stage the shaking experiment does not work in the lancelet, for division of labour sets in with the formation of eight cells. In other words they are no longer quite uniform or "equipotential." If one of the two first cells of a frog's egg be killed with an electric needle, and the egg be kept fixed, the result will be a one-sided embryo, though at a certain stage the missing half may be restored. If the same experiment be made, but with this difference that the half-punctured egg is allowed to adjust itself freely in the water, it seems to return to the condition of an intact ovum and the result is not a one-sided embryo or hemi-embryo, but a complete embryo of half the normal size. The origin of monstrosities is an old question, and there are several answers. But a new line of attack is suggested by Werber's experiments on the eggs of the American minnow. He subjected the developing eggs to minute quantities of various reagents such as butyric acid, and produced all sorts of monstrosities in eyes and ears, nostrils and mouth, heart and fins. The butyric acid seems to dislocate and partially dissolve the essential germinal material, especially towards the head end. Hence the monstrosities. Now it is interesting to reflect that when the treatment of carbohydrates goes wrong within the body of a mammal, there may be a production of butyric acid. If this poisoned the mammalian mother's constitution, it might be the cause of monstrosities in the unborn child. What we have just said in regard to a dislocation or partial dissolution of the germinal material raises in the mind the problem of those extraordinary cases where the developing egg normally gives rise to many embryos (polyembryony). Thus there is a Texan armadillo which has usually four quadruplets, all developing from one ovum, and all therefore of the same sex, like "identical twins" in mankind. Many of the results of experimental embryology are almost eerie. Thus if a little piece be cut off

the optic club which grows out from the brain of a vertebrate embryo to form the foundation of the eye, and if that little piece be implanted underneath the skin on the side of the body, it exerts some ferment-like influence on the skin just as the optic club does, and induces the formation of a lens in an entirely irrelevant place. Then there are very remarkable records of what may happen when young creatures, such as tadpoles, are fed with mince made of thyroid or some other endocrine gland.

In many respects a living creature is a very tender plant — a flickering flame which a gust may blow out altogether, but there are various sets of facts which suggest the opposite, that give us an impression of life's toughness. If a piece of a living sponge be minced up, droplets forced through a cloth sieve may in appropriate conditions develop into minute sponges with typical characters. A representative fraction of a Hydra or of a Planarian worm will regrow the whole, and the powers of repair and regeneration among the lower animals are widespread and extraordinary. Of great interest, again, is the success of Carrel and others in keeping small pieces of various tissue alive outside the body altogether. When proper precautions are taken the excised tissues may remain alive for a long time in appropriate culture solutions, and some important results have rewarded the method, notably in connection with the re-growing of a severed nerve-fibre, a very important thing to try to understand in a world in which there is still a frequent occurrence of wounds. It is important to realise that none of these quaint investigations can be thought of as a luxurious indulgence of scientific curiosity. Thus the study of the growth of tissues outside the body is sometimes like that of malignant tumours, and it is possible that the solution of the baffling problems of cancer might be found along these lines. In any case, there is much promise in the experimental control of tissue-growth outside the body, and this is a characteristically twentieth century line of investigation.

MENDELISM

In his experiments with peas, Gregor Mendel (1822–1884) disclosed a new principle of heredity which has been compared in its importance to Dalton's Atomic Theory. In the first quarter of the twentieth century the energies of biological experimenters have been in no small measure devoted to re-establishing and extending Mendel's laws, which were independently and almost simultaneously re-discovered in 1900 by De Vries, Correns, and Tschermak. The inquiry has been continued by many investigators, notably Bateson, Punnett, Castle, Morgan, Johannsen, and Baur. Let us state in a simple way what is meant by Mendelian inheritance, for it is certainly one of the biggest modern advances in biology.

When Mendel crossed a pure-bred giant pea with a pure-bred dwarf variety, the offspring were all tall. The character of tallness was said to be "dominant" and the dwarfness "recessive." The tall hybrid peas were left to self-fertilise, as peas habitually do; and this corresponds to close in-breeding or to pairing of similars among animals. In their progeny there were talls and dwarfs in the proportions of 3:1. When the dwarfs of this second filial generation were left to self-fertilise, their offspring were all dwarfs, and further generations bred from them consisted exclusively of dwarfs. In short they were "pure" as regards the character of dwarfness. But when the talls of the second filial generation were left to self-fertilise, their offspring were of two different types. One-third of the tall parents yielded only tall offspring; two-thirds of the tall parents yielded talls and dwarfs in the 3:1 proportion seen in the first filial generation. Thus the F_2

generation, resulting from the self-fertilisation of the cross-bred or hybrid peas (F_1), consisted of 25 per cent "pure dominants," 50 per cent externally similar, but genetically different, "impure dominants" and 25 per cent, "pure recessives." This may be clearer in a scheme:

Parents	TALL × DWARF ↓
First Filial Generation	ALL TALL *which yielded*
Second Filial Generation .	25% Talls (pure) + 50% Talls (impure) + 25% Dwarfs (pure)
Third Generation	↓ Talls ... ↓ Dwarfs
. .	25% Talls (pure) + 50% Talls (impure) + 25% Dwarfs (impure)

When the peculiar "waltzing mice" or "dancing mice" are crossed with normal mice, all the offspring are normal. When these are inbred their progeny are normal mice and waltzing mice in the 3:1 ratio. The recessive waltzers of this generation might be sold as pure waltzers, for if paired with others of similar history, they will yield only waltzers, in spite of the fact that their parents were normal, as also was one of their grandparents! But the normals of the second filial generation, though all alike in external appearance, turn out to be of two different kinds when used for breeding. One third of them (pure dominants) will yield only normal mice; the other two thirds (impure dominants) will yield, when inbred, the previous (F_2) ratio, namely on an average one waltzer to every three normals.

Let us use D for organisms with the dominant character, or, what will come to the same thing, with a character that is absent in the organisms with which they are paired. Let us use R for organisms with the corresponding recessive character, say dwarfness instead of tallness, or waltzing habits instead of normal locomotion; or, as before, for organisms which show an absence of the character which the dominants have. Let us use D(R) for those forms which have the dominant character expressed and the recessive character latent, as is proved by subsequent breeding. Now we may use a scheme, due to Professor Punnett, which expresses Mendel's law very tersely.

Parents	D × R
F_1 *First Filial Generation*	D(R)
F_2 *Second Filial Generation*	1 D + 2 D(R) + 1 R
F_3 *Third Filial Generation*	D 1 D + 2 D(R) + 1 R 1 R

But the importance of Mendelism is not exhausted in this law of the distribution of contrasted parental characters in subsequent generations. It introduced a new radical idea in the study of heredity. It has been shown that many organisms consist, in part at least, of a great bundle of "unit-characters" which behave as if they were indivisible entities. They do not blend or intergrade; they are present in a certain proportion of the descendants; they are either there and, typically, in their entirety, or completely absent; but they may be in some degree masked in their development by other characters or by environmental conditions. Their representatives in the chromosomes of egg-cell and sperm-cell are called "factors," "determiners," or, "genes," and it is a modern triumph that in some cases it is possible to tell in which chromosome a particular factor lies and in what region

of that chromosome! It has been shown that one factor may affect several adult characters, that one adult character may be the outcome of several factors, that one factor may influence another in a subtle way. Some of the novelties or variations that are always cropping up among organisms seem to be due to shufflings and re-shufflings of the hereditary cards — the factors which lie in the nuclear rods or chromosomes; but there is also evidence that the factors themselves may change from generation to generation. Finally, what Mendel began has been carried much further by the twentieth-century biologists, namely the elucidation of the process of *germinal segregation* which leads to one seed in a pod, one offspring in a litter, being without a character which all the others have. We must change the subject but we cannot turn away without noting that the study of Mendelian inheritance has put a new and sure method within the reach of cultivators and breeders.

EXPERIMENTAL STUDY OF SEX

Another characteristic line of investigation is the experimental study of sex, and although we do not know the nature of the essential difference between male and female — the one a sperm-producer and the other an egg-producer — we have made important steps towards the solution of this very old problem. According to some investigators, maleness or femaleness depends on Mendelian factors, and a special chromosome, believed to be sex-determining, has been identified in certain cases. According to others, sex is an expression of deep differences in the rate and rhythm of metabolism, differences which may be swayed to this side or that by various influences. Mr. Geoffrey Smith showed that when a male crab is parasitised by another crustacean called Sacculina, its whole constitution is changed. The composition of the blood — an index to the metabolism — is profoundly altered. The male organ or testis disappears and its place is taken by a little ovarian tissue, which actually produces eggs. The abdominal appendages change towards the feminine type, and the male crab treats the parasite protruding under its tail as if it were a bunch of eggs! It looks as if sex were sometimes reversible, and it may be noticed that a number of animals, such as the glutinous hag, are first male and then female in the course of their individual life.

The recent work of Professor Oscar Riddle goes to show that pigeons lay two kinds of eggs which differ in the rate of intensity of their chemical processes. The egg of relatively low storage capacity and relatively more intense metabolism develops into a male. The contrasted type of egg — with high storage capacity, greater energy-value in the yolk, and so on — develops into a female. It is interesting to notice that analyses of the blood of cock and hen pigeons show that the constitutional differences seen in the two kinds of eggs have their counterpart in the adults. One of the latest books on the biology and sex contains 896 pages, and it is only the first volume. We know a great deal about sex, but we do not know what it is!

EINSTEIN'S THEORY OF RELATIVITY

It has long been recognised that the problems of mechanics are concerned only with *relative* motion. A mechanical experiment might be carried out in a railway carriage, without taking account of the movements of the train; the complex movement of the earth would not be regarded in an experiment upon the train's motion; and the movements of the earth itself are calculated without consideration of the onward rush of the entire solar system. In

each case we relate the observed movement to some body of reference — the train, the earth, or the sun — which we assume to be fixed.

But in optical and electro-magnetic problems, it was supposed that *absolute* motion through *absolute* space really existed. Space was considered to be filled with the mysterious aether, *through* which material bodies passed freely without causing any disturbing effect, *in* which light and kindred effects were propagated as waves, and *to* which any motion whatever could be *absolutely* referred. But all experimental attempts to detect the presence of the aether through which the earth was thought to be rushing proved unsuccessful. Michelson and Morley devised a means of causing the earth's movements to affect rays of light travelling in the aether; Trouton and Noble tried to show that a quantity of electricity in a condenser carried "through the aether" by the earth acted as a convection current. Both attempts were fruitless. The convenient idea of the aether had to be abandoned, although Lorentz tried to save it by his theory that a body contracts in the direction of its motion through absolute space.

For if the idea of aether-filled absolute space be abandoned, the idea of absolute *time* must also be abandoned. Until Einstein showed that this idea, deeply rooted in our intuition, is merely prejudice, physicists were unwilling to discard it.

Einstein drives home this idea by many convincing illustrations. He points out that our idea of "simultaneous events" is only relative. An observer on a railway line midway between two stations might see both destroyed by lightning at the same instance, whereas, to an observer passing the midpoint on a train, the station he is approaching would appear to be struck first. Again, an observer receding from a clock so that each successive time-signal had further to travel to reach him, would find the clock going more slowly than when he remained at constant distance from it. Thus the dependence of the observer's perception of time depends upon his relative motion and the velocity of light. Bergson has pointed out that all our measurements of time, from clocks or from the earth's movement, are in reality spatial measurements.

In the same way a rod would appear shorter when in motion than at rest. The weight or mass also of a moving body is influenced by its velocity, or, what comes to the same thing, by its kinetic energy.

The values found by Einstein for these increases and decreases are the same as those worked out by Lorentz for his theory of contraction. All depend upon the velocity of light, which is constant, and the relative movement of observed body and observer. So long as the relative movement is uniform, these equations for time, length and mass are simple in character. This constitutes the Special Theory of Relativity; to which we may usefully append the remark that its divergence from classical mechanics is only observable in practice in the case of bodies moving at very great velocities, which approach (but can never attain) the velocity of light.

From this restricted theory Einstein developed his General Theory of Relativity, which applies to all motion, whether uniform or not. The greatest triumph of this theory is to have introduced mathematical order and standards of measurement, or metric, into the scheme of the universe known as the "world" of Minkowski. In this scheme time is accepted as the fourth dimension along with "length, breadth and height"; but the four-dimensional world is regarded by Einstein as a "non-Euclidean continuum."

An example of a Euclidean continuum in two dimensions is the continuous surface of a table. This can be ruled into imaginary squares and the position of any point be determined by a counting of the squares (coördination). Gauss showed that a similar effect could be obtained on a curved or non-

Euclidean continuous surface by means of series of intersecting lines or coordinates on the surface, and a factor called the "tensor" depending on the curvature of the surface. The great mathematician Riemann showed that what was true of a continuum in two dimensions such as the surface of a sphere, could also be true of a continuum of three or four dimensions, which it is impossible to visualise. Einstein, armed with the General Theory of Relativity, showed how to set up series of four Gaussian coördinates for the four-dimensional non-Euclidean continuum which is Minkowski's "world." Time and space being dependent on each other, as we have seen in considering the Special Theory of Relativity, it cannot be said that any one of the four coördinates represents "time" and the others "space." But any set of four fixes definitely the position in time and space of any event; and a continuous series of such sets of four coördinates forms what we may call a "line" through the four dimensions. Such a "world line" may express the entire history of a material particle, being straight for uniform, and curved for non-uniform motion, and variously inclined with respect to time according to the varying velocities.

The theory then goes on to suppose that the presence of matter in space causes a warping or strain in the four-dimensional manifold, much as a weight may warp or dent the two-dimensional surface of a rubber balloon on which it rests. This warping of the "world" has an effect on the path of any particle which moves into the disturbed region, and this effect is what is known as Gravitation. In this way we may regard the earth, as Eddington says, not as being attracted to the sun by "gravity," but as "trying to find its way through a time and space *tangled up*" by the sun's presence. The advantage of this view over Newton's scheme of gravitation is, that it does away with the idea of the "action at a distance" of gravity, which, says Mr. Bertrand Russell, "was always something of a scandal in physics." To illustrate his view of gravitation, and its relation to inertial mass, Einstein has described some very ingenious imaginary experiments.

It followed from this conception of "twists" in space that rays of light should also be affected by gravity, in finding their way through a "tangled" space. On May 29, 1919, during an eclipse, it was established that the light from stars was deflected when passing close to the sun, to the extent foretold by Einstein. This greatly strengthened the case for Einstein's theory.

Another triumph for Relativity was that it explained the behaviour of the planet Mercury, which travels round the sun in an elliptical or "flattened circle" orbit. But it was found that the planet did not eternally describe the same track: because each successive ellipse is a little "turned round" with respect to the sun. This was only to be explained by the Theory of Relativity.

The Theory has won laurels also in the modern physics of the atom, where it has met a problem very similar to the last. We owe to Sir Ernest Rutherford and Sir J. J. Thomson our conception of the atom as a solar system of electrons whirling round a nucleus. Bohr has shown that the characteristic colours of light (the spectrum) emitted when a substance is heated are due to electrons "jumping" from orbit to orbit—as though the planet Mars jumped inwards to share the earth's orbit. Sommerfeld has capped Bohr's discovery by showing that each line of the spectrum really consists of a group of lines, and this "fine-structure" is due to the orbits of the electrons turning in the same way as does the orbit of Mercury.

Nor is this the only success scored by relativity in this field. The relative weight of the nucleus of the hydrogen atom is 1.0077. The nucleus of helium is made up of four hydrogen nuclei, yet its weight is not 4.03, as we should expect, but only 4.00. But the nucleus of helium is believed to be very strong

and stable, so that it has less energy than four free hydrogen nuclei would have. We have already seen that relativity shows how weight and energy depend upon each other. Hence four free hydrogen nuclei have a greater weight, because they have greater energy than four nuclei united in the less energetic, more stable configuration of the helium nucleus.

No account of relativity can be complete, however, without mention of its contribution to our conception of the size of the universe. We cannot picture, [illegible] mathematics can deal with, a "spherical space," which shall be in [illegible] what a circle is in one, or the surface of a sphere in two — continuous, yet of finite size. Since we know from relativity that the curvature of space is produced by the "weight" of matter in it, we can compute the curvature of the universe from our vague knowledge of the amount of matter within it. De Sitter has calculated in this way that the diameter of the universe is about one hundred million million million miles — a figure which adds to our respect for the theory, rather than to our comprehension of the universe.

THE UNCONSCIOUS

In illustration of advance in the science of psychology we venture to take the inquiry into the unconscious or sub-conscious. The drawback is that this is a subject in regard to which great minds certainly do not think alike. But it is a subject at present at the growing-point of science. Our inner life may be compared to a stream, different layers of which flow at different rates. It is sometimes rushing at the surface, surging like a river in flood; at other times it is like a quiet stretch of a stream. But deep down it is moving very slowly on its bed, and these are the depths of the unconscious. On the surface where all is illumined with consciousness, there are sensations and perceptions, emotions and general ideas; we work with these and enforce control; we play with them and enjoy. Recent memories are also stirred and join in the stream, or send contributions which join in the stream. Not far from the surface in many people there are the dominant purposes which rule the life; but these are practically absent in men who are mere drifters not swimmers in the tideway of the world. At a variable distance from the surface there is the under-current of appetites and urges — which sometimes break violently on the surface.

But deep down on the floor of the stream there is what is called the "primary unconscious," the movements of which are normally inaccessible to consciousness. The content of this region, which some personify as a second self, consists (*a*) of inborn general tendencies and sentiments, such as a sympathetic attitude to mankind; (*b*) deep racial memories, some of them, perhaps, pre-human, such as the very widespread shrinking from snakes; (*c*) the influences of early surroundings and doings, which soaked in without our knowing of them; and (*d*) the sex-urge during early years, until in adolescence it is raised to be part of the under-current near the surface, the raising being due to the activity of hormone-producing glands. Such is the general content of the primary unconscious which ought to remain as the slowly moving deep current of our being.

Nearer the surface, yet below the current of appetencies and desires, there is the secondary or Freudian unconscious. It consists of memory-traces and the like which were once in the light of consciousness (or fore-consciousness), but have been sunk down or repressed, because painful to, or out of harmony with, the normal mind. They are kept repressed by barriers of some sort, which are relaxed a little during sleep — and then the prisoners steal out like ghosts and people our dreams. Or the barriers may be relaxed in unusual

conditions such as great excitement, or the hypnotic state, or by special psycho-analytic methods. The result of careful study goes to show that, to an extent not previously realised, our mental life is subject to influences which well up from below the level of the ordinary conscious stream. This is an old idea, but it has been documented, so to speak, by modern work; and there is value in the distinction between the primary and the secondary unconsciousness.

Freud undoubtedly made an important contribution to psychology in the answer he gave to the question: "Why should there be an unconscious?" using the term at present to designate the secondary or Freudian unconscious. His answer was that the unconscious is the product of repression, an unwitting process by which we dismiss painful memories and conflicts, and also wishes whose fulfilment is impossible or undesirable. We suppress the realisation of these impulses and this is followed either by their repression or by their sublimation, the latter meaning that some satisfaction is reached in finding a congruent expression at a higher level. Freud makes much of the idea of a censorship that offers resistance to undesirable elements of the unconscious obtruding themselves into fore-consciousness, and supposes that in dreams the vigilance of the censorship is somewhat relaxed. But this view is vigorously opposed by many, such as the late Dr. Rivers. In psycho-analysis, which is a method for experts and not for amateurs, a carefully thought-out procedure is followed which explores the unconscious and seeks to disclose the nature and origin of some mental worry, and let daylight in. All that we have been able to say in these few paragraphs is but an indication of a vast and intricate subject. Before leaving it, however, we venture to emphasise that many of the influences from the *primary* unconscious are wholesome promptings for which we have reason to be grateful, and that man's crown of gifts is his vivid, controlling, attention-shifting self-consciousness — probably the psychical aspect of his cerebral integration. This is the tribunal before which all promptings from the unconscious — whether primary or secondary — must come for judgment.

HUMAN INSTINCTS

The first quarter of the twentieth century has been marked by a fresh enthusiasm for what might be called the scientific study of man; and, since man is essentially a social organism, this study has had as one of its corollaries a recognition of the necessity for sociology. But scientific inquiry into the life and evolution of societary forms is still very young, and although important work has been done in using the sociological categories, "Folk, Work, Place," which correspond to the biologist's "Organism, Function and Environment," it cannot be said that the sociology of Comte, Spencer, and Le Play has yet undergone a twentieth-century metamorphosis. This is matter for regret, not only because sociology is the crowning science, but also for practical reasons. Just as there can be no true art of medicine without foundations in physiology, so there can be no true politics, either national or international, until there are foundations in sociology, securely laid and skilfully built on.

One of the anthropological and sociological inquiries characteristic of our period has dealt with man's instincts, such as those of self-preservation, of sex, and of kin. They form a fundamental hereditary endowment, in part at least of pre-human origin. Professor W. McDougall recognises the parental or protective instinct, the instinct of combat, the instinct of curiosity, the food-seeking instinct, the instinct of repulsion, the instinct of escape, the

gregarious instinct, the instincts of self-assertion and submission, the mating instinct, the acquisitive instinct, the constructive instinct, and the instinct of appeal — thirteen in all, which he regards as fundamental and functional constituents of human nature. According to some investigators, man is mainly a creature of instinct, who suffers from the illusion that he is acting rationally; according to others man's instincts are negligible and are of little or no importance for adult life. We venture to submit several remarks for consideration.

In speaking of animal behaviour we have given examples of inborn or instinctive capacities for effective action or for going through a whole sequence of actions. A kitten in its second month has its first experience of a mouse, and this pulls the trigger of a pre-arranged activity. It bristles up its hair; it switches its tail; it may hiss, spit, or growl; it unsheathes and sheathes its claws; it suddenly catches the mouse by the back of the neck — the fit and proper place. The movement of the mouse seems suddenly to liberate an inborn capacity, a ready-made trick; but the odour of the mouse also counts, and, as an association is formed, counts increasingly. That there is a mental change as well, we cannot doubt; in a moment the playful kitten is transformed into a beast of prey. If the kitten grows up inexperienced as regards mice, the instinct becomes more and more difficult to evoke; but the point is that the young kitten can kill in the fit and proper way without either experience or imitation.

We have cited this case because it illustrates what most zoölogists mean by instinctive behaviour. There is a precise routine, which is obediently followed. Now it seems to us that there is not much of this sort of thing in man, and that confusion arises by calling two different things by the same name. Man has certain primary "urges" or appetites — hunger and love; he has a number of definite reflexes, such as are illustrated in coughing, sneezing, and jerking away from the painful; he has a number of enregistered capacities, like those of locomotion and uttering sounds; he has many inborn general tendencies towards certain types of reaction, such as running away from danger; but our view is that he has little capacity for instinctive behaviour in the strict sense. We do not deny the importance of the thirteen instinctive constituents of human nature recognised by Professor McDougall, our point is that they do not strictly correspond to what the zoölogist means by instincts. The human "instincts" are mostly blunt-pointed, generalised, and indefinite; they cannot be trusted as guides to conduct. Professor McDougall's definition is a broad one: "We may therefore define 'an instinct' as an innate disposition which determines the organism to perceive (to pay attention to) any object of a certain class, and to experience in its presence a certain emotional excitement and an impulse to action which find expression in a specific mode of behaviour in relation to that object." This definition leaves us free to argue less dogmatically concerning man's instincts.

We must not think of man's inborn general predispositions as remaining detached through the individual life like so many occasionally eruptive volcanoes. They are to be thought of rather as strands which we weave from our earliest years into a fabric along with others of an intellectual and emotional nature. We must not think of them as remaining the same since the days of the cave-dwellers or earlier ancestors. There is no reason to believe that they have not varied like other parts of our constitution. There is no reason to believe that they have not been in some measure humanised in the course of ages. There is apt to be a fallacious biologism in speaking of man as dominated by "the herd instinct." It might be not less scientific to put the thing less crudely and more sympathetically by saying that man has strong gregarious tendencies and social sympathies.

THE CONTROL OF LIFE AND THINGS

We cannot turn from this survey of scientific progress without asking whether there is not an increasing appreciation of what science can do for man. A narrow utilitarianism is obviously dangerous for both science and mankind, but was not Spencer right: "Science is for life; not life for science." And did not Bacon realise the twofold aim of science — namely understanding and control — when he spoke of the purpose of Salomon's House in the *New Atlantis:* "The end of our foundation is the knowledge of causes and the secret motions of things; and the enlarging of the bounds of human empire to the effecting of all things possible."

We know how science has added to man's senses, enabling him to see the pearl in the unopened oyster and locate the bullet buried in the bone. We know how it has enabled him to annihilate distance, so that he can hear from afar the cry of the ship in distress upon the sea or listen at his country fireside to music from a distant town. Science has added the depths of the sea and the heights of the air to man's navigable kingdom. It is an often-told story how science has enabled man to tap one reservoir of energy after another, and to do so with increasing economy. The fixation of atmospheric nitrogen has led to the production of fertilisers which mean more bread. In the realm of organisms, as in the domain of things, science is giving man more control. The progress of the science of heredity has supplied levers which can be used with great practical effect in improving both crops and herds. There have been many victories over disease, which seems, however, to be hydra-headed. The raising of the standard of health is becoming more practicable. In short, no one dare set limits to what science may do for man. But just as good-will without knowledge is apt to be warmth without light, so science without good-will may mean an increase of knowledge that only increases sorrow. When science and good-will join hands with art, we call it progress.

RADIUM, ITS DISCOVERY AND ITS POSSIBILITIES

CHAPTER LXVIII

By Madame Curie

Doctor of Science, Professor of Radiology, who first discovered and isolated the element Radium. Author of *Recherches sur les Substances Radioactives.*

I. THE RADIOACTIVE ELEMENTS

Every cultivated person has heard about radium, either in connection with its importance in science, or because of its use in hospitals for the cure of disease. From the chemical point of view, however, radium is what a chemist calls an *element*, that is to say, a substance which cannot be decomposed into simpler constituents by means of chemical analysis. Chemistry knows more than 80 elements (iron, copper, sulphur, etc.). The special significance of radium in nature is due to its property of emitting rays; because of that, it is called a *radioactive element*, a general name for all substances having this property.

The radioactive elements give out a spontaneous emission of rays, by which they may be detected, and it is precisely by its rays that radium was discovered. The discovery could hardly have been made in any other way, because the proportion of radium in the ores is extremely small, less than one part in two million. There may be in the earth inactive elements, in equally minute proportions, which still remain unknown.

This property of spontaneous radiation, called radioactivity, was discovered by H. Becquerel in 1896, in connection with the element *uranium* and its compounds. If some uranium salt is placed on a photographic plate protected from light by an envelope of black paper, on developing the plate we notice a dark spot, produced by uranium rays. There is another way of testing these rays, by their effect on a charged electroscope; in the absence of rays, a charged gold-leaf electroscope, well insulated, retains its charge for more than a day, but if uranium compounds are placed near it, the charge is gradually lost, the gold leaf moves down, and the speed of its motion gives a measure of the intensity of the rays.

In 1898 it was found (Marie Curie, G. Schmidt) that thorium compounds emit a similar kind of radiation, and it was established by an extensive study of all available material (Marie Curie) that the property of emitting did not belong to any known element or its compounds, except those of uranium and thorium. It appeared also that the radioactivity, measured by the electrical method described below, is an *atomic property* of uranium and thorium, the intensity of the rays for any compound being in proportion to its uranium or thorium content.

II. DISCOVERY OF RADIUM

In extending this study to several minerals, and especially to those of uranium and thorium, I obtained a very unexpected result: These minerals had a stronger radioactivity than could be presumed from the known content

of active elements. I thought therefore that there must be in the minerals some unknown substance far more radioactive than uranium and thorium. Professor Curie and I undertook to find and separate this element by a new chemical method of investigation, in which the analysis is accompanied by electrical measurements of radioactivity for all the products. In this way, we are able to follow the concentration of radioactivity, and this corresponds to the concentration of the new radioactive element. We recognised that there were at least two such elements in the pitchblende (uranium ore) from St. Joachimsthal. We called them *polonium* and *radium* (1898). It took years of hard work to complete the discovery by the isolation of pure radium salts, which requires the treatment of great quantities of ore. This was particularly difficult in the precarious conditions arising from the lack of means, of help, and of a convenient laboratory. In fact, the work was done in a kind of abandoned shed, arranged in the most primitive way, without any suitable chemical equipment. In 1902, I finally succeeded in getting the first decigramme of very pure *radium chloride* and determining the atomic weight (226) of the new element radium. Later, I prepared more of this pure salt, and in 1910 I could also separate the metal radium, which is a very difficult operation.

Other radioactive elements (actinium, mesothorium, ionium, etc.) have been discovered by several scientists, using the same method, but none has yet been obtained in a state of purity. Pure radium has proved itself over a million times stronger as a radioactive than uranium.

III. PRODUCTION OF RADIUM

Because of its important medical use, radium is now produced in factories, out of uranium ores in which it is contained, being, as is now known, a product of atomic transformation of uranium. The maximum proportion of radium in very old minerals of the earth's crust is about 0,3 gramme of radium per ton of uranium. This means little more than 0.1 gramme per ton in very good ores, and much less in most cases. Even ores with a few milligrammes of radium per ton have been utilised. One may easily understand that in these conditions the price of radium is very high (about $50 a milligramme).

A certain quantity of barium is added to the ore to make easier the extraction. The ore is then worked up and the extracted barium carries the radium with it. The barium-radium chloride or bromide is then submitted to fractional crystallisation, and the radium is concentrated in the less soluble fractions. On continuing these operations, pure radium can be obtained.

Radium has been produced in Europe from pitchblende and autunite ores, in the United States from carnotite; it is now manufactured in Belgium from pitchblende from Central Africa. The quantity of radium produced till now in the world is probably more than 100 grammes.

IV. MEASUREMENTS OF RADIUM

The electrical measurements which have served for the discovery of radium are used as well for the control of its manufacture. Radium being generally sold in small quantities, is not measured by its weight, but by the much more sensitive means of its radiation. In order to make the measurement reliable, there has been established an International Standard, consisting of a small glass tube containing a known quantity of pure radium chloride. By comparison with the principle standard, secondary standards

are prepared for the institutions which in different countries are in charge of the measurements (Laboratoire Curie in Paris, Bureau of Standards in U.S.A., etc.).

V. RADIUMTHERAPY

This new therapy is already a very important branch of medicine; it was started in France a few years after the discovery of radium, and is based on the biological effects of the radium rays, very similar to those of X-rays.

There is, however, a difference, because the X-rays which we are able to produce are very inferior in penetrating power to the most penetrating γ rays of radium. The effect of rays is used with success in many kinds of diseases, and especially in the case of cancer. The biological effect of the rays consists in a destruction of cells which have received sufficient doses; experiment has shown that cancer cells are particularly sensitive to this action, and much more easily affected than the skin. It is therefore possible to destroy even a deep-situated tumour without injury to the skin and muscles.

There are now in many countries several important institutions for radiumtherapy, each of them owning a few grammes of radium; this is contained in small tubes used as sources of rays. Some of the radium is also kept in solution, from which the radium emanation is extracted every day. This emanation is a gas resulting from the transformation of radium; it is produced in the solution, extracted from it, sealed up in glass tubes, and used quite in the same way as radium containers. Besides radium, mesothorium can be used, and there are also other radioactive bodies utilised for various new kinds of therapy.

VI. THE RADIOACTIVE TRANSFORMATIONS

The radiation of radium is directly connected with the atomic transformation of this element. Rutherford and Soddy have developed a very remarkable theory of these radioactive transformations.

In opposition to the previous general assumption of chemistry — that the constituent atoms of any element are absolutely immutable — we have to admit that each radioactive element is undergoing a spontaneous change, some of the atoms suffering a kind of explosion and being converted into atoms of a different kind. The transformation is going on according to a law of probability, the chance of explosion of any atom being the same at any time. In conformity with this law, the quantity of the element is decreased by a half in a certain time, which is called the *period* of the element; any radioactive element may be characterised by the value of its period.

For most radioactive elements, the period can be determined by the decrease of the radiation; but, if the decrease is very slow, as for radium, (period about 1,600 years), the period is deduced from the intensity of radiation, in a less direct way.

A matter of considerable interest is the nature of the transformation. Experiment has shown that the breaking-up of the radioactive atoms occurs only in a few definite ways, closely related to the kind of radiation. (1) The atom may expel an α particle, or α ray; this constitutes what we now call a *helium nucleus*, that is, the main part of a helium atom projected with a very high speed (about 20,000 kilometres per second). The particles emitted in this way lose their speed and their charge by collisions with matter, and form neutral helium atoms. These may be collected, so that from a given quantity of radium we may obtain in a given time a minute but definite amount of helium, which is a well-known, rare gas

(160 mm^3 per gramme of radium per year). When the α particle is expelled from an atom, the residue is no longer like the primitive atom, but quite different; thus, the transformation of radium gives, besides helium, another gas, called *radium emanation.* (2) Another kind of transformation consists in the emission of β particles or β rays. A β particle is not of atomic size; it is what we call an electron, that is, an extremely minute body, carrying a negative charge, with a mass more than 1,000 times smaller than a hydrogen atom. The speed of these β rays is even greater than for α rays, and may approach the velocity of light. The residue of the atom, though nearly of the same mass as the primitive atom, is however of a quite different kind.

The emission of β rays is frequently accompanied by an emission of γ rays, electromagnetic vibrations of the same nature as light or X-rays, but of much higher frequency.

The three kinds of rays, α, β, γ, have a very different penetrating power. The α particles, being of the size of atoms, are soon stopped by matter, and can only travel a few centimetres in air at atmospheric pressure; the β rays, being very small electrons, are more penetrating, and have in air a longer range; the greatest penetration belongs to the γ rays: Those of radium are even much more penetrating than X-rays and can not only travel far in air, but through several centimetres of iron or lead; they go easily through the human body, and are used in radiumtherapy.

The breaking up of radioactive atoms can be demonstrated in a very striking way by the individual effect of every α particle on a screen of zinc sulphide. Arriving on the screen with a great velocity, the α ray produces a very small brilliant flash, called a scintillation, like the appearance of a star, disappearing immediately again. These scintillations may be counted, and every one is due to the destruction of one atom.

VII. ORIGIN AND EVOLUTION OF RADIUM

It is easily seen that, by means of radioactive transformation, radioactive elements form families, or chains, where a term is the descendant and the parent of other elements. We shall briefly retrace the history of radium, which is a member of the "uranium-radium" series, being derived from uranium through several intermediate terms; the last of these, and direct parent of radium, is ionium.

When manufactured, radium is free of its ancestors; it is also at first, free of its descendants; these, however, are produced at a definite rate by the progressive transformation of radium. Therefore, if a sealed glass tube contains a gramme of freshly purified radium salt, its contents will be changed with time, and, besides radium, we shall have in the tube some quantity of radium emanation, and of several elements called radium A, radium B, C, D, E, F; there will be also in the tube the helium formed by the α rays, and the last product of the transformation of radium, which is known to be lead. All these products will accumulate very slowly, and, after 10 years, only about ½% of the radium will be transformed into its descendants.

Besides the uranium-radium series, there is a thorium series, beginning at the parent thorium. One of the descendants is mesothorium and the end of the series is again lead. A third series, called actinium series, is supposed to begin at uranium and to end at lead.

The transformation of matter is quite a new fact in the history of chemistry. It is true that at different times attempts have been made to obtain the transformation of elements; for instance the transformation of lead to gold. As is well known, all these attempts have failed; and, even now, the state of

things remains the same, as far as we try to alter the course of the natural radioactive transformations, or to produce, at our choice, new transformations. Most of the now existing atoms have great stability and do not undergo any change; some atoms, the radioactive ones, are subject to a process of evolution, which however is quite independent of our means of action.

VIII. ATOMIC STRUCTURE — ISOTOPES

Our knowledge of the radioactive transformations gives very valuable information about atomic structure. If helium atoms are expelled from radioactive elements like radium, then it is highly probable that the helium atoms belong in some way to the structure of the atom of radium, and are one of its building stones. Electrons, being emitted in the form of β rays, must also be involved in the same structure. Therefore, we are compelled to consider again the old hypothesis of *unity of matter* of Prout. As is well known, the idea has been abandoned because the atomic weights of the elements are not integers, as they ought to be if they were multiples of the same small unit, the atom of hydrogen. This difficulty has been now removed, by establishing that most elements are not really simple, but form a mixture of a few simple bodies with extremely similar chemical properties, so that the chemical analysis does not afford any possibility of separation. Such groups of closely related elements have been found among the radioactive elements; F. Soddy called them *Isotopes*. Thus, radium and mesothorium are isotopes, and cannot be separated by chemical operations; they are however distinct elements, with quite different radioactive properties. It has been shown since that these isotopic groups are by no means limited to radioactive elements. J. J. Thomson has established a new method of measurement of atomic weight, by the electric and magnetic deflection of *positive rays* (that is, of positively charged atoms flying with a very high speed in a vacuum tube); this *analysis of masses*, carried further by Aston, has shown that a few elements are simple (hydrogen, oxygen, carbon, etc.), but that most are groups of isotopes, the simple constituents of each group having entire atomic weights. We are justified in considering that all atoms are formed of helium atoms, hydrogen atoms and electrons. The helium atom itself is formed by the condensation of four hydrogen atoms. This condensation takes place with a very great loss of energy, which explains the (small) diminution of mass of the system.

A very important contribution to our knowledge of the atom is the theory of the *nucleus*, put forward by E. Rutherford, as a consequence of experiments on the dispersion of the α rays of radium in matter. The path of particles through air or through thin metallic sheets is very nearly a straight line; but from time to time α particles suffer very large deflections from that path; this has been explained by admitting that each atom is composed of an extremely small central part called a nucleus carrying a positive charge, surrounded by a distribution of electrons, each electron carrying its negative charge. This structure reminds one of a planetary system; within the limits of the atom the place occupied by material particles is very small, and most of the space is empty.

When an α particle is flying through one of these atoms, it may by chance pass very close to the nucleus, and in this case the repulsion of the positive charge of the nucleus on the positive charge of the particle is able to produce a large deflection of the particle from its primitive path, through a right angle and even more.

The nucleus is the main part of the atom, inasmuch as most of the atomic

properties, and especially the chemical quality, depend only on the nuclear charge. If this is known, the distribution of the external electrons is also determined. According to Bohr's hypothesis, these electrons are rotating around the nucleus in their orbits. Their number is equal to the number of units of positive charge in the nucleus, which is called the atomic number, increasing from 1 (hydrogen) to 92 (uranium). A superficial electron can be removed from the atom quite easily by the action of light or another agent; even a deep-situated electron, close to the nucleus, may be removed, by the more effective action of X-rays. In these cases the atom does not suffer an essential transformation, and the lost electrons may be regained; it is only a change in the nucleus that may result in a true atomic transformation, like those known for radioactive bodies. It seems also that a very strong bombardment with α rays of the greatest speed is effective in provoking the destruction of some light atoms (nitrogen, phosphorus, aluminium), as is shown by the experiments of E. Rutherford.

Groups of isotopes are characterised by the same nuclear charge, while the mass and the structure of the nucleus may be different. But as the external electronic distribution is the same, the chemical quality of the atom is identical. It is to the nucleus that we have to apply the previous remarks on the participation of hydrogen and helium atoms in the general atomic structure. More exactly, any atomic nucleus is composed of hydrogen nuclei called *protons,* helium nuclei, and intranuclear electrons.

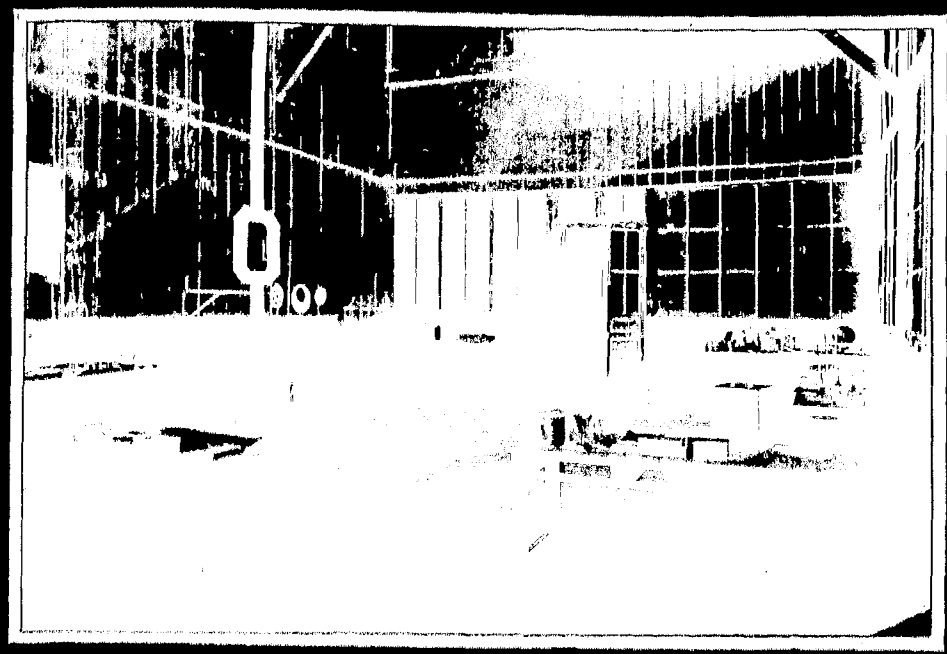
IX. INTRA-ATOMIC ENERGY

The atoms are in general very stable structures, not affected in any way by any action of ours; this makes us believe that to cause an atomic change requires a very great quantity of energy. Indeed the study of spontaneous radioactive transformations has shown that in its transformation the atom may release energy in the form of heat; so that the temperature of radium is always above that of the surroundings. The complete transformation of a gramme of radium into lead, produces about 100,000 times more energy than the combustion of one gramme of hydrogen. This shows that large quantities of energy are stored up in atomic nuclei, where there are, we must also admit, very strong electric forces acting between the parts of a nucleus.

Even if radium is very rare, minute quantities of it are present all over the earth's crust, and the heat thus liberated is possibly more than sufficient to make up for the natural rate of cooling, so that the temperature of the earth might be rising very slowly instead of decreasing, as is generally believed.

X. CONCLUSION

We see how much we owe to the study of radium and radioactivity. Besides the great benefit to mankind in relief to human suffering, this new knowledge is properly the science of atomic structure. By it, we have learned that some atoms can undergo transformations, and what this transformation is; moreover, we have learned that any atom is composed of a nucleus and of electrons, and the nucleus itself of a few kinds of well-known elements of small atomic weight. When a nucleus breaks up, the news of this atomic event comes to us through the emission of rays, reminding us of the hidden internal energy of this recently perceived world, which is but now opening to our understanding.



The interior of Madame Curie's old laboratory in Paris, where the scientific experiments were made that led to the discovery of radium.

The discovery of radium was made under the most adverse circumstances. "The work was done," says Madame Curie, "in a kind of abandoned shed, arranged in the most primitive way, without any suitable chemical equipment." Above: the exterior of the laboratory.

Photographs by courtesy of Madame Curie

CHAPTER LXIX

INDUSTRY AND INVENTION

By Harrison E. Howe, M.S.

Editor of *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry*, published by the American Chemical Society. Formerly Chairman of the Division of Research Extension, National Research Council. Author of *The New Stone Age.*

It was Hough who said that "The past is a bank in which unlimited numbers of ideas have been deposited to our credit," and in considering what has been accomplished in applied science in the years of the present century, it seems safe to say that at no other time has the race drawn so extensively upon this deposit. Indeed so rapidly has this been going on that Dr. Nichols, in his inaugural address at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, called attention to the immediate necessity of concentrating upon that type of fundamental work which would make it possible to strike a balance between the income and outgo of the information upon which progress depends. The people of this century have profited in a cumulative and amazing manner from what was done earlier. It must therefore be borne in mind, in listing the more important advances of recent years, that the foundation upon which these are built goes back many years, and in practically every instance rests upon some discovery or the establishment of some theory which, at the moment, seemed completely removed from any possible practical industrial or commercial application.

CHANGED ATTITUDE OF INDUSTRY TOWARD RESEARCH

Among the outstanding advances must be noted the gradual change in the attitude of industry itself toward both pure and applied research, the extensive cultivation of the borderlines between the natural sciences, and the development of new postulates and theories which have put new tools in the hands of industry. The increased number of working laboratories in all the industrial countries of the world has been marked. It is true that in some cases such laboratories merely exercise control over raw materials or do a certain amount of routine testing of finished products, but this is a step in the right direction; and, given proper supervision, such laboratories become new centres of experimental research, for common experience shows early in their career many questions are asked which cannot be answered from past experience nor supplied by laboratory references. Original investigation must be undertaken. This usually leads to the strengthening of the scientific staff, and men of greater training and experience thus find their way into applied science, so that in addition to a large number of scientific laboratories there has been a gradual elevation in the grade of men and women employed in them.

COÖPERATION OF INDUSTRY AND EDUCATION

Another encouraging sign has been the extension of cordial relations between the industries and the educational institutions, large sums having been provided not only to strengthen the professorial staffs of the latter, but to equip research, developmental and semi-works-scale laboratories and provide for long series of basic investigations. Some firms have made it a consistent practice to endow substantially fellowships to be awarded to the men who seemed best qualified and have the most pronounced determination to pursue a scientific career. Freedom in the choice of subjects, in publication and even in the place where the work will go forward, has given free rein and great encouragement to students of marked ability. Another group of fellowships includes those on specific subjects at definite locations but without hindrance as to publication. In still other places fellowships have been endowed for the purpose of developing men or research for particular industries. There are variations of all these methods, but the gain is great in pushing further the boundaries of knowledge and in supplying an increased number of trained personnel which is of course vital.

HELP FROM NATIONAL GOVERNMENTS

While some trade associations made research one of their principal activities even before the World War, it is to that conflict that we owe much as a stimulant in encouragement of scientific work. Great Britain and her dominions have taken the lead in providing Government aid in encouraging the formation of trade associations for the pursuit of science. An initial grant of a million pounds to be appropriated over five years, pound for pound with funds from associations to establish research centres, is about to be renewed for another limited period. Already some of these associations have made valuable contributions, though some have been disappointing. That competitors can associate together to advantage in attacking a problem of common interest is a new idea in commerce, and failure to accept it has been responsible for some of the delay in obtaining that whole-hearted coöperation which is essential to association work. It will be some time yet before industry comes to realise that the advantage of an individual firm lies in the ability of its own staff to apply such results as are obtained through the association, and that nothing can be lost in joining forces upon some problems, the adequate solution of which calls for the expenditure of time and funds which few individual firms feel justified in meeting.

In the United States more than forty trade associations now have research upon their programme, some of them making it their principal activity. The methods of financing such activities and of carrying them on differ widely. Some associations engage the services of consultants for a definite problem. Some maintain fellowships. Some prefer to establish their own research centres and institutes, while the more experienced avail themselves of all these different methods and provide budgets of hundreds of thousands of dollars for the purpose.

COÖPERATION IN THE BAKING BUSINESS

A recent association activity affords an excellent example of what such work may mean. Baking is perhaps one of the oldest industries, but it is only recently that the potentialities of science have been realised by the

bakers, following the marked success of one of their number who had the resources and courage to go thoroughly into the matter. Of the thousands of bakers in America, but a very small fraction would find it possible to support research in continuity on a basis sufficiently broad to insure reasonable success. Yet in the American Bakers Association all can bear some part of the cost and benefit from the results obtained through an institute which strives to provide a service on production problems, to study the fundamentals underlying baking, and to afford facilities for the special training of those either in or about to engage in the baking industry.

The part which laboratories supported by Government appropriation have played in the assistance of industry has grown rapidly since 1900. Governments generally have set up elaborate plants to undertake problems essential to industry but not ordinarily engaging their concentrated attention, and more recently have organised advisory committees from within these industries to guide them in the selection of research problems, to assist in the interpretation of results, and frequently to place at the disposal of Government specialists plant records and facilities of greatest value. The Fuel Research Board of Great Britain furnishes a special example of impetus to investigation growing out of the war. The laboratory of the Department of Mines in Canada is another illustration of a remarkably complete unit established as an aid to industry. The laboratories of the Bureau of Mines, the Department of Agriculture, and the Bureau of Standards of the Department of Commerce may be selected from the several activities of the United States Government. Industries have even been offered the opportunity of placing holders of fellowships within these laboratories to work under the direction of those in charge and to have the great advantage of the extensive equipment and direction of men devoted to scientific work in prosecuting their own special studies. Publication privileges rest with the laboratory.

VALUE OF PURE SCIENCE

Another encouraging sign of the present century is the number of industrial establishments which have found it possible to support that type of research which the scientist calls pure science. This is seeking truth for its own sake and without an immediate consideration of monetary return upon the investment. It is in this type of work that stockholders in the past have found the least interest, and even to-day there are too many who insist upon seeing two dollars coming back for every dollar which goes into the research budget. The experience of the past is entirely against this attitude, and one might quote numerous examples to show the practical earning-power of large numbers of purely scientific researches. It is true that in some instances 75 years or even more time has elapsed between the initial discovery and its successful commercial utilisation; but certain it is that unless this type of work is supported more generously, the present generation will not only suffer but be properly charged with neglect of its duty to posterity. Often the unexpected happens, and the pure scientist discovers some new truth which finds immediate application. A classic example in our own time is the work of Irving Langmuir, who became interested in the conductivity of inert gases, only to find that the presence of such gases in the incandescent electric-light bulb made possible a much greater efficiency than could be attained with even the most carefully evacuated bulbs. The result has been an efficiency in electric lighting at least twice or perhaps three times as great as that achieved but a few years ago.

The cultivation of borderlands between the sciences has given new com-

binations of effort, producing new sciences or at any rate new divisions of old sciences, which have come to occupy the centre of the stage in this century. Physical chemistry, biophysics, biochemistry, are examples of what is meant. There has been an adaptation of methods and apparatus of one science by another; when advantageous, the theories of one group have been applied to the problems of another. There has been attracted to one common problem the best minds among several sciences, as illustrated by the present interest of both physicist and chemist in atomic structure. It is to physical chemistry that many industrial advances owe their existence. Such subjects as heat transfer, the flow of liquids through pipes, the behaviour of substances now known as colloids, all have a great industrial significance. Many believe that in biochemistry there lies the greatest prospects for the work of the future.

The importance of new theories cannot be overestimated. Whereas industrialists began by being interested in analysis and control, they have found need for new knowledge to answer the eternal question "why"; and this always goes back to the constitution of matter and the fundamentals of the behaviour of elements and compounds under all conditions, and to atomic structure which is behind the riddle of the universe. The advance of such important industries as those devoted to the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen depends to a large degree upon perfecting our knowledge of atomic structure, and this is equally true in many other industries. Studies of hydrogen ion concentration and the electron have not only furnished explanations for phenomena but have made possible the evolution of new processes, the construction of new apparatus, and the accomplishment of new wonders.

Without any effort to call attention to all the accomplishments of applied science in this century in the order of their importance, the author will in this chapter indicate a few which seem to have an unusual bearing upon present day civilisation.

Catalysis has been responsible for a number of new triumphs. It is a term used to describe the effect of small quantities or traces of materials in promoting chemical reactions, in general for the purpose of speeding production to the point where a process becomes attractive commercially. Thus the proportion of ammonia which forms from hydrogen and nitrogen at atmospheric pressure and at ordinary temperatures is extremely small, and with an increase in temperature without an increase in pressure is still less. The fact that equilibrium conditions become less favourable with a rise of temperature and that at the same time a high temperature appears necessary in order to give a rapid rate of reaction, has led some scientists to believe that the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen by a synthetic process could not be achieved. Notwithstanding this, Professor Haber undertook research to discover a catalyst or contact agent which would cause hydrogen and nitrogen to combine rapidly at a reasonably low temperature, and to design commercial apparatus in which high pressures might be employed. The industry supporting this research had previously found the contact process of manufacturing sulphuric acid to be of the greatest benefit in the synthesis of indigo, and supported the researches of Haber on a scale which permitted him to achieve success.

EXTRACTING NITROGEN FROM THE AIR

A number of processes for the fixation of atmospheric nitrogen have been suggested and actually employed in recent years. The oxidation of atmospheric nitrogen by the electric arc, the production of cyanamide from calcium

carbide, and the direct synthetic ammonia process are those which have survived. All are associated with the present century. The first arc process was installed in 1902–1904 at Niagara Falls, but has found its home in Norway, due to the low cost there of hydro-electric power. The first commercial cyanamide plant was operated in 1906, but by 1913 there were about fifteen plants operating in nine countries and having an estimated capacity of 300,000 metric tons of crude calcium cyanamide or lime nitrogen. The war caused an enormous expansion in this industry, and at the end of the war there were 35 cyanamide plants located in Germany, Austria, France, Scandinavia, Italy, Switzerland, Japan, Canada and the United States. The cyanamide process at the present time is in a comparatively high state of development, and a further reduction in the cost of fixed nitrogen is not to be expected from this quarter. The synthetic process dates from 1910 and its future would seem to depend upon the development of efficient catalysts robust enough to give long service, and upon sources of cheaper hydrogen. This process has been developed on a wonderful scale in Germany, and there has been expended upon it in the United States in an experimental way approximately $25,000,000.

The recent estimates of English specialists, who have themselves devoted much time and money to the process, indicate that Germany now has an annual capacity by this method of 500,000 tons of fixed nitrogen. The hydrogen required for the process may be manufactured by injecting steam into a furnace containing red-hot coke, mixing the gases produced with a large excess of steam, and passing them over a contact agent, thereby converting the carbon monoxide present in the hydrogen into carbon dioxide. This may then be removed from the gases by scrubbing with cold water at a pressure of from thirty to fifty atmospheres. This accounts for nearly 70 per cent of the total cost of operating a direct synthetic ammonia plant, 20 per cent of this being the cost of the manufacture of hydrogen and the other 50 per cent the cost of its purification. Since traces of carbon monoxide, carbon dioxide and moisture are largely responsible for the so-called poisoning of the catalyst, their complete removal is sought.

Work in recent years has been diverted toward using electrolytic hydrogen, the additional cost of producing the gas by this method being offset by the lower cost of purification, and the utilisation of waste hydrogen obtained in the electrolytic manufacture of oxygen, caustic alkali and the like. More recently it has been suggested that hydro-electric power plants, having off-peak capacity not now utilised, would find it profitable to install electrolytic cells and produce hydrogen for synthetic ammonia, utilising small units perhaps working at pressures higher than those originally employed. Another recent development has been the perfection of apparatus to withstand pressure up to one thousand atmospheres, with which increased efficiency is obtained, lower temperatures found possible, and the removal of the anhydrous ammonia, formed in the process, facilitated. The process used in America operates at approximately one hundred atmospheres. The original German process operated at two hundred, the Italian (Casale) at from three to six hundred, and the French (Claude) at from six hundred to one thousand atmospheres.

Because of the place which fixed nitrates occupy in agriculture, industry and national defence, the achievements to which brief reference has thus been made may well rank high in what applied science and engineering have so far accomplished in the twentieth century.

Based on the research of Sabatier in France, another catalytic process has been brought to commercial fruition, namely, the hydrogenation of oils to form hard fats. An adequate supply of fats suitable for food has always

been a prime consideration, and as long ago as the Napoleonic wars was such a factor that the first oleomargarine was developed as an answer to a military blockade. It is now known that the difference between the molecules of liquid fats and oils and the hard fats of the lard type is two or more atoms of hydrogen. By using compounds of nickel or nickel itself as a catalyst and bringing sprays of vegetable oils at controlled temperatures into counter-current contact with hydrogen, it has been found possible to introduce the necessary hydrogen atoms into the oil molecule in a way to produce a hard fat suitable for human food or to improve extremely low-grade oils to fit them for technical uses. The fact that a single manufacturer sold sixty million pounds of this hard fat for food in 1922 is sufficient evidence of the success of this work. The same methods are being successfully applied to the refining of other oils, and still other uses may be in prospect.

INCREASE IN MEANS OF COMMUNICATION

It was Macaulay who ranked communication among the greater factors in civilisation. And surely no time has seen such advance in this art as has the twentieth century. The results we enjoy are due to the combined efforts of physicists and chemists and engineers who have gone to all quarters of the world for the necessary raw materials to build devices which are well-nigh uncanny. Devices to repeat wave lengths on long distance telephonic communication and to balance lines by bringing in from storage batteries energy to replace losses in the circuits, together with improvements in insulation in cables, and the many other key devices in the telephone art have made wired communications entirely satisfactory over thousands of miles, regardless of weather conditions. The discovery of how electrons may be employed in vacuum tubes to control waves of energy brought in from storage batteries has resulted in amplification upon which most that we have in radio depends. The perfection of thin paper satisfactory for insulating wires in cables has greatly increased the number of messages which one cable can carry, and has played a vital part in so reducing the capital necessarily invested as to keep our telephone bills within a moderate sum.

A SAVING OF $1,500,000,000 A YEAR IN A SINGLE COUNTRY

Artificial light is so typically a part of our modern civilisation that any advances in that field are of unusual importance. Reference has been made to the fundamental work underlying the modern incandescent light, but there was required in addition to such inert gases as nitrogen and argon, a ductile metallic filament of great strength and high melting point, obtained after exhaustive development work from tungsten — the most difficult of all metals to melt and to work. A substitute for expensive platinum lead-in wires has been found in an ingenious wire composed of two parts, one acting as a sheath for the other. This sheath possesses the same coefficient of expansion as the glass in which it must necessarily be fused. The highest price ever paid for a non-patented device was paid for this lead-in wire. Since figures sometimes make the most lasting impression, it may be said that had the illumination of 1922 been secured with the best types of lamps available in 1892, the lighting bill of the United States would not have been the $500,000,000 it was, but $2,000,000,000. To applied science and to the fundamental research upon which it is based may be credited in this single instance an annual saving to the consuming public of $1,500,000,000.

A SAVING OF 100,000,000 BARRELS OF OIL YEARLY

The rapid expansion of the automobile industry which rests on science in every particular has brought into international prominence the subject of adequate liquid fuels, and particularly petroleum resources. The petroleum industry has not yet fully utilised science in all its problems, but in the cracking of oils we have a process which makes possible the present internal-combustion motor. Prior to 1910 the average yield of naphtha or gasoline products from crude oil in the United States was only eleven per cent, which is the amount of products of the standard required in 1910 ordinarily present in crude petroleum. Their separation was obtained by the comparatively simple process of distillation at ordinary pressures, and indeed at that time the demand was met by this simple procedure. By the use of higher temperatures and higher pressures the more complex molecules in crude oil are cracked or split up, greatly increasing the yield of fractions satisfactory for internal combustion motors to 50 to 65 per cent of the crude petroleum. Assuming 20 per cent of gasoline as the normal average yield from crude oil, there is thus conserved for future consumption an amount of oil easily equal to more than 100,000,000 barrels per year. The recovery of gasoline vapours in so-called casinghead gas or natural gas yields 475,000,000 gallons of gasoline by methods of compression or absorption in oils with subsequent distillation. The latest process involves absorption in some types of absorptive carbon — one of the developments of the war period.

Any research which gives promise of increasing motor spirit yields from crude oil deserves the greatest encouragement, not so much because no other fuel seems possible for such engines, as because thus far we have been unable to discover oils as satisfactory for lubrication as those derived from petroleum. Many deplore present-day methods of burning crude oil for fuel, recognising that even the hydro-electric power plant, one of the most efficient substitutes for coal, cannot be operated without a continuous supply of high-grade lubricants prepared from petroleum in quantity. Research must also consider petroleum as a chemical raw material and already products such as isopropyl alcohol are being prepared on a commercial scale for use in products where such a solvent is required and alcohols of the intoxicating variety are not wanted.

THE NEW MERCURY BOILERS

Another power factor has been the steam turbine with which efficiency in the conversion of the chemical energy of coal into electrical energy has been greatly increased. Such high-speed steam turbines have been a decided factor in lowering the cost of electrical energy, and boilers working at unheard-of pressures and high temperatures are now well through the experimental stage. It has been known that increased pressures and temperatures in steam boilers would increase efficiency, but there have been structural difficulties to be overcome. As this is being written the first of the mercury boilers is being put into commission, ways having been devised to make safe the operation of a power plant with mercury vapour and to protect the workmen against the highly poisonous element. Experiments have also been conducted with sulphur vapour for the same purpose, the theory being that such vapours which involve temperatures much higher than superheated steam, will give an increase in power efficiency which will easily justify the costs of installation. The hot vapours after driving a turbine are condensed, yielding their heat to water, thus generating steam.

They act as heat conveyors and at the same time deliver energy to the turbine.

THE ABSURD OF YESTERDAY THE PROBABLE OF TO-DAY

Power transmission becomes increasingly important with the development either of hydro-electric power or superpower plants at the mines with a consequent saving in the transportation of coal and the removal of ashes. The problems of insulation and power leakages have been overcome gradually but persistently until power lines carrying 200,000 volts are not unique. Experiments have been conducted successfully with 500,000 volts, and at any time we may expect an announcement that million-volt lines are possible, although but four or five years ago the idea was branded as absurd. The difficulties to be overcome may be illustrated by reference to lightning, which becomes an unusual menace with an increase in the voltage of transmission lines. It is for the purpose of understanding the phenomenon of lightning and its behaviour that experiments in artificial lightning have been conducted within the past year or two. Power transmission also involves the study of alloys, perfection of ceramics for insulation purposes, and a succession of similar researches on the raw materials and manufactured parts assembled for the whole.

THE WONDERS OF THE COAL-TAR INDUSTRY

The chemist points with great pride to the development of the synthetic organic chemical industry in the present century. The subject has held the attention of scientists since Perkin's discovery of mauve, the first coal-tar dye, but it required the World War to reawaken an interest on the part of many nations in developing this industry within their own borders. Because of the methods of those in control, the establishment of such an industry in Italy, France, Great Britain, Switzerland, the United States and elsewhere has involved intensive research on a scale that has required millions in money and has necessitated the concurrent development of large-scale manufacturing apparatus which in some cases has been a problem of no less difficulty than the perfection of the product itself. One after another there have been announced pharmaceuticals and medicines of unusual potency, synthetic flavours entirely permissible under the strictest pure-food and drug acts, scents that closely duplicate the finest produced from flowers, insecticides, fungicides, photographic chemicals, and dyes, until no one dares say that what may be foretold in this field is impossible. In colours we have not been content with an unusual range which goes far beyond anything found in nature, but have perfected brilliant colours which resist bleaching agents, light, and the chemical reactions typical of laundry practice. Research continues looking toward still better colours, simplified methods of application, and ways for developing or altering those on or in the fibre to produce the unusual effects constantly demanded by fashion.

SILK FROM WOOD PULP AND COTTON

Even new materials have been produced. The demand for silk at a price less than that for the natural material has built up in France, England, Switzerland, America and elsewhere great artificial-silk plants with products running into many millions of pounds annually. The fibre looks like silk and answers the purpose of silk for a host of uses; yet all is made from wood

pulp or other cellulose such as cotton. It is interesting to speculate upon the future, for even now chemicals required to produce a pound of artificial silk cost no more than a pound of crude cotton, and the day may come when artificial silk, which should be given a characteristic name of its own, may substitute for some cotton fabrics as well as those of the more expensive natural silk fibre.

A NEW STRUCTURAL MATERIAL

It is rarely that a new structural material is made available, but synthetic resins, condensation products of the aldehydes with phenol, have been produced in this century. Their application is most varied, being used in liquid form for lacquers, in powdered form for moulding with or without metal parts, and in solid form as an amber-like dielectric material from which shapes may be fashioned on lathe and drill press. In this connection should be mentioned a new raw material for resin manufacture, furfural, now made from such agricultural by-products as oat hulls and corncobs. This aldehyde, besides substituting for formaldehyde made from methanol, a product of wood distillation, has possibilities as a solvent, insecticide, fungicide, and other purposes which are important in view of the fast-diminishing hard wood supply.

HELP FROM SCIENCE IN THE PLANT WORLD

Since 1900 marked improvement has been made in insecticides and fungicides, particularly the arsenates of calcium and lead, the use of sprays of the Bordeaux and lime-sulphur types, and more recently the application of fine dusts in our continual fight against those tiny enemies which would deprive us of our harvests. Three of the new factors in this development are the airplane for the distribution of poisons over such large areas as forests which are threatened with extinction, the use of hydrocyanic acid gas for the treatment of an entire tree under a tent moved with the aid of a captive balloon, and the difficult problem of so altering the chemical characteristics of insecticides as to cause them to adhere to even glossy leaves under all weather conditions. The ease with which most materials are removed from plants by rain is a large factor in controlling such pests as the cotton boll weevil, for in rainy seasons the cost of applying sufficient material effectively to control the pest may become almost prohibitive. The discovery that the electric charge on leaves is negative and that that of the ordinary lead arsenate is also negative, caused experiments to be made to find whether arsenate with a positive charge might not be made and thus be attracted rather than repelled by the leaf and thereby held in place. With large-scale experiments this has proved to be the case, and the poison has adhered notwithstanding frequent rains or experimental tap washing for hours continuously.

In the plant world the biologists have made great progress in developing disease-resisting types and hybrids which in the case of a fruit or nut tree yield products more desired than the natural ones, or come into bearing in a fraction of the time which nature originally intended. There is still a great field in which to labour in learning more of the plant diseases which destroy plants or their fruits and which are responsible for great losses of material in transit or in storage. Here and there the unusual has been accomplished in reducing labour incident to crop production. For example, in Hawaii the experiment to utilise paper, made from waste bagasse, over the rows to discourage weeds and minimise hoeing has proved successful. The cane shoots

showed their ability to puncture a specially prepared paper which serves as an effective blanket to prevent the growth of soft-topped weeds. A reduction in cost of crop and increase in yield of sugar have been the happy results.

PROGRESS IN THE METAL INDUSTRY

The failure of structural steel under stress and load has long given concern. Cables have snapped apparently without immediate cause, bridge members have given away, and defective rails have caused wrecks. It is encouraging therefore to note progress made in the use of powerful X-ray equipment to discover the hidden imperfections in steels (late experiments disclosing blow holes), including non-metallic impurities, slag, and the like. Sheets up to three inches in thickness may be penetrated by 200,000 volts, and irregular shapes may be immersed for observation in a bath of methylene iodide the absorptive power of which may be adjusted with benzene. Such examination does not destroy the different pieces and may soon be applicable to steel products on a large scale. There has also been carried on extensive research regarding the fatigue of metals subjected to repeated alternate stresses, and much that can be applied practically has been discovered. Likewise the fundamental causes of corrosion, estimated to cost hundreds of millions of dollars annually for metal replacements, are now under the most careful study. This century has seen a considerable number of alloys resistant to corrosion, developed and made available, and marked success of methods for arresting or preventing corrosion in such closed systems as water and steam. The removal of oxygen and other gases by chemical or mechanical means from the water in such closed systems has been entirely effective.

RESEARCH AND IMPROVEMENTS IN RUBBER

Rubber, another product of international importance, has received the attention of many scientists since 1900. To be exact, most of our present improvements have been due to research in the last ten or twelve years. The design of tires for vehicles, the compounding of treads to meet severe requirements, improvement in vulcanisation, and within the last year or two in the rubber itself, all stand out as worthy of note. The utilisation of organic chemical compounds to accelerate vulcanisation has decreased the time required for this operation from some two and a half hours to thirty minutes, with a corresponding saving in plant equipment and production costs. There have been many hazards to the health of personnel involved in manufacture, but safety has been secured with results in product that are gratifying. The use of carbon black marked another progressive step in the compounding of rubber, although specialists are not yet agreed as to the part actually played by this absorptive material present in an exceedingly fine state of subdivision. Zinc oxide, produced by a new method, now contends for first place, its proponents arguing that physical state is more important than chemical composition in its effect upon the rubber compound.

Another group of researchers concluded that the variation in rubber quality was in a measure due to the state of the proteins, sugars, etc., in the rubber latex at the time it was coagulated at the rubber plantations. It was subsequently found that a protein was present as a protective colloid, that its decomposition could be prevented by ammonia, and that the latex could be preserved without change by the use of this chemical. Large quantities of latex preserved in this manner are now being dried by a new spray process, giving rubber which seems to possess distinctive characteristics which

may make possible new applications or more satisfactory service along established lines. The rubber latex itself answers admirably as a rubber cement, with a direct saving of thousands of gallons of solvents heretofore required for that purpose. It is being used in paper manufacture, as a sizing and as a protective coating. Its future applications promise to be both extensive and varied.

The war brought direct attention to various forms of carbon and the discovery that some of these were highly absorptive, especially when activated. Such carbons now find their place as clarifiers and absorbers of colour in such materials as sugar, sirups, oils and many other liquids. They are also used in the purification of gases, in selective absorption as in the recovery of gasoline vapour from natural gas, and in peace-time uses of gas masks used effectively in industries, some mining operations, by fire fighters, etc., for complete protection against unsuspected gas heretofore responsible for many casualties.

SCIENTIFIC ADVANCES IN MEDICINE

In chemical therapy the century has thus far been rich in results. The synthesis of materials like thyroxylin and adrenalin are typical. The ability of the scientist to reproduce in the laboratory the active principles of drugs and remedies found in nature have made possible conquests against dreaded diseases, non-habit-forming narcotics, local anaesthetics, materials which like luminol are invaluable in allaying epilepsy, and the start that has been made in glandular products signalised by the discovery and commercial development of insulin, so efficient in the case of diabetes. The place so long held by ether, chloroform, and nitrous oxide is being threatened by the compound ethylene, which appears to have the advantages and few of the disadvantages of the older anaesthetics.

The laboratory has sought out the active principle of chaulmoogra oil, and the resulting soluble salt may be injected in doses sufficient to appear to bring leprosy under apparent control. Methods for introducing such poisons as mercury and arsenic into the body to destroy a bacterial invasion without affecting the host are truly marvellous. The studies of metabolism and nutrition, an understanding of the part played by such food accessories as the vitamins, recognition of differences in the way proteins break down in the digestive tract, and the preparation of synthetic fats and foods for particular purposes, where food has a direct relation to disease, are all fruits of the twentieth century. For further particulars in this department of knowledge, see Chapter LXXII.

ABSOLUTE ALCOHOL NOW MADE ON A LARGE SCALE

The fact has been established that ethyl alcohol for various purposes usually prepared from grain or molasses can be made commercially from waste wood and from other types of cellulose by the conversion of this cellulose into a fermentable sugar by the use of acids, fermenting this sugar, and distilling the alcohol in the usual manner. While in most localities this process cannot be used because of the scarcity of raw materials, research has been continued looking toward the increase in production of sugar from the cellulose, and later a complete conversion of the sugar into alcohol by specially developed ferments. Many see in such alcohol, to be made from tropical plants, a partial solution of our future fuel problem. Excellent progress is also being made in the preparation of alcohol from waste sulphite liquors incident to paper pulp manufacture. Successful experiments on a large scale

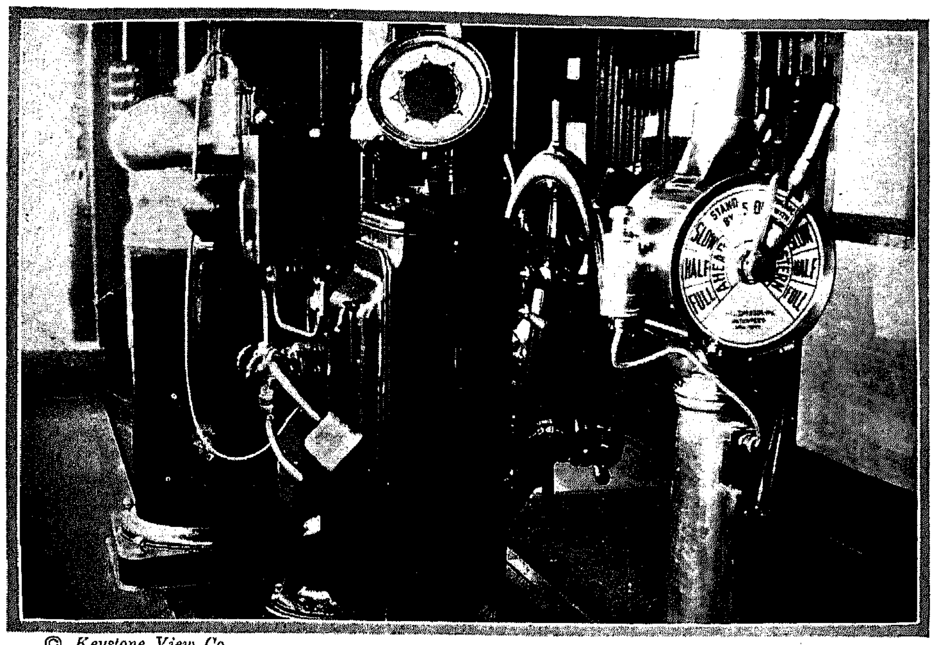
have been made with mixtures of gasoline and alcohol in motors, and it seems clear that if motors were designed with special reference to the use of a fuel of this sort, results would be in every way satisfactory. As it is, mixtures of 80 per cent gasoline with 20 per cent absolute or dehydrated ethyl alcohol give not only clean motors even with existing types of automobiles, but increased mileage, power and flexibility. Earlier experiments showed that the ethyl alcohol of commerce is not satisfactory because it would not blend with gasoline in the absence of some blending agent, and at times the oxidation was incomplete, giving end-products which were deleterious to the motor. The unheard-of thing of manufacturing dehydrated or absolute alcohol on a great commercial scale has been accomplished. This material mixes without difficulty in all proportions and is an important step in this development. Another important product of ethyl alcohol is ethyl acetate, widely used in the production of artificial leather. Until recently this has been made by an intermittent process, but now by a continuous process. The ethylene to which reference has been made is another one of this group developed within the last few years.

At one time during the war there was a shortage of materials required to make that non-inflammable cellulose compound used on airplane wings and known as "dope." Up to that time the glacial acetic acid or acetic anhydride required were derived from calcium acetate, a product of the distillation of hard wood. It seemed too much to expect the ordinary sources would meet the emergency, so in Canada a method was devised for producing these acetic compounds by a catalytic method, from acetylene derived from calcium carbide. With the cessation of hostilities the demand for this compound has fallen off, but the research organisation responsible for the wartime work has succeeded in developing methods for producing carbon black, essential in the ink and rubber industries, from acetylene. Carbon black has ordinarily been made from natural gas with an exceedingly regrettable waste, the efficiency being around two per cent. This has led some states to take action prohibiting the use of large quantities of gas for this purpose. And while it may become largely a matter of economics, the work to which we refer is worthy of special note.

The use of acetylene with oxygen for the production of an intensely hot flame easily controlled has not only provided an especially valuable agent for welding, but a method of cutting metals applicable where buildings are being torn down or wrecked machinery removed, and also in cutting parts in machinery production. Huge parts of machinery which could not be cut from bars or blocks by ordinary methods nor cast, are effectively cut to size and shape with the fine, intensely hot oxyacetylene flame.

NEW WONDERS IN GLASS

The automatic machinery so typical of American industry in general has continued to be developed and its application extended into new fields. Those who are familiar with methods of glass blowing and moulding have found it difficult to believe that so much could be done by mechanical means. The production of glass tubing affords an example. The old practice was for two highly skilled workmen to produce long lengths of tubing by the laborious method of blowing, turning and pulling in long hallways, the resulting piece being afterward cut into metre lengths and selected for maximum uniformity in diameter and thickness of walls. It was sometimes necessary to soften these lengths for purposes of straightening, and sometimes they were shipped in a slightly curved condition. To-day tubing is made literally by the



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The Gyro Compass, invented by Mr. Elmer S. Sperry, which can steer a ship in the correct course without any human agency directing it.

© *Keystone View Co.*

Three leaders in industrial progress: Mr. Elmer S. Sperry, Mr. Herbert Hoover, U. S. Secretary of Commerce, and Mr. Charles M. Schwab, chairman of the Bethlehem Steel Co.

mile entirely by machine; the glass flows from a tank around a pipe through which compressed air blows, and the diameter as well as thickness of wall is regulated by the viscosity of the batch, the rate at which it is allowed to flow, the air pressure maintained, and the velocity with which the machine pulls the cooling tube from the furnace. Such tubes have a diameter accurate to within a half-millimetre, and walls uniform within two-tenths of a millimetre. Day and night the tube is pulled out to be sawed into predetermined lengths by a machine which does the pulling, and if rods are wanted rather than tubes it is merely a question of turning off the air. Practically all the incandescent-light bulbs are now blown automatically by machine. And the last few years have seen such improvements in the quality of the glass as regards strength and toughness that breakage has been reduced to a minimum and the shipment of blanks may be undertaken without any packing material whatever. Machines also produce milk-bottles at such low cost that breakage about the plant means so little as to be given no attention. More lately a device has been perfected for gathering glass, moulding into delicate water tumblers, finishing the edges, and delivering them through an annealer to be packed, at the rate of 20,000 per day. Four such machines are in operation in a single factory in America. For some time a machine has been operated which draws a cylinder of glass to be cut and formed into window-glass. We are soon to have another type of window-glass machine with which it is expected sheets may be made directly from the molten mass.

Two accomplishments in this field are machines for the actual assemblage of the delicate parts comprising an incandescent lamp and the perfection of precision graduated glassware, made with the aid of machinery on a quantity basis. As a result burets, pipets, and the like of unusual accuracy are sold at a price far below anything predicted for such ware in American practice.

Two other outstanding pieces of work in glass technology, stimulated largely by the war, have been that type of glass known as Pyrex, first developed for kitchenware and later for analytical purposes; and optical glass which has come into new prominence in military affairs as well as in scientific instruments and aids to vision. Pyrex is one of those high silica glasses possessing extraordinary mechanical strength and having a coefficient of expansion so low that it withstands to a remarkable degree sudden and great changes of temperature. It is the type of glass which a few years ago was to be had only on the European continent, and its satisfactory production elsewhere was said to be too much to be expected. This ware has now been made superior to other glass offered for scientific purposes, and, not content with its application to culinary and laboratory uses, the makers have devised methods for producing such sizes and shapes as will make it applicable to industrial operations. There are many places in industry where it will be very helpful to see what is taking place, and the use of this glass bids fair to make that possible. For example, it has already been used in spark plugs, thus providing windows through which the reactions in the combustion chamber of gasoline motors may be observed.

Prior to 1880 the types and varieties of optical glass obtainable were strictly limited, and no effort was being made to increase the number of kinds of glasses from which the optician could choose in making lenses for microscope, the camera, the telescope, the spectroscope, etc. Abbe attracted Schott by his plea that science itself was in a state of arrested development awaiting new and superior glass. There ensued a long series of experiments which presently gave new glasses to science, and new discoveries in many fields of pure and applied science. Thus much which has been accomplished in bacteriology and medicine can be traced to the improved microscopes placed in

the hands of investigators. Much in physics can be traced to new optical systems, and the same is true as regards astronomy, photography and other sciences. The development of a satisfactory optical-glass industry in a new centre is a real scientific victory. New glass has been developed in England and in France, though each of these countries enjoyed a certain amount of optical glass business prior to the war; no glass of this type was made in America, however, so that the achievements in the United States, beginning with experiments started just prior to 1914, stand out prominently.

It is significant that the glass problem was solved by men who are devoting themselves to pure research in the silicates, and not by the glass manufacturers themselves. After working out a diagram from which physical characteristics could be foretold if the chemical composition were known, it became less and less difficult for those responsible for glass making to meet the requirements of the mathematical optician. Meanwhile marked improvements in pot-making were effected, the time required for making and seasoning a pot shortened by more than half, and pots were actually moulded or cast, quite contrary to the belief that such ware must be built up slowly by hand and at least nine months elapse before it would be sufficiently seasoned to be put into the melting furnace. Optical glass has also been cast and rolled as is window-glass, the cycle of time required for melting reduced from 48 to 24 hours in some cases, and the time of annealing greatly reduced by determining the critical temperature to which the mass might be quickly brought in cooling, then held under exact control, and afterwards finished quickly.

In the eye-glass field lenses of greater precision have been designed and manufactured so that one is now able to enjoy more accurate diagnosis than heretofore and have lenses made for correction with qualities surpassing those previously available. The present generation has seen the development of the invisible bifocal; this usually consisting of a lens of flint and a lens of crown glass fused together in an electric furnace, and with such curves added as to give to the wearer in a single lens the aid required for both close and distant vision. Two dissimilar curves have been put upon a single lens made by refined methods of grinding and polishing, which leave the boundary between the two fields invisible to the observer but quite distinct and sharp to the wearer.

Photographic lenses of greater speed, that is, requiring less time to make a satisfactory image upon a sensitive plate or film, shutters which operate in an inconceivably small fraction of a second, and devices by which as many as 90,000 photographs per minute may be made, are all products of this century. This rapid photography is of scientific importance, for when films made at this rate are exposed at the normal rate, there is a slowing of motion which enables studies of muscular or machine action to be made, which lead to further discoveries. The motion picture is essentially a twentieth-century product.

Range-finders in general based upon the use of lenses and prisms have been developed in this century to a degree of accuracy and with a range almost beyond belief. With the increase in the power of ordnance, the optician has been called upon to devise range-finders which would measure accurately any object between the post of observation and the horizon, and this on the sea may be more than twenty miles. These range-finders are seldom more than a few feet in length and perform their task by devices which tilt prisms, move intervening wedges and superimpose images in a way quite mystifying to a layman. The movements necessary to bring certain images into a coördination give an opportunity for measurement which is

read off in yards or feet or metres upon a graduated dial. These measurements are accurate to within a very small percentage.

But ordnance of the day has a range beyond the horizon. Observation balloons are used, airplanes are brought into play, wireless communication becomes one of the links in the service; the war caused the development of sound-ranging to meet these new conditions. While sound-ranging was extensively used, its very existence was unsuspected by most of the troops engaged, it being the policy of those in charge to keep this particular scientific activity a complete secret. This method is based upon sound waves and the velocity at which they travel. It must take into consideration the temperature of the air and the velocity and direction of the wind. There are a great many difficulties in carrying on a survey by the means of sound waves, and the method entails the accurate measurements of the difference of time in the arrival of sound at, say, three points. It requires the use of some form of accurate clock, and instruments must replace human observers who are likely to differ too much in their own reaction times for accurate results.

LATEST DEVICES IN MOTION PICTURES

The optical device which seems to be most appreciated at the present time is the motion-picture projector, and its companion, the motion-picture camera. Properly employed, these instruments will enable us to leave to posterity the most complete record of events that the world has ever known. The past 23 years have seen a remarkable development of the motion-picture art. There have been refinements in all mechanical and optical devices, intensive studies upon the use of light to make possible satisfactory records, and prolonged studies upon colour which bid fair soon to give satisfactory motion pictures in colour. Of the methods which have been evolved for coloured pictures, the most satisfactory has been that which involves making three negatives through colour filters and superimposing the three positives, likewise projected through colour screens. However, this method requires a refinement in adjustment and a number of both operators and observers which removes it from the list of commercial possibilities. The projection alternately through red and green filters has been frequently tried, as have devices which use coloured starch granules as filters upon the surface of the film very much as they are used on plates for still photographs used as transparencies after development. Another method involves dyed emulsion on the film.

Progress has been made with speaking motion pictures involving the synchronising of sound-production mechanisms with the motion picture. Some of these have given remarkable results, especially in smaller auditoriums, where difficulties incident to mechanical control are minimised.

Sound reproduction itself is one of the marvels of the twentieth century, and affords another means for leaving to posterity an accurate account of present-day activities. Records which depend upon vertical inequalities for differences in sound production and those which make use of horizontal differences for the same purpose have been developed. The use of synthetic resin makes possible a record of great ruggedness and permanency. Much research has been done upon the sound-reproduction mechanism such as the diaphragms and the shape of horns, whether these horns be concealed or not, and upon perfection of the driving motor which is vital to successful sound reproduction. If our permanent records can be left in an accessible place with directions for use, perhaps the archaeologists of the future may be saved

the expense, danger and labour otherwise involved in disturbing the peaceful slumbers of an ancient civilisation.

PROGRESS IN MOTOR VEHICLES

In the automotive field a single manufacturer produces ten thousand motor-propelled vehicles a day at a price which places them within the reach of so many people that the motor-car has become a political as well as a social and an economic factor. The production of alloys of great strength enables light-weight parts to be used with safety. Engine design gives more and continuous power to the motor. Studies of lubrication and combustion one by one remove the difficulties which confront the driver untrained in science or mechanics. It has been found that a mere trace of tetraethyl lead or tetraethyl selenide will so retard detonation in the cylinder as to remove the knock which is so objectionable and an indicator of inefficiency. The use of such material will make possible the design of motors to operate under greater compression, thus affording many more miles per gallon of fuel.

HELIUM FOR DIRIGIBLE BALLOONS

In another phase of transportation much has been accomplished since 1900 for it is since that year that methods have been developed for separating helium from such natural gas as may contain it, and purifying it for dirigible balloons. Prior to 1914 there were some fifteen or sixteen cubic feet of helium in laboratories and museums. Its cost was about $2,000 per cubic foot. The losses due to setting observation balloons on fire led to a search for an adequate supply of helium which is non-inflammable and practically as satisfactory as hydrogen in lifting heavier than air bodies. A cost of from $300 to $500 per thousand cubic feet was soon realised. In the last two or three years this cost has been reduced to from $85 to $100 per thousand, while those familiar with the work predict $30 per thousand within a short time. If helium can be recovered from all the gases which contain it, a quantity sufficient for military purposes and a margin for commercial dirigibles seems entirely possible. It is interesting to note that small traces of impurities have a direct bearing upon the lifting power of the gas, and that due to diffusion through the balloon envelope the helium within by and by becomes so mixed with the gases of the air that it is advisable to remove it from the gas bag and purify it. A portable unit has been provided for this purpose and, mounted on two railway cars, it is capable of repurifying the gas with great speed and at low cost.

WELDING BY THE THERMIT PROCESS

The process of producing pure metals and of welding large pieces in place, known as the Thermit process, has had wide application, a particular case being the repair of many German ships damaged while anchored in American ports just before the United States entered the war in April, 1917. This process depends upon the heat of reaction developed when a mixture of metallic aluminium and the oxide of a metal is ignited in the presence of a small amount of some accelerator like magnesium. So high a temperature is developed almost instantly that the needed metal can be cast in place and welded to broken parts in one operation with a strength that would seem to make the welded portion even stronger than before. Arc welding is another recent development, and spot welding makes possible many a satisfactory

metal container with sheet-metal part that would otherwise have to be soldered or riveted with greater expense and less satisfaction. Spot welding is an electric process in which the two metals to be joined offer sufficient resistance to a current flowing between two electrodes to cause a melting at spots the size and shape of which are largely determined by the size and shape of the electrodes. The metal of the two sheets flows together and a strong contact is secured.

STANDARDISATION AND AUTOMATIC CONTROL

Two other developments of this century are standardisation in manufacture and the use of automatic control devices. Standardisation is usually preceded by a scientific analysis and results in a reduction in sizes and styles and perhaps a casting of new specifications based upon requirements determined scientifically. For example, the work upon the physical properties of beams has shown to what extent structural materials have been used in excess of the requirements needed for safety. An effort to be distinctive has led manufacturers to make an almost unbelievable range of sizes, colours and finishes of even such simple articles as hand axes. The number of unnecessary sizes and designs removed from the lists of bedstead manufacturers emphasises the rapidity and ease with which an industry may drift into a position which is economically unsound.

Automatic controls operate on time, temperature, electrical conductivity, weight, light and other such constants and make for increased accuracy in quantity production together with lower costs. The use of pyrometers to take the place of the unreliable eye of even the most skilled operative may make all the difference between a large percentage of product being first-grade or rejects. Such automatic devices give control in the proper utilisation of fuel, in the heat treatment of steels and alloys, and in many chemical and other plants where a difference of a few degrees may be vitally important. Automatic weighing devices including those which weigh cars or vehicles while in motion, and those which automatically discharge contents of a hopper at a particular weight, become invaluable in industry.

IMPROVEMENT IN FARM MACHINERY AND PROCESSES

The past twenty years has also seen a marked improvement in the power machinery available for farm use. With a decrease in farm population accompanied by an increase in demand for farm products by a larger urban population, the situation has been met by scientific handling of the soil, improvement in types of fertilisers based on the physiological soil requirements of plants, and farm power machinery which has enabled those who remain on the farm to do not only their own work and the work of those who have left, but to have a safe margin in addition. The riding plough and harrow, the riding cultivator, the small engines for diverse work about the farmyard, the tractor, the truck, and all similar devices stand between a large part of our population and a scarcity of food.

Among the raw materials produced on the farm, cotton presents one of the best examples of added usefulness. The utilisation of cottonseed and cotton products adds many dollars each year to the value of the crop, and we may now add to the list of such accomplishments the development of a satisfactory paper pulp from short fibre cotton; this was achieved under pressure to find a market for that grade of fibre ordinarily employed in the manufacture of munitions.

It has remained for this century to make a real effort to obtain potash from sources other than the great natural deposits in Europe. This has involved applied science and also the extensive use of equilibria data, since the most successful of these ventures involves the separation of complex salts where the equilibria of salts and their aqueous solutions held the key to the entire problem. Potash from greensands, from alunite and leucite, and from feldspar has been recovered on a commercial scale, but not profitably under normal conditions. But the technique has been worked out, the processes are ready, should they be demanded by necessity or favoured by changed economic conditions. The use of Italian leucite as a source of potash seems assured.

There being a more restricted choice in the selection of waters for industrial purposes and even for house supplies as population increases, there have been developed methods for water softening, enabling the economical removal of those ingredients, principally the salts of calcium and magnesium, which are responsible for hard water. In the textile and laundry industries where great quantities of soap are involved, a saving of many pounds is effected by removing those materials which otherwise would form insoluble soaps. These are not only wasteful but may seriously affect finished products. The treatment of waters in the alkali regions is more difficult, but has been accomplished, notably in the case of railways which have established treating stations and likewise devised chemical compounds to be added to the water supply in transit to minimise the formation of scale and the replacement of corroded metal parts.

OTHER NEW DEVICES ALMOST TOO NUMEROUS TO MENTION

Industry has also benefited by the design and construction of new apparatus along lines following theories newly confirmed. The colloid mill and filter, types of continuous filter presses, automatic centrifugals and washing devices for them, stream-line filters capable of extracting even colouring matter from solution, devices for control of humidity and temperature in mills and drying-rooms, pumps entirely submerged in oil so that their temperature may be nicely controlled, apparatus made of fused silica, porcelain, and complicated units made entirely of ceramic ware, are examples. Add to these most recent improvements in enamelled ware, glass-lined metal vessels, classifiers, thickeners, and units protected with metallic coatings, and some appreciation may be had of what has been done by those designing devices to further progress. The ability to spray molten metals, the application of cement under air pressure by the so-called cement gun, improvements in paints, varnishes and protective coatings of that type, can only be mentioned in the space available.

The century has seen the discovery of radium and a start made in its application particularly in the field of medicine. Among the theories must be included that of isotopes which are elements having the same chemical properties but differing in atomic weights. Rubber has been synthesised from isoprene. The composition of chlorophyll has been determined. Artificial gems have been made. The X-ray spectra utilised as a means of determining atomic numbers. The development of new theories, leading us to believe that the ancient conception of matter as composed of the same element in different arrangement, finds expression in the belief that all atoms of the elements as we know them are really multiples of a reduced hydrogen atom.

Attention should also be drawn to the important part played by refinements in measurement; these have led to perfection in analysis and in research

and have brought about many discoveries. Such a feat as measuring and weighing the electron, in observing its behaviour, and in ascertaining other constants and characteristics of so extremely minute particles, is due to improved technique.

FITTING THE MAN TO HIS JOB

It is perhaps too early to predict the importance of applied psychology, for that science deals with some of the most complex problems. Something has been accomplished, however, through job analysis and various tests in placing the individual where he can accomplish most. The use of psychological methods in allocating personnel during the war was an undoubted achievement, and such coöperative work as has been carried on between the psychologists of the Carnegie Institute and the merchants of Pittsburgh in placing individuals in the retail industry give cause for great future expectations. Anything which will assist men and women in finding their place quickly in the economic system will be of the greatest benefit.

WHAT SCIENCE AND INDUSTRY HAS IN STORE

New theories in colloid chemistry which seem applicable to almost all industrial processes are at the moment most useful in understanding natural phenomena and the changes which take place in matter under a variety of physical and chemical conditions. A better understanding of this kind can scarcely fail to lead to new advances in the near future. The trend of research involves a great diversity, with a larger number of skilled workers than has ever before been engaged upon scientific effort. Everyone seeks to know more of the constitution of matter, to obtain information which will enable still other compounds to be synthesised to meet specific requirements and how to use the energy of molecules and atoms. In the field of medicine epidemics are to be prevented and disease conquered. The engineer seeks to stop rust and decay. The agriculturalist to obtain improvements in soil management and perhaps ultimately the allocation of crops to certain soils where science knows the most will be produced for the energy expended. The forester seeks those lands preëminently suited for the reproduction of the forest and the factors which make the self-perpetuation of a forest a possibility. The electrical engineer strives for cold light, the transmission of enormous power, wireless sight, wireless control, and perhaps even transmission of power by wireless. Those engaged in nutrition seek more light upon the relation of food to health, and may require still other fats to be synthesised as one or two have already been prepared to their order. The phytopathologist hopes to conclude a long-time study of plant diseases with information as to real causes which will enable him to effect cures. Perhaps those qualities within the seaweed which enable it to take from the medium in which it lives those extremely minute traces of iodine and potash and store them in itself may be discovered, and man, having imitated the flight of birds, may find ways to imitate the plants in a successful selection from the many elements of those in which he is of greatest need.

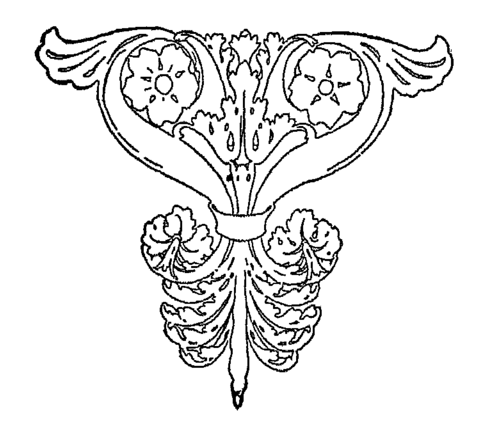
The chemist continues his research upon the elements and their compounds, atomic structure, and all else which will enable him to understand the changes that take place, so that he in turn may have a greater control over the elements, changing them to meet changed requirements.

We are indebted to the work of the past for much that we enjoy to-day. We owe as much to the future. We have the privilege of living in a time when the unexpected and the impossible are happening day by day, but we

must go on to still greater discovery. The Secretary of Commerce at Washington, Herbert Hoover, in *Industrial and Engineering Chemistry* for September, 1923, makes the following statement which sums up our present situation and what may be safely predicted for the immediate future:

"No human person can evaluate the contribution of the science of chemistry to the advancement of civilisation. The enormous advance in standards of living, the greater margins of comfort, the lessening of physical exertion required to attain these things, the relief of suffering, the extension of health and life, have all received the most vital contributions by the applied science of chemistry. Moreover, our future advancement is indissolubly dependent upon our advance in the twin sciences of chemistry and physics and their application. Indeed, with steady accretion of understanding, the border lines between these sciences are gradually disappearing. Incidentally, the chief job of political and social science is to develop methods of keeping their field in pace with the changes imposed upon them by industrial chemistry and physics.

"Industry and commerce have grown rapidly in recent years in their appreciation of the fundamental contribution of pure science of both chemistry and physics. The great increase in private research laboratories and the fine support of our public institutions, are the mark of this realisation. Discovery and invention are now no longer the function of the garret genius. They are the result of deliberate organised exploration by our men of pure science. New discoveries and their application will come faster and more securely than ever before; and I believe the next half-century will be greater in its triumphs of science and in their contribution to human welfare than even the last fifty years — for we are better trained, better organised, better equipped for discovery than ever before."



CHAPTER LXX

MAN'S EARLY HISTORY IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT REVOLUTIONARY DISCOVERIES

By James Henry Breasted, Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of Egyptology and Oriental History, and Director, Haskell Oriental Museum and the Oriental Institute, University of Chicago. Director of the Egyptian Expedition and of the Archæological Survey in Mesopotamia, sent by the University of Chicago. Formerly President of the American Oriental Society. Author of *Ancient Records of Egypt; A History of Egypt; Ancient Times, A History of the Early World;* etc.

There has perhaps never been an experience in human history by which the average man's realisation of his remote origins and ancient ancestry has been so totally obliterated as by the World War. The smoke and tumult which arose in August, 1914, completely blotted out our consciousness of earlier stages in the human career, and fettered us grimly to the inexorable realities of the present. Neither did the Armistice and the alleged peace which followed restore our lost realisation of the past. Then without warning, in December, 1922, the whole civilised world suddenly found itself standing on expectant tiptoe around the tomb of an ancient sovereign of the East who had been buried there three thousand two hundred and fifty years ago. The discovery of the tomb of Tutenkhamon has thus not only restored our consciousness of the past but has given it unprecedented vividness and reality, and has at the same time carried it to vast numbers of people who had never been accustomed to display the slightest interest in matters so remote. No time therefore could be more appropriate than the present for summarising in a single chapter the results of those investigations of the last quarter-century which have been so successfully devoted to the study of early man as well as of his history.

In such a chapter it is obviously quite impossible to preserve details, to catalogue all discoveries, or to list the personal achievements of the numerous archæologists and investigators of the last twenty-five years. A general and comprehensive picture is all that can be attempted. Nor can it be made so comprehensive as to include the classic world of Greece and Rome, the study of which, although steady progress has indeed been made, has been altogether without any such fundamentally new discoveries as those which oriental and prehistoric research has revealed to us. Those who have read with interest Signor Ferrero's volumes on Roman history, for example, must not expect in this chapter any estimate of their significance or value. However valuable they may be, they are far too limited in their local and temporal scope to require consideration in the rapid panorama of many millennia which we are attempting in this chapter. The reconstruction to be undertaken here is based on the recent discovery of entire peoples and cultures before unknown to investigators — whose very existence indeed had in some cases never been suspected.

FROM FLINT HATCHET TO STEEL SHELLS

There are spots in Europe to-day where chance has brought strangely near together and left lying side by side the relics of the earliest prehistoric savages and the evidences of so-called modern civilisation — the earliest and latest points in the traceable human career. The soil of the battle-scarred hills overlooking the river Somme in northern France is thickly sown with fragments of steel shells which have penetrated deeply into the slopes and natural terraces made by the river ages ago. To-day, when the great guns are silent, a few minutes' work with a shovel will uncover lying together in the gravels along the brow of the valley the flint fist hatchet, the earliest surviving weapon of man, and the jagged fragments of the modern explosive steel shell. There they lie, as you unearth them, side by side, the flint fist hatchet and the steel shell fragment, and the whole sweep of human history lies between them — a story of at least several hundred thousand years of human endeavour leading us age by age from one to the other.

Although not a few English historians still follow Freeman, his definition of history as "past politics" has been quite truthfully characterised by Frederic Harrison's remark that it leaves out nine-tenths of the facts necessary to understand the past — that is, nine-tenths of the essential content of history. To no small extent history is a story of the conquest of material resources by means of highly varied devices, tools, implements, and machinery, if we include also in these things the consequences — industrial, social, political, artistic, and religious — which resulted from their introduction. The steam or gasoline cylinder is as truly the symbol of the present age as the stone fist hatchet is the sign manual of the Stone Age life of fifty thousand years ago.

The recovery of the past in this larger sense is demanding a new type of historian — a cosmopolitan student of man, who is alike anthropologist, archæologist, ethnologist, comparative religionist, versed in art and literature and acquainted with both the classical and the leading oriental languages of antiquity. With this equipment he must combine a magnanimous readiness to consider the disquieting possibility that civilisation appeared in the eastern Mediterranean long before the Greeks themselves ever lived there, and he must cultivate a becoming fortitude of spirit to face with equanimity even the disclosure, so horrifying to some classicists, that the most sacred shrines of Greek culture were profaned by many foreign influences which furnished the primitive barbarism of the archaic Greeks with all the ordinary material processes of civilised life, and restored civilisation in Europe after the barbarian invasions of the earliest Greeks had destroyed it, root and branch. Notwithstanding the laborious years necessary to produce a historian with an equipment like this, men of this type are already at work and their devoted labours are now recovering the impressive story of that age-long process by which the primitive forest of the Stone Age hunter has given way to the modern forest of factory chimneys.

The imposing task of recovering the story of the human past has, however, hardly more than begun. It is a little over two generations ago that Boucher de Perthes, the pioneer investigator of *prehistoric archæology*, discovered lying together in the high glacial gravels of northern France along the river Somme the stone fist hatchet of the earliest European savage, side by side with the bones of colossal and long-extinct mammals, which de Perthes declared to be contemporary with the fist hatchet. It is less than two generations ago that the English scientists Huxley, Prestwich, Sir Charles Lyell, and others visited the Somme valley and substantiated the facts observed

by Boucher de Perthes. As a result of this visit Lyell published his epoch-making volume on *The Antiquity of Man*, which appeared during the American Civil War. We are all familiar with Huxley's discomfiture of the Anglican bishops which followed this final recognition of the enormous age of man, for some of us read the debate in our younger days in the current magazines.

THE AMAZING DISCOVERIES OF RECENT YEARS

The revelation of thousands of years of *oriental history*, lying back of anything before known of the Ancient East, is equally recent. Rollin's *Ancient History*, in English translation, though its author had little more than Herodotus and the Old Testament as sources for the history of the Ancient East, is still offered for sale in bookshops; and in the author's boyhood it was still widely read. Layard's *Nineveh and Babylon*, with its mysterious winged and human-headed bulls on the cover, the marvel of the author's boyhood, went into his father's library, as shown by the date on the flyleaf, in 1869; while the title-page is dated 1859. It was only a few years earlier that the decipherment of Babylonian and Assyrian cuneiform was achieved, and the first inscriptions in Egyptian hieroglyphic were read only a quarter of a century earlier. Our knowledge of these languages and these systems of writing is still far from complete and is making daily progress.

Thus with startling suddenness and practically in our own time the curtain has been drawn aside, permitting us to look back into the deeps of a past so appallingly remote that neither thought nor education have as yet become adjusted to it. Let us for a moment look back into this imposing vista of human development, disclosed to us by the investigation of *prehistoric man* in Europe on the one hand and of the once lost civilisations in the *Orient* on the other.

Almost everyone is aware that we can now trace the forward movement of earliest man in Europe through many thousands of years of struggle with the material world. The great polar ice cap descending on the north side of the Mediterranean for the fourth time, driving the European savages of the Early Stone Age southward and then slowly retreating northward again, has become for us a vast geological clock, the fourfold rhythmic swing of whose colossal ice pendulum furnishes dim intimations of an enormous lapse of time, during which the gradual improvement of man's stone weapons and implements discloses his slow advance on the long road upward from savagery toward civilisation. The imagination is thrilled by these revelations of the age-long struggle of our savage ancestor, as we discern in his slow conquest of the forces about him a secular aspect filling us with the same cosmic emotion which we feel in the presence of some imposing phenomenon of nature.

STONE "ARTIFACTS" A MILLION YEARS OLD

It is the investigations of the last quarter-century, especially those of the French prehistoric archaeologists, which have slowly enabled us to piece together the evidence disclosing stage after stage of this gradual advance of prehistoric man. Until ten years ago, there was much disagreement regarding the geological age of the earliest surviving stone tools. It was then, however, pretty generally agreed that our earliest stone artifacts (by which the archaeologist means any object made or modified by man) were produced by men who lived in the warm period preceding the last or fourth descent of the ice, a period which could not conceivably have begun less than fifty thousand, and much more probably not less than one hundred and fifty thousand, years

ago. Recent investigations in England, however, have disclosed human artifacts for which the discoverers claim an origin remoter even than any period of the Ice Age—that is, an origin in the Tertiary epoch, perhaps a million years ago. While the palaeontologists long ago conceded a date as early as this, or even earlier, for the origins of *physical* man, the prehistoric archæologists are not all prepared to accept such a date for his earliest *tools* and *weapons;* and such an able investigator as Boule strongly objects to it. Nevertheless the evidence is not easy to refute, and a Tertiary date for the earliest works of human hands is probably gaining adherents.

With the exception of these latest developments, we may assume that many educated people of to-day are familiar with the outstanding facts thus far set forth. It is not commonly known, on the other hand, that the Late Stone Age life, like that of Europe eight or ten thousand years ago, undoubtedly entirely surrounded the Mediterranean and fringed its shores much as did the government of the Roman Empire thousands of years later. Nor is it commonly understood that, while this was the character of human existence all round the Mediterranean, we are unable to discover the least evidence that man had anywhere else on earth attained a mode of life in any respect superior to that in the Mediterranean basin of eight or ten thousand years ago. Everywhere man was still without metals, sea-going ships, writing, domestic animals, domestic grains, agriculture and textile clothing. Without these fundamentals of civilisation the life of man throughout the globe inevitably remained crude and barbarous at the best, and more often brutally savage.

At this juncture, however, geological forces had already been long at work preparing a new and much more favourably situated home for the Late Stone Age hunters at the south-east corner of the Mediterranean. Here tropical Africa stretches forth across the Sahara to the south-eastern corner of the midland sea a fertile and sheltered corridor which teemed with luxuriant vegetable and animal life from inner Africa, offering to the Late Stone Age hunters a home of inexhaustible resources in a situation of unexampled safety and protection from hostile intruders.

EGYPT THE CRADLE OF CIVILISATION

Into this paradise of the lower Nile valley, which we now call Egypt, the Stone Age hunters of the North African plateau had inevitably been lured by the chase from the beginning. The author has found their Nile boats carved on the rocks far out in the wastes of the Nubian Sahara behind Abu Simbel. Elsewhere in the whole Mediterranean world there was no situation where the hunting life would be so stimulated to advance to a higher stage as it was along the Nile. Europe meanwhile had seemingly been retarded by the rigours of an Ice Age climate, while on the other hand, long before 5,000 B.C., the favoured hunters of the Nile jungle had advanced far beyond their European contemporaries in the great prehistoric world around the Mediterranean. To-day we excavate, along the margin of the Egyptian alluvium on the edge of the desert, the graves of the oldest known cemeteries in the world, and find lying in these graves the descendants of the Nile hunters of the Stone Age, just beginning the transition to metal. They had already acquired all the leading domestic animals, and, having domesticated likewise the wild cereal grasses, or, possibly, received them already domesticated from Western Asia, had made the transition to the settled agricultural life. All the evidence would now indicate that these prehistoric Egyptians of the early cemeteries, or their ancestors, were the earliest men on earth who were

able to insure themselves an uninterrupted food supply by the domestication of the wild sources, vegetable and animal, while their subsequent conquest of metal and their development of the earliest known system of phonetic writing gave them the leadership in the long advance to civilisation when all the rest of the world still lagged behind in Stone Age barbarism.

Upon these great conquests, chiefly in the material world, followed an impressive development, social, governmental, and religious. This jungle valley lying athwart the eastern Sahara had gathered between its contracted rocky walls the prehistoric hunters scattered along the North African coast and held them together in the possession of all the resources necessary for the unhampered development of human life under conditions so favourable that they were slowly consolidated into the first great society of several million souls swayed by one sovereign hand and in possession of the leading fundamentals of civilisation. Thus in the centuries between 5000 and 3000 B.C. arose the first great civilised state at a time when the Mediterranean elsewhere was still fringed with scattered communities of Stone Age hunters.

The prehistoric hunter whose self-expression had been quite content to ply the flint graving tool in carving symmetrical lines of game beasts along the ivory handle of a stone dagger was thus transformed by fifty generations of social evolution into a royal architect launching great bodies of organised craftsmen upon the quarries of the Nile cliffs, and summoning thence stately and rhythmic colonnades, imposing temples, and a vast rampart of pyramids, the greatest tombs ever erected by the hand of man. Such outward, often purely material, expressions of advancing social and governmental organisation, with which man's unfolding inner life has kept even pace, furnish the unwritten evidence by which the new historian must trace the successive transitions which have lifted man from savagery to civilisation; and it is the study of such human documents which has revealed to us the outlines of the marvellous story as we now possess it.

The question may perhaps be raised: why are these developments, in the life of an age so remote and a land so distant, of any consequence to us moderns? Our fathers received art and architecture, industry and commerce, social and governmental traditions, as an inheritance from earlier times. There was an age, however, when the transition from barbarism to civilisation, with all its impressive outward manifestations in art and architecture, had to be made *for the first time*. The significance of the appearance of civilisation along the Nile does not lie in the splendour of its buildings, but in the fact that it was rising *for the first time on earth*.

THE MARVEL OF EARLY PROGRESS ALONG THE NILE

To-day the traveller on the Nile enters a wonderland at whose gates rise the colossal pyramids of which he has had visions from earliest childhood. As he ascends the river he sees expanding behind palm-fringed shores vast temple precincts, to which avenues of sphinxes lead up from the shore, dominated by the mighty shafts of tall obelisks and stately colonnades. But it does not occur to the traveller that *the wilderness preceded all this*. Where those vast monuments of stone now rise, once stretched the tangled jungle of the Nile canyon, pathless for thousands of years save where the hunter's narrow trail led through the reeds to the water's edge. Rarely does the modern pilgrim in Egypt realise that there was no civilised ancestry from whom the prehistoric Nile-dweller might receive an inheritance of culture. In their own deepening experience and broadening vision we must find the magic which transformed these primitive hunters and their little settlements

of wattle huts into a great society dominated by masterful men of grandly spacious imagination, of imposing monumental vision, whose prodigal hands, at first untrammelled by tradition, stretched out over the one-time jungle, scattered these gigantic monuments far up and down the river. He who knows the story of the transition from the prehistoric hunters of the Nile jungle to the sovereigns and statesmen, the architects, engineers and craftsmen of a great organised society, which wrought these monumental wonders along the Nile at a time when all Europe was still living in Stone Age barbarism and there was none to teach a civilisation of the past—he who knows all this, knows the story of the *first rise of civilisation anywhere on the globe.*

Civilisation was thus born at the south-east corner of the Mediterranean. The Stone Age villagers on the northern coasts of the same sea, that is, in Southern Europe, looked wonderingly out upon the earliest sea-going craft ever equipped with sails issuing from the mouths of the Nile and bringing the works of civilised man for the first time to the shores of Europe, precisely as the West Indian natives later marvelled to see the first ships of Europe approaching the shores of America. For just as European civilisation was brought across the Atlantic to the savages of the Western World, so oriental civilisation crossed the Mediterranean to the barbarians of Europe. In view of his remarkable discoveries in Crete, the south-eastern outpost of Europe, where it approaches most nearly to Egypt, Sir Arthur Evans states with evident conviction, "Ancient Egypt itself can no longer be regarded as something apart from general human history."

This is a fact which even some modern historians have been strangely slow in discerning. The future historian will inevitably write a history of the *Mediterranean* rather than a history of the separate peoples, Greeks, Romans, Phoenicians, Egyptians, etc., who surrounded it. To thinking historians this has been evident for more than a generation, but it was especially the excavations in Crete which have demonstrated the case. It is a little over a quarter-century ago, that is in 1897, that Sir Arthur Evans in his presidential address before the Anthropological sections of the British Association for the Advancement of Science, maintained with emphasis that no proper understanding of the Aegean was possible without full understanding of the earlier background, especially in Egypt. Since then, the discoveries in Crete, led by Sir Arthur Evans and shared also by American archaeologists, like Seager and Mrs. H. B. Hawes, have revealed that this island outpost of south-eastern Europe received its first civilised influences from the Nile valley. Less than twenty years later (1916) in his address as president of the British Association, Sir Arthur Evans said of the beginnings in Crete: "The possibility of some actual immigration into the island of the older Egyptian element, due to the conquest of the first Pharaohs, cannot be excluded"; and he added his "definite conclusion that cultural influences were already reaching Crete from beyond the Libyan Sea before the beginning of the Egyptian Dynasties."

On this occasion, Sir Arthur Evans expressly stated his conviction that the earliest influences of civilisation reached Crete from Egypt; he said: "It is interesting to note that the first quickening impulse came to Crete from the Egyptians, and not from the oriental [meaning Western Asiatic or Babylonian] side; the Eastern factor in it is of comparatively late appearance."

THE PREHISTORIC AGE IN BABYLONIA

While this is true, and it is an undoubted fact, that Egypt's position on the Mediterranean gave it easier access to Europe than was possible in the

case of Babylonia, separated as it was from the Mediterranean by hundreds of miles of desert, nevertheless we must not forget that somewhat later than in Egypt there arose in Babylonia a remarkable civilisation, characterised by persistent progress in practical, legal, and commercial matters, and at the same time so devoted to the belief that human destiny might be read in the stars that its extraordinary skill in the study of the celestial bodies furnished the data which became in the hands of the Greeks the foundations of the science of astronomy. The prediction of an eclipse by Thales was certainly based on Babylonian observations, and the name of a Babylonian observer cited by Greek astronomers has actually been found on Babylonian clay tablets in recent years.

One of the most surprising achievements of Babylonian civilisation was its organisation of human life under a highly developed system of laws. No more remarkable discovery has ever been made than that of the magnificent shaft containing the entire Babylonian Law Code as put together, largely from older sources, by Hammurabi about 2100 B.C. This extraordinary revelation of the legal organisation of society in Western Asia over 4,000 years ago is one of the most notable results of research in oriental civilisation during the last quarter of a century. As revealed in this great Code, as well as in the innumerable business documents in the form of clay tablets which have survived to us, Babylonian civilisation was chiefly commercial and mercantile. In art and the nobler refinements of civilised life it was always inferior to Egypt, as the most discerning Assyriologists like Thureau-Dangin clearly recognise.

Thus far it has been possible to recover but meagre remains from the prehistoric age in Babylonia. Indeed, the alluvial plain which bears this name must have been very scanty, if it existed at all, during most of the Neolithic or Late Stone Age. Never geographically isolated as Egypt is, the earliest development of Babylonia proceeded hand in hand with that of neighbouring regions like Elam on the east of Babylonia in western or south-western Persia. The excessively early dates which have been attributed by some investigators to the culture of Elam are quite without foundation, and arose not only from misinterpretation of field data, but also from acceptance of an early date for the first Semitic supremacy in Babylonia under Sargon I, about whom late Babylonian records wove a mythical narrative including a hazy impression of vast antiquity which placed him in the thirty-eighth century B.C. No student of ancient Western Asia, whose opinion has any weight, now accepts this date. Sargon I has quietly dropped down into the twenty-eighth century B.C. Ten years ago the recognition of this fact led oriental historians like Eduard Meyer to date the earliest surviving written documents of Babylonia at about 3000 or possibly in the thirty-first century B.C. Dynastic lists recovered in the last few years, however, have carried this date back several centuries, and possibly to the middle of the fourth millennium, around 3500 B.C. The culture of Elam, which intimately interpenetrated with that of Babylonia, will not have antedated the civilised development on the Babylonian Plain.

Similar outlying cultures on the north developed hand in hand with the progress of civilisation in Babylonia. From some region of the mountainous north came the mysterious Sumerians or Shumerians, who still remain of uncertain racial affinity. They are the first people among the inhabitants of archaic Babylonia to emerge clearly in the earliest cuneiform records. To the surprise of all, their monuments were discovered just before the World War in the lowermost and earliest strata revealed in Assyrian excavation; and remains of their culture found as far north as the region immediately south-east of the Caspian have recently been recognised by Rostovtsev.

Opposed to, but commingling with, the Sumerians on the Babylonian Plain were the intruding Semitic nomads, among whom emerge the earliest great Semitic leaders known. They were children of the desert inhabiting its oases and wandering along its grassy fringes and steppes. They were for ages the dominant race along the Fertile Crescent. To this term and to the lands in which these Semitic nomads roamed, we must here devote a few words of explanation.

THE "FERTILE CRESCENT" AND ITS INFLUENCE ON HISTORY

The westernmost extension of Asia is an irregular region roughly included within the circuit of waters marked out by the Caspian and Black seas on the north, by the Mediterranean and Red seas on the west, and by the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf on the south and east. It is a region consisting chiefly of mountains in the north and desert in the south. The earliest home of men in this great arena of Western Asia is a borderland between the desert and the mountains, a kind of cultivable fringe of the desert, a fertile crescent having the mountains on one side and the desert on the other.

This fertile crescent is approximately a semicircle, with the open side toward the south, having the west end at the south-east corner of the Mediterranean, the centre directly north of Arabia, and the east end at the north end of the Persian Gulf. It lies like an army facing south, with one wing stretching along the eastern shore of the Mediterranean and the other reaching out to the Persian Gulf, while the centre has its back against the northern mountains. The end of the western wing is Palestine; Assyria makes up a large part of the centre; while the end of the eastern wing is Babylonia.

This great semicircle, for lack of a name, has been called by the author the Fertile Crescent, and the name seems to be coming into general use. It may also be likened to the shores of a desert bay upon which the mountains behind look down — a bay not of water, but of arid waste, some five hundred miles across, forming a northern extension of the Arabian Desert and sweeping as far north as the latitude of the north-east corner of the Mediterranean. This desert bay is a limestone plateau of some height — too high indeed to be watered by the Tigris and Euphrates, which have cut cañons obliquely across it. Nevertheless, after the meagre winter rains, wide tracts of the northern desert bay are clothed with scanty grass, and spring thus turns the region for a short time into grasslands. The history of Western Asia may be described as an age-long struggle between the mountain peoples of the north and the desert wanderers of these grasslands — a struggle which is still going on — for the possession of the Fertile Crescent, the shores of the desert bay.

The Semitic tribesmen wandering along these grasslands possessed not a few gifted and aggressive leaders, once mere nomadic shepherd chieftains, but eventually the first great men of Western Asia. They made its history to no small extent a struggle between the Semitic nomads of the desert south and the non-Semitic peoples of the mountainous north for possession of the Fertile Crescent which lay between. For thousands of years the struggle went on, as one Semitic leader after another drifted down the Euphrates to seize the Babylonian Plain and settle there. It was such a migration that brought the Hebrews into Palestine. Some of these invasions even penetrated Egypt at enormously remote dates — a fact which has led to the superficial conclusion that Egyptian civilisation was imported into the Nile valley from Asia! It is quite evident that the Semitic chieftains who guided

such invasions were rude and barbarous leaders like the earliest commanders in the Moslem invasions, or like the Persians, who began their conquests without possessing even a system of writing. What these rugged Semitic nomads furnished was chiefly aggressive leadership; civilisation was a product of the *settled* life, which they found and acquired in the invaded regions.

EXCAVATIONS IN ASSYRIA

Of such Semitic leaders Assyria furnished a notable list, some of whom, like Sennacherib, have become household words among us. Assyria represented the northernmost of these early Semitic movements. Just before the World War the excavation of the earliest Assyrian capital, Assur, some seventy miles south of Nineveh, was completed by the Germans. These excavations and others of the last quarter-century, coupled with more discerning study of the available documents, have led to a reassessment of the character and value of Assyrian civilisation. To this juster estimate of the culture of Assyria, the admirable new *History of Assyria*, by A. T. Olmstead, just off the press, is contributing essentially. We now understand that Assyrian civilisation was no mere echo of that of Babylonia, but has a historical value of its own.

As recently as the summer of 1923 a new cuneiform document has revealed to us the full story of the tragic fall of Nineveh and disclosed the armies of Egypt hurrying into Asia to the rescue of their former rival on the Tigris. The new document finally gives us a fixed date for the fall of Nineveh, hitherto uncertain. The imperial city fell in 612 B.C.

The fall of Assyria, while dramatically sudden and tragically complete, nevertheless left the nations of Western Asia in a very different situation from that in which the first Assyrian emperors had found them. The rule of a single sovereign had been enforced upon the whole great group of nations around the eastern end of the Mediterranean, and the methods of organising such an empire had been much improved. It was really in continuance of this organisation that the great Persian Empire was built up, sixty years after the fall of Assyria. The Assyrian Empire, especially in its great military organisation, marked a long step forward in that gradual growth of the idea of all-including world power which culminated at last in the Roman Empire. In spite of its often ferocious harshness, the Assyrian rule furthered civilisation. The building of the magnificent palaces in and near Nineveh formed the first chapter in great architecture in Asia. At the same time Nineveh possessed the first libraries as yet known there. Finally, the Assyrian dominion created the international situation which enabled the Hebrews to gain the loftiest conceptions of their own God, as they matched him against the great war god of Assyria — conceptions which have profoundly influenced the entire later history of mankind.

The abundant cuneiform documents which have survived to us from Western Asia have not only revealed the life and history of Babylonia and Assyria, but they have also disclosed to us an outlying fringe of neighbouring peoples of the greatest importance, including indeed the first appearance of the Indo-European peoples in written documents. To Elam behind the Persian borders on the east we have already referred. Especially as a result of the researches of the last quarter-century, we now behold the Iranian peoples in full career moving upon the Fertile Crescent. They had long before forsaken their Aryan home, from which an eastern branch had entered India, while the Iranian group headed for the Tigro-Euphrates world. Passing over the extraordinary revelation of the vast Haldia-Urartu (Ararat) group in the

northern mountains around the sources of the Tigris and Euphrates, and the problem of their relationship to the Indo-European situation, we find that the most important revelation of the cuneiform documents of the last decade is the light they throw on the great peoples of Asia Minor, especially the Hittites. It has long been known that cuneiform writing had been introduced into Cappadocia as far back as the latter part of the third millennium B.C., and numerous clay tablets from this region are accessible. In 1905–1907 the Germans discovered that the vast ruin at *Boghaz-köi* in central Asia Minor east of the Halys (modern *Kisil-Irmak*) was the ancient Hittite capital of *Khatti.* The archives of the royal secretariat and foreign office, in the form of clay tablets bearing cuneiform writing, lay so near the surface that Winckler actually kicked them up with his boot heel.

CUNEIFORM RECORDS OF HITTITE TREATIES

The enormous body of cuneiform records recovered eventually from the ruins of the Hittite capital has not been studied as fully as would have been the case had the World War not interrupted. But in spite of this obstacle, enough has been done to disclose the extraordinary fact that the language spoken by the larger body of the Hittites was in character Indo-European, although it seems to have contained also some non-Indo-European elements. The records recovered contain also documents in several other languages and dialects. Besides a large body of documents written in the Hittite language but with cuneiform signs, we possess also a widely distributed group of Hittite monuments carved on stone in a system of hieroglyphics much influenced by, if not derived from, Egyptian writing. This latter group of monuments has not yet been deciphered, and the whole available story will not be known to us until this has been done.

Meantime, however, what we have already learned is surprising enough. A group of treaties between the Hittites and other nations of Western Asia, the earliest international treaties known in history, forms a body of evidence which has revolutionised our knowledge of early history and given us the earliest known chapter in diplomacy. Among these it was of especial interest to find the Hittite drafts of the treaty arranged between Rameses II and the Hittite king—a treaty already known to us from the Egyptian version preserved in Egypt. Imagine the situation of the modern Orientalist working upon the Egyptian document, recorded on Egyptian buildings, concerned with this agreement between the Hittites and the Pharaoh, when in the midst of this work he is suddenly informed that 1,500 miles north, across the Mediterranean in Asia Minor, the spade of the excavator has turned up the Hittite foreign office containing the preliminary drafts formulated at the Hittite end of the negotiations!

ANCIENT RACIAL ANTAGONISM

This revelation of the great world of Western Asia in its westernmost peninsula speaking an Indo-European tongue furnishes an essential contribution to the completion of our picture of the ancient racial situation. The Indo-European nomads of the *northern* grasslands, our ancestors, began to migrate in very ancient times, moving out along diverging routes. They at last extended in an imposing line from the frontiers of India on the east, westward across all Europe to the Atlantic, as they do to-day. This great northern line was confronted on the south by a similar line of Semitic peoples, extending from Babylonia on the east, through Phoenicia and the Hebrews

westward to Carthage and similar Semitic settlements of Phoenicia in the western Mediterranean.

The history of the ancient world was largely made up of the struggle between this *southern Semitic* line, which issued from the southern grasslands, and the *northern Indo-European* line, which came forth from the northern grasslands to confront the older civilisations represented in the southern line. We see the two great races facing each other across the Mediterranean like two vast armies stretching from Western Asia westward to the Atlantic. The later wars between Rome and Carthage represent some of the operations on the Semitic left wing; while the triumph of Persia over Chaldea is a similar outcome on the Semitic right wing.

THE VICTORY OF THE INDO-EUROPEANS

The result of the long conflict was the complete triumph of our ancestors, the Indo-European line, which conquered along the centre and both wings and finally gained unchallenged supremacy throughout the Mediterranean world under the Greeks and Romans. This triumph was accompanied by a long struggle for the mastery between the members of the northern line themselves. Among them the victory moved from the east end to the west end of the northern line, as first the Persians, then the Greeks, and finally the Romans gained control of the Mediterranean and oriental world.

Throughout all this great struggle a current of oriental influences, of which Christianity is the most noticeable, eventually transformed the Roman State at Constantinople into an oriental despotism and continued to be felt until long after the Crusades. Interesting evidence of this kind was found in 1920 by the University of Chicago Expedition in an ancient fortress on the Euphrates, almost due east of Palmyra in the heart of the Syro-Mesopotamian Desert. An extraordinary series of wall paintings in a surprisingly good state of preservation, and dating from the first century of the Christian era, was found by the Expedition as part of the embellishment of a temple of the gods of Palmyra. A study of these paintings reveals the surprising fact that they are unquestionably the only surviving oriental ancestry of Byzantine painting out of which later European painting grew. They thus furnish us a new genetic sequence in painting: Orient — Byzantium — Italy, parallel with many others which demonstrate the transition of culture from the Orient to Europe.

A NEW GENERALISATION: "THE INTERCONTINENTAL BRIDGE"

The recognition that the earliest centre of civilisation in the Eastern Hemisphere was in the eastern Mediterranean region, whence it was diffused in all directions, especially toward Europe, makes possible a great generalisation regarding the developing life of man on earth, which the author thinks has remained unnoticed. It is now evident that there are only two regions on the globe in which man has risen from Stone Age savagery to the possession of agriculture, metals, and writing, the indispensable fundamentals of civilisation. The complete independence of these two regions in making these cultural conquests is evident. They are geographically widely separated. One of them is in the New World and the other in the Old, and each of them lies along or on both sides of a great intercontinental bridge, one joining the two Americas, the other connecting Africa and Eurasia. In both the Old World and the New, the bridge between the continents formed the centre around which took place the develop-

ment and diffusion of the highest civilisation at first attained in either hemisphere. It necessarily lies outside the scope of this chapter to discuss what geographical significance there may be in this surprising fact.

An examination of the culture situation of the western world as a whole in pre-Columbian times, as revealed by investigations in American archæology during the last twenty-five years, is very instructive and throws much light on human development in the Eastern Hemisphere. In making a comprehensive reconstruction of the career of man in the New World, the Americanists have enjoyed enviable freedom from traditional prejudices like those of the old-school classicists, who felt it sacrilege to acknowledge the share of the Orient in the history of civilisation, or those of the Egyptologists and Assyriologists, who are often more interested in proving the shores of the Nile or of the Euphrates to have been the oldest home of civilisation than to establish the *facts*, whatever the result. To the Americanist it is evident that a culture trait of some complexity, like the cultivation of maize, when it is found *continuously* distributed over a wide area, has been so distributed by a process of diffusion from a common centre, and that under such circumstances we cannot assume independent invention. Without any preconceptions or inherited prejudices he may then proceed to find the centre of diffusion for each cultural conquest. If he finds the lines of diffusion of the most important culture traits persistently converging on the same centre, he concludes that this focus was the original home of civilisation in the New World. By this process he has shown that maize has descended from a wild grass in the Maya region of Yucatan, whence it passed far across both continents from one hunting tribe to another as far as the habitat of each tribe permitted. Similarly the whole cotton complex, including the loom and upward weaving, spread from the middle region of America both northward and southward. "The distribution of pottery was still in progress at the opening of the period of discovery" by European explorers in North America, and the inference is a fair one, according to Wissler, "that it was distributed from the south"; for, as he remarks, "as we know that maize came up from the south, it is reasonable to suppose that pottery came by the same road." Similarly it was only the peoples on and around the intercontinental bridge who developed metallurgy, or who possessed the social and administrative organisation to practice irrigation on a remarkably extensive scale. Many of the characteristics of the elaborate ritualism of the New World likewise spread from the middle region, especially from the Maya and Inca centres. In the central region also we find the only writing, just in course of transition from the pictographic to the phonetic stage. It spread northward into Mexico, but did not penetrate into South America, which never possessed writing.

EARLY CULTURE IN THE NEW WORLD

Here then we find disclosed in the Western World a nucleus of civilisation occupying the middle region of the two continents — a nucleus which led the cultural development of the entire Western Hemisphere. The leaders in this group were chiefly three peoples: the Maya of Yucatan, the Nahua of Mexico (including especially the Aztec), and finally the Inca of Peru. As over against *the other peoples* of the Western World, this group as a whole was immeasurably superior; while as compared with *each other*, the three members of the group differed greatly. The Maya of Yucatan may have been the original path-finders leading the other two; but it is very important to note that there was undoubtedly much interchange of mutual

influences among the three, and that the other two in some particulars outdistanced the Maya. Thus, while the Maya never advanced to the production of copper tools, but put up all their great stone structures with only stone tools, the Aztec culture and especially the Inca of Peru had begun the production and use of copper or bronze implements. Similarly the Inca culture made itself so superior in decorative art that it became the centre to which all the contiguous cultures were inferior.

The lack of writing throughout most of the territory of the New World has saved the Americanists from the regrettable narrowness, limitations, and often pedantry, of the old time philologist. To be sure, linguistic documents available in modern copies, transcripts, and treatises, besides the original inscriptions, have furnished the Americanists with an insurmountable mass of materials for philological investigation of the New World, and there have been sharp rivalries here between the linguist, the archaeologist, the ethnologist, and the physical anthropologist. All these lines of investigation therefore, and many others, have been indefatigably pursued, and an enormous body of observations and results representing them all has been built up by Americanists. Neither have these results been kept in water-tight compartments, but the whole body of evidence, from whatever source or of whatever character, has been brought to bear on the career of man in the New World.

THE OLD WORLD 6,000 YEARS IN ADVANCE OF THE NEW

Turning from a situation like this, embracing both the continents of the Western Hemisphere, we may apply its lessons very instructively to the Old World. For the Old World is itself made up of two continents, Africa and Eurasia; and, as we have already remarked, the earliest civilisations arose and spread on both sides of the inter-continental bridge between them. That the same processes of diffusion across and on both sides of the bridge, which the Americanist finds in the *New* World, were going on for thousands of years in the *Old* World, no one can doubt. But the situation in America has thus far required little consideration of the time element, a factor to which the Americanist is now beginning to devote some attention, whereas in the work of the Orientalist the time element has been perhaps the most obvious factor of all. For as far back as some six thousand years ago, that is early in the fourth millennium B.C., the peoples on the Nile and the Euphrates had reached essentially the same stage of culture attained by the Maya, Aztec, and Inca. Grouped about the Old World inter-continental bridge from the Nile to the Euphrates, we have therefore a nucleus of cultures which after 4000 B.C. had reached about the same point of advancement as that attained in A.D. 1492 by the New World group in an analogous situation.

We speak with reason of the Old World and the New; for the development in the Eastern Hemisphere was six thousand years earlier than in the Western. The European conquest of the Americas found the aborigines of the central region just beginning the use of metal, employing picture-writing (about to become phonetic), in full possession of agriculture and irrigation, but still without domestic animals. That is, Columbus found the aboriginal Americans at a level of culture already attained by the Near Orient well back of 4000 B.C. Each group in its respective situation was the sole nucleus of civilisation, and was far superior to the less advanced cultures stretching far across the great outlying continental areas. The diffusion of culture from the New World group, northward and southward across both continents, continuing as it did down into our own times, is like a laboratory experiment in human experience, set going for the benefit of Orientalists, and

demonstrating to us what must have been going on around the Egypto-Babylonian group for thousands of years before the age of written documents. This conclusion is confirmed as we examine the relation of the Egypto-Babylonian group to prehistoric man round about it.

Elsewhere, throughout the great prehistoric world of Africa and Eurasia, there was, as we have already stated, no culture higher than that of the savage or barbarous Neolithic hunting peoples, like those of the American continents on both sides of the central culture-nucleus. It is true that an enormous amount of detailed research remains to be done in the study of man's career in the Eastern Hemisphere, but enough has already been done to reveal the general situation. Long after the Egypto-Babylonian group at the nexus of the two continents had gained metal, writing, and highly developed government, the surrounding peoples far back into Africa and Eurasia had not yet gained these fundamental elements of civilisation and were still in a primitive stage of culture development. As we move out from the Egypto-Babylonian group the culture level declines and civilisation fades and disappears.

ANTIQUITY OF CHINESE CULTURE OFTEN EXAGGERATED

The only other centre of culture which might be compared in age with the Egypto-Babylonian group is China. Regarding the age of Chinese culture, however, there is wide misapprehension. The oldest *contemporary* annals of China written on wood and bamboo date from the second century B.C., and the shamanistic texts on bone, the oldest writing discovered in China, are dated by Laufer, as he has kindly informed the author, in the second millennium B.C. The oldest dated specimens of bronze made by the Chinese belong in the latter part of the second millennium, and not one is safely datable earlier than the thirteenth century B.C. China's remarkable list of civilised contributions to the western world is very late. This is well illustrated by her splendid gift of porcelain to the nations of the West after the development of modern sea trade with Chinese ports. The production of porcelain was an art which grew out of a knowledge not only of pottery but also of glass and glaze. The latter arose in Egypt as early as the thirty-fifth century B.C., and, spreading rather slowly to Western Asia, did not reach China until Hellenistic times, "in the second century B.C. or earlier." The evidence all points to the conclusion that Chinese culture developed immensely later than that of the Egypto-Babylonian group, and there are few if any competent Sinologists who would dissent from this conclusion. While it is evident that China passed through a long development in detachment from the Western Asiatic world, nevertheless, as Laufer has well stated, "the conviction is gaining ground . . . that Chinese culture, in its material and economic foundation, has a common root with our own." He would place this common source somewhere in Western Asia, without venturing to mention any particular geographical region. For himself, the author cannot doubt where this western source is to be placed. We must find it in the Egypto-Babylonian group; for the excavations in the regions of Asia surrounding this group, in Asia Minor, Turkestan and Elam (Persia), have disclosed very clearly the direction of the culture drift; although the excessively early and totally ungrounded chronology set up by de Morgan and Pumpelly has obscured the real situation and misled many.

It is therefore quite possible to indicate in very general terms the relation of the Egypto-Babylonian group to the vast undeveloped prehistoric world of savagery and barbarism which, in the fourth and fifth millenniums

B.C., extended from the Atlantic across Africa and Eurasia to the Indian and Pacific oceans. In the midst of this far-reaching wilderness of primitive life there was a single oasis of advanced culture from which the forces of civilisation gradually diffused a higher type of life among the surrounding peoples. The movement of such influences, and the detachment of the group which eventually carried agriculture and cattle-breeding into China, lie so far back in the prehistoric age that the practice of milking and of weaving wool had not yet developed. Of such movements we shall never learn very much. On the other hand the process of diffusion continued far down into the historic age, and much of it therefore took place almost under our eyes.

NOTABLE RECENT CONTRIBUTIONS

The progress of discovery in the Orient, which is making more and more clear this process of diffusion, was seriously interrupted by the World War, but has since been resumed. Even in the brief period since 1918 notable discoveries have been made. The recovery, by Reisner of the Harvard-Boston Expedition, of the Ethiopian Dynasty — the dynasty which ruled Egypt and confronted Sennacherib and the victorious Assyrian conquerors in their western advance in the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. — was a notable achievement and a model of methodical field work.

One of the most vivid and picturesque revelations of life in the ancient Orient which has ever come to us is to be found in the extraordinary group of peasants, shepherds and household servants in the form of painted wooden miniatures sculptured in the round, discovered by the Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York in an Eleventh Dynasty tomb at Thebes.

In Palestine, the excavations of the Philadelphia Expedition under Dr. Fisher have uncovered extraordinary records of the Egyptian conquest of this region left by the Pharaohs at the city of Beisân, familiar to most readers as the place where the body of Saul was hanged upon the city wall after his defeat by the Philistines of Gilboa. These discoveries are a surprising revelation of the important documents we may in the future expect from the mounds which cover the ruins of the ancient towns of Palestine.

THE TOMB OF TUTENKHAMON

In sensational interest, and doubtless in real human values, the discovery of the tomb of Tutenkhamon surpasses any such revelation of modern times. The value of the discovery of Tutenkhamon's tomb lies in the fact that it constitutes a treasury of works of art and craftsmanship which have survived from the first age of spiritual and intellectual emancipation in the career of man. Tutenkhamon's father-in-law, Ikhnaton, lived at the culmination of the earliest known imperial age — an age when men for the first time found themselves in an enlarged arena of action which had expanded beyond the national boundaries of Egypt to the outermost frontiers of the known world. Such ideas and such conditions forced the human mind out of its traditional channels, narrow and constricted, into a larger range. In contrast with limited nationalism, the *world idea* was born, and with it the world hero, the man of universal aspects. The vision of the world hero is but a forerunner of the world god, and thus monotheism was born. In this terrible revolution, the minds of thinking men were at last freed from the fetters of the past and took wing in the earliest known age of spiritual and intellectual emancipation. Art and religion, escaping from hampering traditions, found new and untrammelled modes of expression. The art of

Ikhnaton's new capital at Amarna was a fresh and extraordinary expression of this emancipated spirit of man; but when tradition resumed its sway, as it inevitably did, and Ikhnaton's revolution was swept away, the great works of art which his movement had brought forth perished with him. Just before the outbreak of the World War, the German excavations at Amarna uncovered a sculptor's studio where some scanty wreckage of this great art movement was found surviving.

In the tomb of Tutenkhamon, such things as the so-called coronation chair, which is simply a sumptuous palace easy-chair, as well as other remarkable works of the craftsman which were preserved in the tomb, show unmistakable evidence of having been brought from Ikhnaton's capital at Amarna, and demonstrate the statement with which we began — that the tomb of Tutenkhamon is a treasury of works of art from the first great age of spiritual emancipation.

When the author sat in the ante-chamber of the tomb studying the one hundred and fifty seal impressions covering the mysterious, still unopened doorway of the burial-chamber — seal impressions which no human eye had read for 3,250 years — they disclosed the fact that behind this door lay in undisturbed magnificence the sepulchre of an emperor of the East in the fourteenth century B.C. Two months later, when the ante-chamber had been cleared and it was possible to open this door, the evidence of the seals was confirmed and the practically undisturbed burial of the sovereign was found. Nested so far within successive catafalques or funeral canopies that no one has as yet set his eye upon it, is the stone sarcophagus which must lie in the heart of this complex. The work of the winter of 1923–1924 will reveal all this; and Europe, which, when this King was buried, had but recently passed out of Stone Age barbarism, and America, which until 1492 had for the most part known nothing else, will, after the lapse of three millenniums and more, again look upon the form of this ancient King.

In the days of Tutenkhamon and for centuries before his time southeastern Europe had been in close and sympathetic contact with the culture of Egypt, and the transition of civilisation from the Orient to Europe had long been going on.

THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF MAN'S CAREER

Considerations like these which we have been setting forth disclose at once an impressive degree of unity in the career of man. The recognition of the Orient as lying behind the history of Europe, just as the history of Europe lies behind that of America, and the further possibility of pushing back behind the historic Orient to the ages of man's prehistoric development and linking these up in their turn with the history of the Orient, thus giving us the ever remoter stages, America, Europe, the Near Orient, prehistoric man, the geological ages — these latest reconstructions of the new historian disclose to us the career of man for the first time *as one whole,* to be regarded as a consecutive development from the stone fist hatchet to the shell fragments of 1914 buried side by side on the battlefields of the Somme. A comprehensive study of the ancient Orient, carried on with open eyes and with larger objects in view than the statistics of the dative case, reveals to us the well-known and long-familiar historic epochs of the career of European man for the first time in a background of several hundred thousand years. In this vast synthesis, which only a study of oriental history makes possible, there is thus disclosed to us an imposing panorama of the human career in a vista of successive ages such as no earlier generation has ever been able to survey. *This is the New Past.*

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Lord Carnarvon (right foreground) entering the tomb of Tutenkhamon. The discovery of this ancient Egyptian tomb is probably the most remarkable achievement of modern archaeology.



© *Wide World Photos*

Decorations on the inside of the sarcophagus of Ashait, discovered in 1921 by the Egyptian Expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York.

THE "NEW PAST" AND EVERYDAY LIFE

However it may be with science and philosophy, history has thus far made little account of this tremendous synthesis. And this brings up the important question why modern education and research should be expected to take account of the New Past — these ages which seem so remote from modern life. These things all happened so long ago! Yes, the law of gravitation was set in operation a long time ago, and the coal measures and the iron deposits were laid down ages ago; but they are all modern forces still affecting our lives every day. Physics and geology deal with them in education, and our economic life could not go on without them. Just so the discovery of south-eastern Europe by civilisation five thousand years ago. It brought things into the life of Europe which to-day are forces as constantly and insistently touching our lives in all that we do, as the force of gravitation, the energy of coal, or the myriad modern applications of iron and steel. How far would the average citizen go in his day's programme if he were to eliminate as of no more use the things which he has inherited from the early Orient? When he rises in the morning and clothes his body in *textile garments,* when he sits down to the breakfast-table spread with spotless *linen,* set with vessels of *glazed pottery* and with drinking goblets of *glass,* when he puts forth his hand to any implement of *metal* on that table except aluminium, when he eats his morning *roll* or *cereal* and drinks his glass of *milk,* or perhaps eats his morning chop cut from the flesh of a *domesticated animal,* when he rolls downtown in a vehicle supported on *wheels,* when he enters his office building through a porticus supported on *columns,* when he sits down at his desk, spreads out a sheet of *paper,* grasps his *pen,* dips it in *ink,* puts a *date* at the head of the sheet, writes a *cheque* or a *promissory note,* or dictates a *lease* or a *contract* to his secretary, when he looks at his watch with the *sixty-fold division* of the circle on its face, in all these and in an infinite number of other commonplaces of life — things without which modern life could not go on for a single hour — the average man of to-day is using items of an inheritance which began to pass across the eastern Mediterranean from the Orient when Europe was discovered by civilisation five thousand years ago. Even in the world of science it is found, for example, that in the modern study of the moon the observations of the Babylonians furnishing the earliest known data are of great value. Similarly the processes of smelting metallic ores devised by the Egyptians some six thousand years ago, when they became the first smelters of metal, have been employed with little change for many succeeding centuries, until in quite recent years modern chemistry, with its infinitely greater resources, has introduced improvements and changes that were of course not available in the days of the ancient Egyptians.

It is, however, quite possible to misunderstand the value of ancient oriental achievement. One of the commonest and most regrettable spectacles of modern life, especially in America and England, is that of enraptured femininity contemplating the lofty truths fondly believed to be enshrined in some ancient oriental faith, and forgetting all that ages of social experience have contributed in developing, elevating, and enriching all the surviving religions of ancient origin. To ignore these later centuries of ennobling development and, turning backward, to adopt unquestioningly without change the germinal stages of some ancient faith is as reasonable as it would be for the thirsty individual seeking refreshment on a hot day to go and lie down under an acorn and regale himself with the resources of refreshment afforded by a single watermelon seed!

THE INSPIRATION OF "LOOKING BACKWARD"

Is there, then, any value that may still come to us from the New Past other than the intrinsic worth of its surviving achievements which are still in common use among us? Lord Acton has well said that "next to the discovery of the New World, the recovery of the ancient world is the second landmark that divides us from the Middle Ages and marks the transition to modern life." In this distinguished historian's judgment, therefore, the two great forces which led men out of the Middle Ages into modern life were a vision which looked both *forward* and *backward*, and which not only caught the limitless possibilities of the *future* in the New World after 1492, but also drew the profoundest inspiration from the newly recovered *past*, as they learned to know it in the surviving writings and other important works of its greatest men. What was the ancient world, the past, to which Lord Acton refers? The only past known to the men who were emerging from the Middle Ages was, as we all know, the past of Greece and Rome. Now we have just been considering the fact that the process of recovering the ancient world, which began at the dawn of the Renaissance, did not cease with the Renaissance, but has gone on through all the centuries since then, and with quickening strides, especially during the last two generations. We listen now not only to the voices of Cicero and Socrates, of Isaiah and David, as did the men of the Renaissance, but also to the voice of Sennacherib in the proud story of his victories, to the voice of Cheops telling in terms of colossal masonry architecture the triumphs of the first great organised state, to the voice of the earliest smelter of metals singing in the tinkle of his primitive anvil the song of man's coming conquest of the earth, to the voice of remote and long-forgotten aeons heard now only in the message of ever more carefully wrought stone implements, to the voice of geological ages muttering in the savage gutturals of incipient human speech which we seem to hear resounding through prehistoric forests reëchoing to the first inarticulate utterances of those now hardly discernible creatures, about to become men. Back through the aeons into historic and prehistoric deeps like these we now look, and listen to the echoes that come to us out of the vista of the ages. It was with such a vision before him that Tennyson looked down into the cradle of his firstborn and said, "Out of the deeps, my child"; and such a vision of the New Past, just beginning to dawn upon the minds of modern men, has values as yet all unproved. He who really discerns it has begun to read the glorious Odyssey of human kind, disclosing to us man pushing out upon the ocean of time to make conquest of treasure unspeakable, of worlds surpassing all his dreams — the supreme adventure of the ages.

[Materials from the author's Presidential address before the American Oriental Society, from a Convocation address at the University of Chicago, and from the author's *Ancient Times*, have been drawn upon for parts of this chapter.]

CHAPTER LXXI

THE ANTIQUITY OF MAN IN MIDDLE AMERICA

By Marshall H. Saville

Professor of American Archaeology, Columbia University. Member of Staff, Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation. Explorer in Guatemala, Honduras and Yucatan for the Peabody Museum and the American Museum of Natural History. Author of numerous books and papers on American Anthropological and Archaeological subjects.

For a great many years different types of artifacts (objects indicating manufacture or modifications by man) have been found in the valley of Mexico, and it was well known that an earlier people preceded the Aztecs in the great central plateau of the highlands. Late Aztecan objects were recognised, but of the chronological sequence of different cultures in this region practically nothing was known with any degree of certainty. Toltecs were presumed to have preceded Aztecs, and the terrible Chichimecs appear in the native legends as having been the first people to inhabit the region. Since 1910 our knowledge of the actual conditions has entirely changed, and great progress has been made in placing Mexican archaeology on a scientific basis. Following up epoch-making discoveries concerning certain peculiar little pottery figurines found in stratified deposits at Atzcapotzalco the International School of American Archaeology and Ethnology in Mexico under the successive leadership of Seler, Boas, Tozzer and Gamio carried on extensive excavations in order to determine the culture sequence of the remains.

The present bed of the valley is composed of a thick layer of decomposed tufa used for making adobe bricks. On the surface are many mounds containing archaeological remains. In these mounds and the present surface soil the antiquities are characteristically Aztecan, and this is what we should expect since the Aztecs were the dominant branch of the Nahuan people encountered by the Spaniards when the country was conquered early in the sixteenth century by Cortés. The thickness of the soil varies, but it is never more than three feet in thickness. Under this top soil is a stratum of *tepetate*, a redisposition of calcareous matter.

Proceeding downwards through this layer there is found at the beginning about four feet of loose soil consisting of decomposed tufa interspersed with layers of fine gravel. This deposit seems to have been formed by the winds and surface waters. The antiquities found in this stratum are entirely different in character from those on or near the surface. They are of the type found at the great ruins of Teotihuacan.

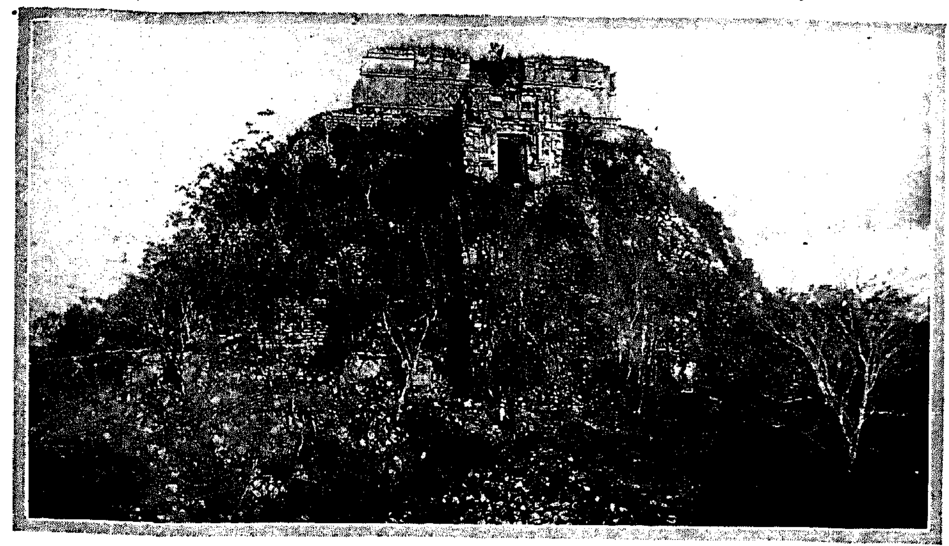
At the bottom of this layer the soil is different, consisting of the same material, but much harder. At the line of division between the two strata are the remains of houses and hearths. On and under the floors of the buildings great numbers of artifacts are found. Below this horizon descending downwards for some twenty feet the same type of objects is found, becoming less frequent as we reach the bottom. Human bones are sometimes encountered, but no complete skeletons. The material found in this thick

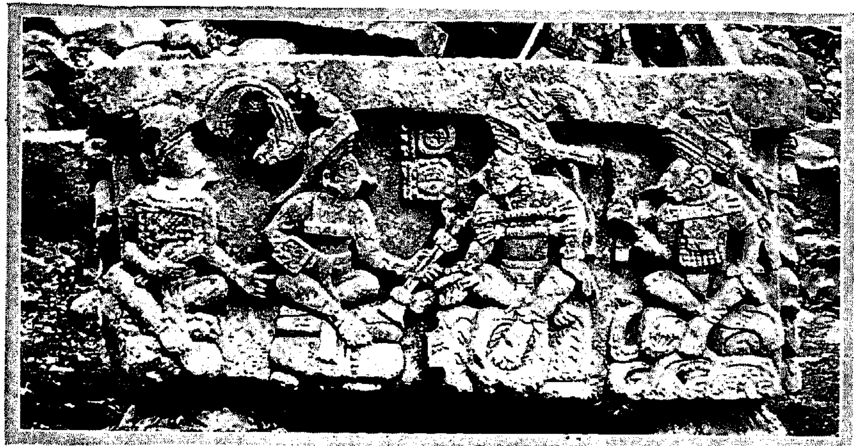
stratum is denominated as belonging to the Archaic Period. At a depth of twenty-one feet there is a quick change in the character of the soil. Here is found a bed of coarse gravel, about seven feet in thickness, evidently laid down by a river. The artifacts found in the gravel are water-worn, and are quite different in character from those in the stratum above. Excavations at this level were carried on outside of the gravel area, and a sandy layer was discovered at the same depth as the gravel. The remains discovered in this sandy deposit were of the same type as those of the gravel bed, but were not water rolled. Later finds made *under* a gravel bed in the valley seem to indicate an earlier culture epoch, for some figurines made of fine clay worn and polished as if water-worn, are of a quite distinct type from those found in the stratum of water-bearing gravels and the adjacent sandy layer.

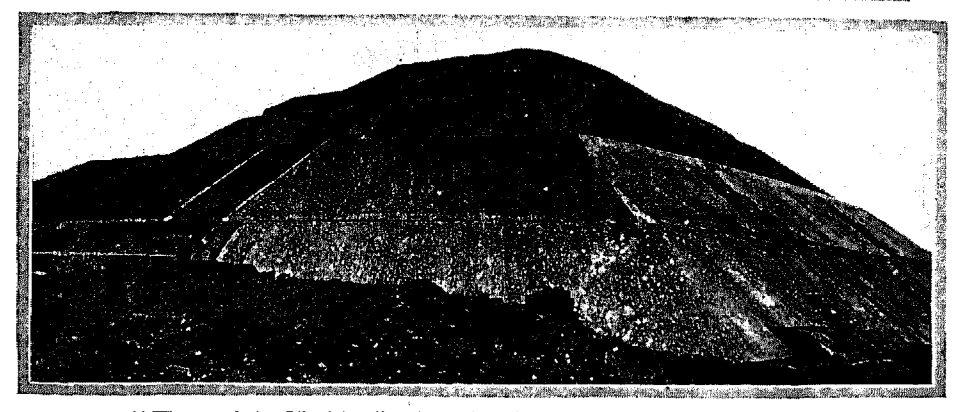
IMPORTANT DISCOVERIES NEAR MEXICO CITY

In addition to the stratified remains beneath the débris of ruined cities such as Atzcapotzalco and Colhuacan in the valley of Mexico, objects of the Archaic type, similar to those found in the gravel beds at Atzcapotzalco, and only artifacts of this character, have been discovered under a thick and extensive lava flow in the suburbs of the city of Mexico, known as the Pedregal. Human skeletons and pottery objects have been found under this flow at a depth of from thirty to forty feet by Dr. Manuel Gamio, the researches being carried on by the Dirección de Antropología of the Department of Public Works. Extensive tunnels have been excavated back from the edge of the lava extending in various directions for many hundreds of feet, and the skeletons have been left *in situ;* these galleries have been electrically lighted and form a permanent local exhibit, small artifacts being displayed in a building erected at the site. Geologists variously estimate that the lava flow must have taken place not less than three thousand years, nor more than seven thousand years ago. These finds in gravel stratum and under beds of lava conclusively prove that extensive changes have taken place in the valley since man first settled there. The character of the finds under the lava establish beyond question the art of the Archaic Period, and recent studies of the artifacts of Central America and northern South America, where such stratigraphic conditions have not yet been discovered, show this art to have extended to these southern regions.

Recently Cummings has explored an ancient temple foundation structure in the area of the lava flow of the Pedregal, near Tlalpam. This temple was standing in this part of the valley before the great eruption overwhelmed this region, when a great lava stream, enveloping it on all sides, covered up the ancient city, with the exception of the lofty summit of the temple pyramid. This place is called by the natives Cuicuilco, and Cummings found evidence that long before the formation of the Pedregal flow, but after the temple had been erected, the site was visited by a previous great eruption of the near-by volcano of Ajusco, and great showers of mud, ashes and pumice had whirled around the slopes of the pyramid, partly covering it to the crest. Here at Cuicuilco the Sub-Pedregal Period of the Archaic horizon lies on top of the thick stratum of volcanic ashes and pumice that covers the structure, which stratum extends out *under* the Pedregal lava. Beneath ten feet of this volcanic material are found the walls of a large truncated cone whose base lies twenty-five feet below the present surface of the hill. So far as we can judge at present, these discoveries indicate that the Sub-Gravel people were already erecting temples and building cities, and this opens up a vast and as yet comparatively unworked field in American Archaeology. It should be stated







Top: The "House of the Magician" at Uxmal in Mexico, built nearly 3,000 years ago. Centre: The Altar at Copan in Honduras. The carvings depict an Astronomical Congress of the Mayas September 2, 503 A.D. Below: The Pyramid of the Sun, part of the magnificent ruins of Teotihuacan in Mexico. (Wide World Photos and Kadel & Herbert.)

here that immediately below the geological horizon in which human artifacts have been found is a layer of grey, marly clay, in which extinct Quaternary mammalian fauna is found; but there is absolutely no evidence whatsoever that man existed in the region contemporaneous with these extinct animals. Hence he came into the valley at a time when he had already made considerable progress on the road to civilisation.

We may tentatively denominate the different types of culture revealed by this recent work in the valley of Mexico as follows:

ARCHAIC TYPE
- Sub-Gravel
- Sub-Pedregal

TRANSITIONAL TYPE
TEOTIHUACAN or TOLTECAN TYPE
AZTECAN TYPE.

There appears to have been a merging of the culture of the Archaic Period with that of the next period, and the objects pertaining to this epoch form a real transitional type.

The term Teotihuacan (formerly called Toltecan) has been given to the type of artifacts of the next chronological period, because of the knowledge gained by a study of the great mass of material found at the imposing ruined city bearing that name, near the present city of Mexico. Here also Archaic remains have been found, and also objects of the Aztecan type, verifying the tradition regarding the late occupancy of the site by the Aztecs.

ANCIENT PYRAMIDS OF PRE-HISTORIC MEXICO

For a number of years the Mexican Government has spent large sums of money in the exploration of the magnificent ruins of Teotihuacan, one of the most extensive and important cities of Middle America. The colossal remains indicate a very long period of occupation, the site being dominated by the two lofty pyramids, known respectively as the Pyramid of the Sun, and the Pyramid of the Moon, the former rising to a height of nearly two hundred feet, without the temple which formerly crowned it, which has disappeared. The exploration of the Pyramid of the Sun showed that it was enlarged from time to time with the result that old terraces and stairways were buried under new masonry. Since 1921 the explorations have been vigorously pushed under the direction of Gamio, principally at the site of the great group called the Citadel. This group consists of an enormous enclosed plaza, the four encircling platforms having four structures each on the northern, southern and western ones, and three on the eastern platform. In the centre was a pyramid considerably smaller than those of the Sun and the Moon. In ancient times this pyramid was enlarged by an addition placed against the western side. During the lapse of centuries the three exposed sides of this pyramid have become weathered, presenting a shapeless mass of *débris*. The Mexican archaeologist made a wide cut separating the old pyramid from the more recent addition, revealing in pristine state the western front of the pyramid, with its stairway, and terraced slopes, richly decorated with sculptures. The colours applied to the stones are still bright in many parts, and the great heads of plumed serpents, in some instances, still retain their inset eyes of obsidian. Many realistic representations of sea-shells occur. The frequent repetition of the plumed serpent leads to the supposition that the temple pyramid was dedicated to the god Quetzalcoatl, the great beneficent god of the Nahuans. This ancient monument is by far the most important

structure discovered up to the present time at Teotihuacan, and must be classed as one of the most beautiful specimens of architecture in ancient Mexico, equal in all respects to the finest examples of buildings in the Mayan area.

LATE DEVELOPMENT OF AZTEC CULTURE

The relatively late Aztecan type of culture has been established by the character of the material found in abundance on the surface in the immediate vicinity of the city of Mexico, and beneath the city itself, to a depth of seventeen feet. A few years ago when the street behind the Cathedral was opened to install the new drainage system, enormous quantities of stone and pottery objects were uncovered in the mud, and even below the foundations of the old temple of the Aztecs which was razed by the Spaniards, the present Cathedral occupying the site. It is known historically that the old Aztec capital was founded in 1325, so that the chronological character of Aztecan type artifacts is well established.

With this brief *résumé* of recent archaeological activities in the valley of Mexico, let us now consider the problem of the development of the civilisations of Middle America.

MIDDLE AMERICAN CIVILISATION — THE INVENTION OF AGRICULTURE

The invention of agriculture has been found to be the foundation-stone of old Middle American civilisation. It promoted a settled disposition, the permanence of houses, the habits of regulated labour. It allowed the congregation of large communities, and ensured the leisure which was necessary to higher intellectual cultivation. It seems well established that agriculture had its origin somewhere in the highlands, for the great staple, Indian corn (or maize), has its nearest wild relative in the mountains of Guatemala. In the area of the early cultivation of maize are the earliest products of a sedentary people known at present — the pottery artifacts of the so-called Archaic Period, found abundantly in elevated, open, somewhat arid regions, and hardly known in heavily forested lowlands. Nature being prodigal in this region, only the most primitive methods were necessary in the practice of agriculture, the plough never having been employed, and only simple hoes and digging sticks were in use. Due to an unequal water supply in many parts of the country, artificial irrigation was resorted to from remote times.

Parallel with this agricultural development there was gradually evolved an elaborate system of religious beliefs and ceremonies, for invoking the gods, in connection with the needs of fertilising rains and a successful harvest. The clear atmosphere of the highlands contributed to the careful observation of the heavens, and the changes of the seasons. So there came into existence a highly intricate calendar, a stock possession of the leading civilised tribes of Middle America. As this calendar system is known to have been fully developed as early as the beginning of the Christian era, we must presuppose for its rise, accompanied by the picture and hieroglyphic writing, and astrological calendar, with complicated priesthood, a long period of evolution, which must have begun at a very early date — indeed, with the beginning of intensive agriculture itself. The surprising accuracy of this calendar could only have come from prolonged and accurately registered observations of the relative apparent motions of the celestial bodies.

The ancestors of the Maya Indians of Yucatan, Chiapas and Guatemala were the most civilised and intellectual of any of the aboriginal tribes of ancient America, as shown by their antiquities, and they were probably the

people of the New World who invented the complicated system of hieroglyphic writing, for the recording of time periods, dates and mathematical calculations. They were mathematicians of a high order. Their dates are capable of being adjusted with a fair degree of accuracy to our chronology to epochs far back of the birth of Christ. These records are expressed in pictures and hieroglyphics, and were carved on stone and wood, and also kept in books made of a kind of bark or fibre paper, coated with a very thin layer of plaster. The subject-matter was sometimes painted in various colours on both sides of the strip, which was folded like a fan. Several of these books are preserved, and it is probable that more will be found later in the tombs of the ancient priests, for tradition states that when they died their books were buried with them.

THE BIRTHPLACE OF MAYA CIVILISATION

The exact region where the Mayas first started on the road to civilisation is at present unknown. The earliest date found thus far corresponds to 96 B.C., on a small jadeite idol from a place to the west of the country where Maya is known to have been spoken, in the mountains of the southern part of the State of Vera Cruz. From the style of the carving this relic perhaps points to the region where we should look for the birth-place of Maya civilisation, but the Maya family developed their highest culture in rich lowland regions where nature was lavish with her gifts, and highly organised labour was necessary in order to remove and keep down the exuberant and rapid-growing tropical vegetation. In this area are found nearly all of the important ruined cities; these cities occupied the region of southern Mexico east of the Isthmus of Tehuantepec, which must be considered geographically as the beginning of Central America. This region embraces the states of Chiapas, Tabasco, Campeche and Yucatan, including the area now occupied by British Honduras. Their cities also extended southward over the present republics of Guatemala, Honduras and Salvador. The earliest remains of the Mayas known at present are in the south and south-western sections of this great area, Chiapas, Guatemala and Honduras; the oldest dates on ancient stone monuments are found here, and so far as deciphered, unquestionably go back to a time shortly after the birth of Christ, or possibly a little earlier. But they reveal a full-fledged civilisation, showing a long period of evolution, which must have commenced at a very early time. The beginnings of Maya civilisation thus go back to the remote past, and as the archaeological research progresses, we shall doubtless discover dated monuments carrying the record back a number of centuries before the birth of Christ.

Moreover, there is strong reason for the belief that we shall find stratified deposits in the Mayan area analogous to those found in the valley of Mexico, as pottery figurines of the Archaic type are found in the region. In the vicinity of the city of Guatemala, between the city and Mixco, there are the ruins of an ancient, very extensive city, where artifacts are found nearly twenty feet below the surface of the valley. But this site still awaits the spade of the archaeologist.

For some powerful and impelling reason as yet unknown, the so-called old empire cities were gradually abandoned, and the people worked their way up into the peninsula of Yucatan, where they began to build cities with stone buildings as far back as the sixth century of our era, for an inscription has been found in Chichen Itza recording this date.

THE INVASION OF THE SPANIARDS

At the time Yucatan was discovered by the Spaniards in 1517, it was occupied by the Maya people. They were divided into a number of petty states. A few centuries before the Spanish conquest the region had been overrun by the Nahuans from the Mexican highlands, and when the Spaniards came they found the high Maya civilisation considerably influenced by this tribe. The Maya population had been decimated by famine, pestilence and intertribal warfare, and the ancient civilisation appears to have been on the wane, many of the important cities having been abandoned. Nevertheless, the people valiantly resisted the invaders, this part of Mexico being the most difficult for the Spaniards to conquer. At the present time there are several hundred thousand people in Yucatan who speak the Maya language, as their mother-tongue, and the race is one of the most intelligent and important surviving from pre-Spanish times on the American continent. Yet now, only a part of the peninsula of Yucatan is inhabited, a considerable section of the country being covered by a dense tropical forest in which lie buried scores of ruined cities; in fact, in no other part of Mexico are there so many remains of former settlements, attesting to a former large population in other times.

The peculiar conditions with regard to a water supply have influenced the distribution of the large centres of population. There are no surface rivers in Yucatan, nor lakes, with the exception of a few in the south-central and eastern parts of the peninsula, but water is found in rivers flowing underground, which find their way to the surface in caves, called *cenotes*. Near these *cenotes* were built the greatest cities. In some sections water was obtained by storage in great artificial ponds called *akals*, in bottle-shaped cisterns, *chultuns*, and in cavities in the rocks, *haltuns*.

UNRIVALLED ARCHITECTURE OF THE MAYAS

In the magnificence and variety of their massive stone buildings, the Mayas were unrivalled in the New World. The architecture of the various districts depended on the physical nature of the land and the character of the building material found in the vicinity. In the tablelands of Guatemala and Chiapas, the existence of independent tribes living in close proximity to each other rendered it necessary for the cities to be made more compact, and in many cases fortified. But little architectural refinement is found in the ruins in this region.

It seems clear that the greater number of the cities were centres of population surrounding the places of worship, and residences of the priests and lords. They were not densely populated except at fixed times, such as religious festivals and stated markets. Workmen, merchants, priests and those connected with the care of the temples, and rulers and their followers, formed the permanent population of the towns. They were truly sacerdotal cities. The bulk of the people lived then, as now, in simple thatched-roofed huts, surrounded by their cornfields, and were widely scattered over the country.

The principal buildings were raised on platforms or terraces, generally grouped around a courtyard. An ever-present feature in the cities was one or more large pyramids supporting temples. These pyramids were not tombs like the pyramids of ancient Egypt. The structures were of two classes — temples and the so-called palaces, which were habitations for the

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The Sacrificial Temple unearthed at San Juan Teotihuacan, thirty miles from Mexico City, showing the unique carvings of the early Mayan craftsmen.



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The ancient Inca capital, Machu Picchu, in Peru. A view showing the Sacred Plaza, Intihuatana Hill, the terraced gardens and the eastern part of the city, begun by the predecessors of the Incas probably 2,000 years ago.

priests and rulers. Many of the buildings were doubtless used for astronomical purposes, such as the small houses on lofty pyramids, and certain curious circular towers. A feature of all buildings without exception is the absence of windows. The walls are thick; in some cases the rooms appear like narrow corridors. The inner roof was rarely flat, a triangular arch with cap-stone instead of a key-stone being employed. The decorations covering masonry walls were carved façades, made up of many stones fitted together, and interior walls were often elaborately sculptured. Sometimes stucco was employed, and in many cases colour was used in ornamenting stone or plaster-covered walls to portray mythological and historical themes in various rich tones. In some edifices lintels and altar tablets of wood were beautifully carved. Massive sculptured slabs and monoliths occur in many of the old cities.

MAYAN ACHIEVEMENTS IN POTTERY

On the nature of the building stone found in the district native architecture and sculpture depended. In proportion as the available stone material was less fit for building and sculpture, the ceramic art increased, as shown by the antiquities of the Alta Vera Paz highland region of Guatemala, where little good building stone existed, and substantial architecture lagged. The polychrome pottery and sculptured terra-cotta artifacts here represent true artistic skill, and have not been surpassed by any of the Mayan tribes.

Broadly speaking, the Mayans were expert potters, and employed a variety of technical processes in the decoration of their wares, such as painting, modelling, engraving and stamping. Some of the most beautiful examples of polychrome ware in America have been found in Mayan tombs. To this culture also must be attributed so-called glazed ware, characterised by a surface lustre forming a semi-vitreous glaze of various shades with nearly always a mottled surface. Specimens of this ware, which probably had its origin as the product of some local tribe or family of potters in Guatemala, where the peculiar clay possessing ingredients producing this glaze existed, have been found in widely scattered sites from west-central Mexico to Salvador, evidences of the extensive trade connections of the Mayans.

The general facts connected with the peopling of Middle America, based on these discoveries of recent years, have been summarised as follows:

I. Pre-Archaic Horizon.

The peopling of the New World from Asia by tribes on the nomadic plane of culture, before the invention of agriculture.

II. The Archaic Horizon.

Invention and primary dissemination of agriculture, together with pottery-making and loom-weaving. Homogeneous culture with undeveloped religion and unsymbolic art. Practically confined to arid tropics.

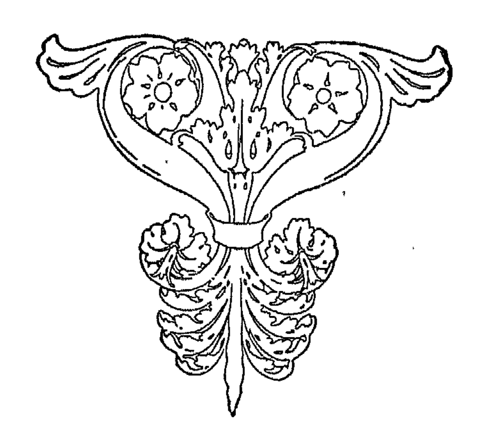
III. Post-Archaic Horizon.

Specialised cultures in North, Central and South America dependent upon agriculture. Strong local developments in aesthetic arts, religious ideas and social organisation. Agriculture extended to humid tropical and temperate regions.

HORSES, PLOUGHS AND WHEELED VEHICLES UNKNOWN

A final word regarding the origin and rise of the high civilisation found in ancient Middle America and western South America. In the light of

our present knowledge it seems clearly evident that the various tribes progressed on the road to civilisation free from contact with, or influence exerted by, any of the peoples of eastern Asia. The separation came before either people had advanced from nomadic savagery. Had there been such later contact or influence, we should undoubtedly find in these regions, where the natives reached their highest degree of culture, certain inventions commonly used from time immemorial in China, Korea and Japan. Some of these were wheeled vehicles, the plough, the carrying stick, terra-cotta roofing tiles, the potters' wheel, and chopsticks; also stringed musical instruments, with the possible exception of the musical bow. All of these are strangely absent. We may account for the absence of wheeled vehicles and the plough by the fact that draft animals, which have so profoundly benefited man in other parts of the world in his strides towards civilisation, were unknown in the New World, if we except the dog, and the llama in Peru. It may also be added that true glazed pottery, glass and iron were not inventions to be credited to the ancient peoples of America. Objects of this class have not been found on ancient sites — a further proof of entire lack of contact between the peoples of the Old and the New Worlds during the millenniums of the development of the American Race.



CHAPTER LXXII

THE HARVEST TIME IN MEDICINE AND SURGERY

By Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D., LL.D.

President of Stanford University. President of the American Medical Association. Formerly Chief of Conservation Division, United States Food Administration.

The advance of medicine and surgery has largely been along the footsteps made by the sciences. Advantage has been taken of each new discovery which could in any way be brought into the field of medicine. As we look back we see scientific medicine resting upon a great and intricate framework built by thousands of men working in different centuries, various countries and in all fields of human endeavour. Parts of this framework are solid and reach to an ultimate foundation in the basic and unchangeable laws of the universe. Others are but temporary and are yet insecure. One man has supplied fruitful ideas, another the results of painstaking research, another a chemical formula, another the microscope, another radium. These are all correlated, and the actual application of this knowledge to the care of man or animal, either in protecting him from abnormal body functioning or in the prevention and care of disease, we call the practice of medicine.

The period since the opening of the twentieth century can justly be called the "Harvest-time" of medicine. Pasteur previously had clearly shown that many diseases were due to the growth within us of living parasites. Lister had applied Pasteur's studies to the treatment of wounds and to operations. Koch had laid the basis for a study of the life histories and identification of these invading parasites. Von Behring had developed the chemical basis of the control by the body of its invaders. The laboratory was being brought into the day-to-day life of the physician. The operating-room had become a safe place for the exposure of human tissues. The medical student was beginning to receive sound training in physics, chemistry, biology, physiology, bacteriology, pathology and pharmacology. Old ideas expired over night, killed by new facts, and a great body of trained men was ready to use the new tools of science for further conquests. The very air of medicine was charged with scepticism. Every method of treatment, every conception of disease, new or old, had to pass through the fire of a widespread criticism from men who were thinking in new terms. This attitude went so far as to lead to the so-called "drugnihilists," who were willing to discard, wholesale, the experience of centuries, and to an over-emphasis on laboratory diagnosis to the partial exclusion of a personal and complete physical, mental and social examination of the patient. The detection of tubercle bacilli in the sputum showing pulmonary tuberculosis was so much easier than to prove the presence of that disease in other ways. Broadly speaking, we can classify this period as one of increasing confidence in surgery and in the findings of the laboratory, of decreasing confidence of physicians in drugs, and of a marked increase in public health and in industrial and social applications of medicine.

Most striking of all has been the capacity of the family physician, often poorly trained, to keep his daily work in reasonable accord with the progress of medical knowledge. In fact, his fault in this direction has often been a too prompt acceptance of the new even before it had been thoroughly tested. It could hardly be otherwise as can be shown by reference to the rapid and dramatic development of the knowledge of a single disease. For generations syphilis in all of its protean manifestations had been studied by the medical profession of the world. Its diagnosis and treatment formed a large part of all hospital practice. Every skin lesion had to be differentiated from it. Every still-born child caused one to suspect its presence. Skill in the use of the favourite remedies used for its treatment, mercury and iodide of potassium, was enough to make the reputation of many a world-known medical figure. By a long series of careful clinical observations, certain laws of the inheritance and transmission of the disease had been promulgated. There was inevitable confusion, varying opinion, insufficient treatment, disaster. The time was ripe for the harvest when the zoölogist Schaudinn in 1905 discovered certain spiral organisms known as *spirocheta pallida* in the lesions of syphilis. Others soon confirmed the presence of these organisms, and better methods of staining them for microscopic detection were shortly in use. Noguchi was able to grow them artificially, and lesions were produced following their injection into animals. The dark field condenser was added to the equipment of the clinic to detect them at once in primary lesions. They were found in the still-born infant killed by inherited syphilis, and their presence demonstrated the syphilitic origin of certain inflammations of the aorta leading to aneurism and also of two diseases of obscure origin of the nervous system: paresis, a progressive paralysis associated with mental changes; and tabes or locomotor ataxia.

As soon as it was clear that syphilis came from the growth in the body of a specific living organism, intensive studies upon the reactions of the body to its presence began, and Wassermann's observation in 1906 that the sera of syphilitic patients gave test tube reactions sharply differentiating them from the blood of normal individuals and from the sera of those suffering from most other infectious diseases, gave us the so-called "Wassermann Reaction," which has been of untold value in the diagnosis of the disease, which was often attended with the greatest of difficulty by the older methods. To bring security into the diagnosis of this disease was a social achievement of the highest order.

With the ability to grow the *spirocheta pallida* in animals, the opportunity to attempt their wholesale destruction in the living body was seized upon by Ehrlich, whose years of patient but preëminently imaginative studies in chemistry in his Frankfurt laboratory brought an arsenical compound, the famous 606, or salvarsan, into the daily life of the physician. In syphilised rabbits its injection killed the spirocheta and wiped away the lesions as snow fades in the hot rays of the sun. In many patients the results were no less startling; but in some, repeated injections were required to reach the organisms hidden deep in the tissues. Improvement has followed improvement. The toxic effects of the arsenic upon the human body have been lessened, new forms of arsenic discovered, new administrative technique devised, and supplementary treatment originated. In short, in this one field science has made an epochal advance and laid the basis for many future conquests.

We see too how rapid progress can be when every known and pertinent fact in bacteriology, pathology, physics, chemistry, zoölogy, physiology and clinical medicine can be brought to a common focus to illuminate obscure phenomena. The increase in the number of trained workers, the prompt interchange of ideas and literature from laboratory to laboratory, clinic to

clinic, and country to country, the intriguing stimulation of partially uncovered truth, have brought out a wealth of new information in every domain of medicine. This was particularly true in the recognition of the causes of various infectious diseases and in the methods of their transmission, in the studies of nutrition and the influence of glands upon bodily function. Simply to make a record of all that has been garnered during less than a quarter-century would transcend the limits of this brief statement. A good idea of the more important of them can be obtained by reviewing them under various headings.

(1) CAUSES AND METHODS OF TRANSMISSION OF DISEASE DUE TO LIVING ORGANISMS

The biological conception of disease as the result of one organism living in or upon another causing certain changes in the body functions or even death, made it imperative to discover, if possible, the causative agent of a disease and the life-histories of such agents. It is the conquests in this field that have made the recent period in medicine more productive of advance in preventive medicine than the several thousand years preceding. The unveiling of the weakest link in the chain of life of any organism made possible its control or even its extermination. Because of this, the organism causing yellow fever is now on its way to join the dodo bird and the passenger-pigeon. Each new crop of discoveries has followed the introduction of improved or new methods of investigation. Better microscopic stains, the ultramicroscope, improved earthenware filters, finer serological tests and more accurate methods for the study of the anerobes introduced during this period, together with studies upon insects and one-celled animals by zoölogists, made possible a long list of achievements. After Schaudinn's discovery of the *spirochela pallida* of syphilis and the later demonstration that yaws, a tropical disease, was also due to a spirocheta (pertenuis), Noguchi was able to cultivate them artificially and, also following Stimson's observations of another spirocheta in the tissues of yellow-fever patients, to supply experimental evidence of its relationship to that disease.

Filterable viruses. In 1898 Loeffler and Frosch found that the active virus of the dreaded foot and mouth disease of cattle would readily pass through the pores of an earthenware filter so fine as to hold back ordinary bacteria. The most powerful microscope failed to show any visible organisms in these filtrates, giving rise to the conception of ultramicroscopic forms of life, though it is now known that a number of visible forms are able to pass through such filters. The importance of this group of microörganisms has been shown by subsequent observations, since the viruses of small-pox, hydrophobia, infantile paralysis and trench fever are readily filterable, and a filterable virus can be demonstrated in the nasopharyngeal lesions of influenza patients.

Among the other outstanding discoveries of this period are: the transmission of typhus fever by the body louse (Nicolle, 1909), and the recent finding of an organism, the *Rickettsia Prowazeki*, in the lesions of that disease; the relationship of ticks to the transmission of Rocky-Mountain spotted fever by Ricketts; and the finding in this disease of an organism (rickettsia) by Wolbach. The importance of blastomyces and oida (mould-like forms) in human disease was brought out by Gilchrist and Rixford. Infantile paralysis was successfully transmitted to monkeys by Landsteiner and Popper in 1909. Titus, with the work of Flexner and others, has done much to clarify the causative factor of this disease now known to belong among the filterable viruses. The sleeping sickness of Africa was shown by

Dutton in 1902 to be due to a trypanosome similar to those found first by Bruce in animals in 1894. Loos unravelled the life-history of the hookworm (*ankylostomum duodenale, Uncinaria*), and thus laid the basis for the great campaigns to free communities and even whole countries from the debilitating effects of that parasite.

Another intestinal parasite, the ascaris, has been shown to have a certain fresh-water mollusc as an intermediate host by certain Japanese observers. Billings and others have emphasised the profound significance to the functioning and health of the whole body of the persistence of focal infections in such parts of the body as the tonsils, teeth, gall bladder and appendix.

Anerobes. The mass-study of wounds during the World War emphasised the importance of those bacteria capable of multiplying only in the absence of free oxygen. Aside from the bacilli of tetanus and of gaseous gangrene a number of others were found but not carefully differentiated. Results of fundamental importance seem likely to follow the intensive work now being done in this field. That form of food poisoning known as botulism, due to the growth of the anerobic Bacillus botulinus in canned foods, while long known, has recently been brought to public attention by widely scattered group deaths. The demonstrated practically universal distribution of this organism in garden soil and the marked resistance of its spores to heat has led to changes in the methods of preservation of many foods.

(2) TRANSMISSION AND CONTROL OF MALIGNANT TUMOURS

While the problem of cancer is the great enigma of medicine, some malignant tumours have been shown to be transmissible from animal to animal. Rous of the Rockefeller Institute has produced malignant sarcoma in susceptible fowls with a cell-free filtered extract of the tumour, and Febinger and Yamayiwa have produced malignant tumours experimentally. The biological conditions favouring or retarding cancerous growths have been the subject of thousands upon thousands of observations. This period has brought out the value of the Röntgen ray and radium in controlling the growth of malignant tumours, the vital significance of early diagnosis with prompt and drastic surgery based on the removal of the infected avenues along which the cancerous growth is wont to travel, and the need of public education as to the early manifestations of the disease.

(3) THE REACTIONS OF THE BODY TO DISEASE PROCESSES

When a living causative agent for a disease was discovered, the interaction between its life in the body and the body itself became vital for an understanding of the care and protection of the sick human being or animal. Among the great advances in the field of *immunology,* which deals with the resistance of the animal body to microörganisms and related injurious agents, have been:

(a) *Hypersusceptibility.* The earlier view that recovery from an infectious disease always leaves behind it an increased resistance to reinfection has been fundamentally changed by the discovery that under certain conditions recovery is followed by increased susceptibility. Systematic study of hypersusceptibility dates from the observation of Richet in 1902 that dogs inoculated with a mildly toxic foreign protein, after a suitable incubation period, become highly susceptible to reinoculation with this protein. The injection of a second protein dose is followed by profound collapse, death often occurring in a few minutes.

This discovery of anaphylaxis has greatly modified our earlier conception of the mechanism of disease production by pathogenic microörganisms. The secretion of toxic substances by microörganisms is now known not to be necessary for the production of clinical symptoms. The non-toxic proteins of the microörganisms, stimulating the development of a hypersusceptible state in the animal, may fully account for the toxic effects. The discovery has found practical application in the diagnosis of numerous diseases. For example, a hidden tuberculosis focus in the body, that cannot be detected by the ordinary diagnostic methods, renders the body hypersusceptible to tubercular proteins, so that the injection of a small dose of the extract of tubercle bacilli is followed by local inflammation, fever and other toxic manifestations. The discovery has further served to explain the nature of numerous clinical diseases. In the practical application of the Shick test based upon it, together with the use of diphtheria antitoxin, we have now a feasible method for the control of this disease. The subject has also been of general biological interest since it has been shown that the hypersusceptible state may be transmitted to the offsprings of the second and even the third generation.

(b) *Carrier States.* One of the significant advances has been the extension of our knowledge of the "carrier state." Certain individuals possess such an accurate balance between their bodily resistance and the disease-producing powers of the invading microörganisms that the microörganisms remain alive in their bodies often for long periods of time, without producing recognisable symptoms. This carrier state was recognised as early as 1884 in diphtheria, but has since been shown to be applicable to numerous other infections, particularly to typhoid fever, meningitis, pneumonia and scarlet fever. When we recognise that during an epidemic hundreds of individuals may become infected with the specific virus without showing clinical symptoms, and that these individuals are capable of transmitting the virulent disease to normal individuals, one realises the practical importance of this discovery.

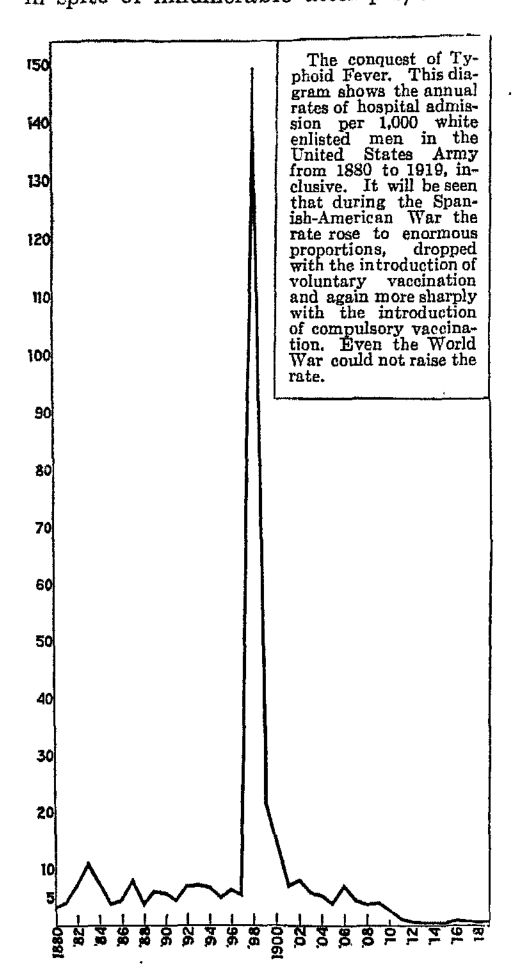
(4) BACTERIOTHERAPY AND PROPHYLAXIS

(a) *Limits of Serum Therapy.* The discovery in 1894 by Behring and Kitasato that the serum of a horse that had been repeatedly inoculated with toxic products from diphtheria bacilli, possesses preventive and curative properties, furnished physicians with a therapeutic agent giving an almost miraculous control of diphtheria. This discovery gave rise to the hope that equally effective sera would be found against other infectious diseases. The two decades following the discovery were marked by an almost feverish search for such sera. The main result has been the recognition that outside of a small group of infectious diseases, such sera have little or no therapeutic value. The disappointment has been particularly marked in tuberculosis and streptococcus infections.

This negative finding has turned the attention of immunologists to a study of immunological processes in parts of the body other than blood serum. It is the present hope that valuable therapeutic agents will ultimately be isolated from these parts. The discovery in 1917 by d'Herelle of a hitherto unknown filterable agent in the intestinal contents of dysentery patients, which agent possesses the power of rapidly killing and dissolving dysentery bacilli, may possibly indicate the type of substance to be found.

(b) *Limits of Vaccine Therapy.* Following the success of Pasteur in developing counter-inoculation or vaccination, against hydrophobia and anthrax, there was a logical hope that similar vaccines would be found against

other infectious diseases. Practically all known microörganisms have been tried out. These trials have led to a limited success in the treatment of certain diseases, notably in typhoid fever, and chronic staphylococcus infections. In the majority of infections, however, vaccination has been found either ineffective or not clinically applicable. For example, in tuberculosis, in spite of innumerable attempts, no method of vaccination has been found that will appreciably increase the resistance of the human body against tuberculosis, except the method of setting up a permanent tuberculosis focus in the body. This method, of course, is not clinically applicable. In streptococcus infections, vaccination usually leads to an induced hypersusceptibility.



The conquest of Typhoid Fever. This diagram shows the annual rates of hospital admission per 1,000 white enlisted men in the United States Army from 1880 to 1919, inclusive. It will be seen that during the Spanish-American War the rate rose to enormous proportions, dropped with the introduction of voluntary vaccination and again more sharply with the introduction of compulsory vaccination. Even the World War could not raise the rate.

(c) *Bacterial Differentiation.* The application of newer serological methods has greatly modified the older conception of bacterial species. Such terms, for example, as pneumococcus and meningococcus were originally considered to represent fairly homogeneous groups of microörganisms. Serological tests, however, have shown that many groups can be separated into sharply defined sub-groups, possessing identical cultural and morphological characteristics, but differing widely in pathogenicity and response to therapeutic agents. The outstanding discovery in this field was made by Neufeld and Haendel in 1910, who showed there were several distinct sub-groups of pathogenic pneumococci.

These studies have also resulted in the successful serum treatment of a form of pneumonia of the so-called Type 1 and of epidemic cerebrospinal meningitis and have led to a better understanding of the diseases due to individual hypersensitiveness, more particularly hay fever, asthma, certain skin diseases and certain gastrointestinal disturbances and to their prevention by eliminating offending proteins and by desensitising against them. Landsteiner by introducing blood-testing methods has made possible the extensive use of the transfusion or passage of blood from one individual to another without serious risk, thus preventing many deaths from shock, haemorrhage and infections and other causes. A. E. Wright in 1903 discovered the so-called opsonin vaccination to prevent typhoid based on the previous work of Haffkine.

(5) THE MODIFICATION OF THE FUNCTIONS OF THE BODY IN INTERNAL DISEASES

Workers in physiology, chemistry and the allied sciences have made the period since 1901 a harvest-time for internal medicine. That there were irregularities of the heart action has been known for ages, but the discoveries in connection with the "bundle of His" in the heart, together with the physiological work of Gaskell, Hering and Erlanger, and the work with the electrocardiograph, have enabled us to differentiate the various types of irregularity, and particularly to treat the fibrillation of the auricles with greater precison both with digitalis and with quinidin. Cannon and others have brought out the nature of shock following injury or operations and its treatment by transfusions. The significance of an increase of blood pressure in middle age or later life as evidence of disease, and the importance of a study of the basal metabolic rate in the sick, particularly in diseases of the thyroid gland, are among the advances.

Great gains have been made, particularly in the field of nutrition. The artificial feeding of infants has been markedly improved. Certain abnormal body conditions, well known for centuries, have been shown to be due to dietetic deficiencies. The recent discovery of vitamines in foodstuffs is of profound importance. The fact that their absence in a given diet may cause certain disease conditions, and the addition of them to the food consumed brings relief, is of the greatest social value. The control of Xerophthalmia (Vitamine A), beriberi (Vitamine B), scurvy (Vitamine C), rickets and pellagra seems now fully in our hands, and the recent discovery of Vitamine X brings out an unexpected relationship between diet and reproduction.

Functional tests of various organs, particularly of the kidneys, with phenolsulphonephthalein, and clinical tests for the amounts of urea or sugar present in the blood, have come into common use. The study of the so-called endocrine glands or glands of internal secretion has yielded a far better conception of a number of diseases and clinical pictures. Kendall's discovery of thyrotoxin and its relationship to certain types of goitre, the elucidation of the function of the hypothesis by Froehlich and Cushing, and the extraction of the sugar-burning principle of the pancreas — insulin — are the most important.

Insulin. For many years experimental studies have been made upon artificially produced diabetes, and there have been innumerable observations upon the blood of diabetics. The recent discovery of a substance which can be extracted from the pancreas of slaughter-house animals and injected into the body of patients suffering with diabetes, which will make up for the inability of the diabetics to consume sugar, has already shown that it is possible to save the lives of many juvenile diabetics, whose condition previously had been considered hopeless, and to prolong the life and comfort of hundreds of thousands of others. The increasing knowledge of diet in its relationship to the metabolism of the body, particularly in diabetes, must be used at the same time that insulin is given.

One of the dramatic successes has been the growth over long periods of isolated living tissues removed from the body but kept under conditions permitting growth. The discovery of the inter-relationships of the lungs and the kidneys in maintaining uniform reactions of the blood and the disturbance of these relations in acidosis has been of considerable practical significance.

(6) RADIOLOGY

The Röntgen ray has completely changed the care and treatment of fractures, modified the teaching of anatomy, increased the accuracy of diagnosis in internal diseases, surgery, dentistry and obstetrics, and has been of service in controlling malignant growths. Radium has been of great service in a smaller but similar field. These two alone would be enough to mark the period as one of almost incredible progress.

(7) CHEMIOTHERAPY

With the demonstration of the malarial organism and of its control by quinine, there was a marked impetus given to the efforts to discover agents that could be used in the human body without damaging it, and that would kill or inhibit the growth of invading organisms. This method of direct attack by chemicals, as we spray a tree with arsenic to kill insect pests, was worked out by Ehrlich and Hata in 1910 with the finding of certain arsenical compounds capable of effectively freeing the human body of the spirocheta of syphilis. Emetin was later shown to be markedly antagonistic to the amoeba of dysentery. The development by Dakin in 1915 of a simple hypochlorite solution for the sterilisation of infected wounds without injury to the local tissues and its use through devices prepared by Carrel, was an outstanding gain of war surgery. The recent application of certain dye-stuffs for the treatment of local infections seems to open a new and promising vein for future therapeutics. In the field of chemiotherapy lies much of the future of the treatment of disease. Colloidal chemistry and the new biophysics with its revolutionary changes in our conception of the atom, seem likely to open as great a field for the future as did the microscope in the past.

(8) MASS APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPLES OF MEDICINE TO THE PREVENTION OF DISEASE

The contrast between the appearance of the American troops upon their return to the home ports following the Spanish War in 1898 and the World War in 1918 dramatically marks the progress of medicine and surgery in the mass application of the more accurate knowledge of the diagnosis and spread of disease. The veterans of the Spanish War suffered much from typhoid, malaria, dysentery, hookworm and other similar diseases. They lacked the vigour and bounding health characteristic of the American soldiers both in Europe and upon their return. These differences were largely due to the use of anti-typhoid vaccination, a better control of food and water supply, and a more thorough campaign directed to the protection of the life and health of the soldier from the hour of his first physical examination.

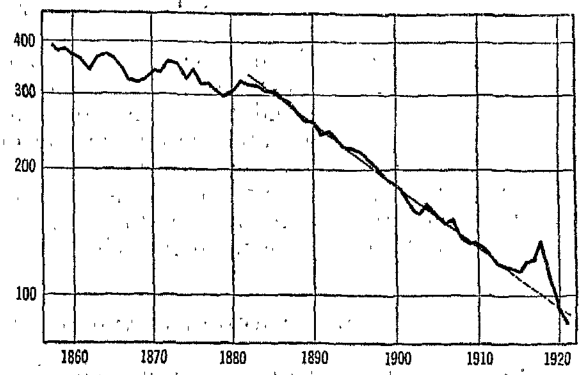
The most striking advance in mass medicine was this prevention of disease on a large scale. This applies not only to homes but to whole populations. The knowledge of malaria and its relationship to the mosquito, acquired just before this present period, brought about, through mosquito control and the mass treatment of populations by quinine, a marked improvement in the handling of this disease.

Mosquito control has practically eliminated yellow fever. This crown placed upon the work of Walter Reid and General Gorgas is the most dramatic of all conquests of modern medicine

The mass treatment of whole populations for hookworm was the training in sanitation of these populations in the disposal of excreta.

Typhoid fever during this period has ceased to be a menace in many of the large cities in the United States, due to the control of water supply, milk supply and carriers.

There has also been a definite decrease in tuberculosis, largely due to a better understanding of the need of the control of active cases and the education of the general population.



Mortality from Pulmonary Tuberculosis in the State of Massachusetts by years. Annual rate per 100,000 inhabitants (Logarithmic Scale).

Millions of inoculations against typhoid and typhus fevers and cholera were given in Russia by the American Relief Administration during the period of famine relief, thus controlling epidemics even where the soil for their spread had been prepared by malnutrition and widespread dissemination of cases of these diseases.

Public education in health matters has been put more and more on a fact basis. It has been shown that public health is purchasable and that the death-rate of a community within the natural limits depends upon the amount of money directly applied to the prevention of disease. The great advances in medical education that have characterised this period give assurance of a continuation of this progress.

(9) SURGERY

The World War provided a wider field of surgical activity than the world had ever before known. Fortunately the use of anæsthetics, both general and local, the Röntgen ray and aseptic surgery were almost universal. Surgery was prepared for the critical trial of war, and tens of thousands of lives were saved. The new war surgery was devoted not only to saving lives, but to preserving the functions of limbs and other parts of the body. Plastic surgery for the relief of deformities following destructive wounds reached heights never before attained. There were many improvements in surgical technique and in the handling of infected wounds, penetrating wounds and shock.

Vascular surgery reached a state of great technical perfection, and the treatment of burns by the application of wax or other similar agents was developed.

During this period the thorax was conquered by surgery as the abdomen with its peritoneum had been in the two decades before.

(10) DISEASES OF ANIMALS

The economic results of medical discovery are increasingly evident in the domain of animal husbandry. The methods of control of hog cholera, anthrax, and pox in chickens have come into common use along with many

other measures regarding nutrition and disease prevention. Animal experimentation for the benefit of animals as well as man has been of incalculable service.

(11) DENTISTRY

The significance of infection in and about the teeth has exercised an increasing influence in dentistry. The Röntgen ray has become of regular use in dental practice and has permitted accurate knowledge of unerupted teeth, alveolar abscesses, and the relationship of the teeth to diseases of the bones and sinuses. Persistent infections of the mouth have been shown to bear a relationship to some general diseases of the body, and marked relief following the proper care of such foci has been a worthy contribution of dentistry to the field of general medicine.

(12) PSYCHOLOGY AND MENTAL THERAPY

Insanity until recently has been looked upon as a mysterious curse blighting its victims for life. In the last twenty years a great change has come. The separation of paresis or general paralysis of the insane as due to the spirocheta of syphilis and the clarification of the classification of the insanities were not more significant than the changed attitude of the medical profession due to the mental hygiene movement stimulated by Beers in his book *A Mind That Found Itself*. The advances in psychology, the development of mental tests, the serological investigations of the blood and spinal fluid, have also helped to make the care of the insane something more than a custodial process. It has been shown that the early diagnosis of mental changes and the proper care of patients in the post-insane period can do more than has ever been done before for those with some mental aberration.

The psychoanalysis of Freud, Jung and others, while it has had a great vogue and has contributed materially in helping us to understand certain emotional states, has been disappointing from a therapeutic standpoint.

(13) SUMMARY

In conclusion, this remarkable "Harvest-time" period of medicine has been characterised by an increased knowledge of the biological and physiological relationships of disease, by mass applications of medical facts to society, by increased organisation of all the factors for the care of the sick—medical schools, nurses' training schools, hospitals, health boards, etc.; by a better understanding of the relationship of the nervous system to disease, and by such outstanding discoveries as salvarsan, insulin and the vitamines.

CHAPTER LXXIII

PSYCHOANALYSIS: EXPLORING THE HIDDEN RECESSES OF THE MIND

By Sigmund Freud, M.D., LL.D. (Vienna).
The founder of Psychoanalysis, whose revolutionary views have markedly influenced the mental sciences.

Authorised Translation, by Dr. A. A. Brill, of New York.

I

HISTORY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

Psychoanalysis may be called a child of the twentieth century. The publication with which it was ushered into the world as something new, my *Interpretation of Dreams*, bears the date of 1900. But it is quite obvious that it did not gush forth from the rock nor fall from heaven; it is connected with something older which it continued; it resulted from stimuli which it elaborated. Its history must be dated from the influences which had a decisive effect in its origin and must not omit the times and circumstances that preceded its creation.

Psychoanalysis grew up on a very narrow foundation. In the beginning it had only one object, namely, to understand something concerning the nature of the so-called "functional" nervous diseases and to overcome the impatience hitherto shown by physicians in the treatment of these diseases. The neurologists of this time were educated to esteem highly the physical and anatomic-pathological facts. They were mainly influenced by the findings of *Hitzig, Fritsch, Ferrier, Goltz* and others, who seemed to have demonstrated an intimate, perhaps exclusive, connection between certain functions and circumscribed parts of the brain. They knew nothing of the psychic factors, they could not grasp them, they left them to the philosophers, mystics and quacks, and considered it even unscientific to occupy themselves with them. In consequence of this the approach to the mysteries of the neuroses remained closed, and above all the access to the enigmatic "hysteria," which was really the model of the whole series.

In 1885, while I was still a hospital intern in the Salpêtrière (Paris), I discovered that one was content to explain the hysterical paralyses by saying that the milder functional disturbances are determined by the same parts of the brain which are responsible for the severe injuries of corresponding organic paralyses.

This deficient understanding naturally also influenced the therapy of these morbid states. The latter consisted mainly in heroic measures, such as the administration of drugs, for the most part very useless ones, unfriendly methods of influencing the mind in the form of intimidations, mockings, lecturing the patient to use his will power, that is, to make an effort, "to pull himself together." Electric treatment was supposed to be a specific for nervous states, but whoever undertook to follow it according to the detailed prescriptions of W. Erb wondered at the play of phantasy even in this presumably exact science.

The decisive turning-point came in the 'eighties, when the phenomenon of hypnotism again knocked for admission on the doors of medical science; this time it met with better success than ever before, thanks to the work of *Liébault, Bernheim, Heidenhain* and *Forel.* It was mainly a question of recognising the genuineness of these manifestations. Once this was admitted, hypnotism impressed one with two fundamental and indelible principles. In the first place, one became convinced that striking physical changes could even result from psychic influences, which in this case could be artificially produced; and secondly, from the post-hypnotic behaviour of the test person, one became impressed with the existence of such psychic processes which could be designated as "unconscious." To be sure, as a theoretical concept the "unconscious" had for some time before been discussed by philosophers, but here in the manifestations of hypnotism, it became for the first time real, tangible, and an object of experiment. Moreover, the hypnotic phenomena showed an unmistakable resemblance to the manifestations of some of the neuroses.

The importance of hypnotism for the history of development of psychoanalysis must not be too lightly estimated. Both in theoretic as well as in therapeutic aspects, psychoanalysis is the administrator of the estate taken over from hypnotism.

HYPNOTISM AND CATHARSIS

Hypnosis also proved to be a valuable aid in the study of the neuroses, and again, in the first place, in hysteria. Charcot's experiments made a great impression; he thought that certain paralyses which appeared after a trauma (accident) were of an hysterical nature, and that he could even produce artificially paralyses of the same character by suggesting a trauma during hypnosis. Since then, it was presumed that traumatic influences could, in a general way, participate in the origin of hysterical symptoms. Charcot himself made no further effort to understand the psychology of the hysterical neuroses, but his pupil, *Pierre Janet,* took up these studies and with the aid of hypnosis could show that the morbid manifestations of hysteria depended closely on unconscious thoughts (*idées fixes*). The character of hysteria, according to Janet, consisted in an assumed constitutional incapacity to hold together the psychic processes, in consequence of which there results a disintegration (dissociation) of the psychic life.

But Janet's investigations are not in any way connected with psychoanalysis; the latter was influenced mainly by the experience of a Viennese physician, *Dr. Joseph Breuer,* who, independent of any outside influences, studied and cured by means of hypnotism a highly gifted hysterical girl. Breuer's results were not brought to light until fifteen years later, after he took the present writer (Freud) as his collaborator. The case treated by him has retained its unique importance for our understanding of the neuroses up to the present, so it is hardly possible not to dwell on it a bit longer.

It is necessary to understand clearly the peculiarities of Breuer's case. The girl became ill as a result of nursing her father to whom she was affectionately attached. Breuer was able to demonstrate that all her symptoms were traceable to this nursing and could be explained by it. It was the first time that a case of this enigmatic neurosis became fully transparent and that the morbid manifestations proved to be full of meaning. Moreover, the common feature of the symptoms consisted in the fact that they originated in situations in which there was an impulse to do something which was not accomplished because other motives suppressed it. In the place of these omitted actions there appeared symptoms. For the etiology of hysterical

symptoms we were thus directed to the emotional life, the *affectivity,* and to the play of the psychic or dynamic forces, and these two viewpoints have not been relinquished since then.

The causes which gave origin to the symptoms in Breuer's case resembled the traumatic factor of Charcot's. The remarkable fact about this is that these traumatic causes and all psychic feelings connected with them were altogether lost to the patient's memory, as if they had never happened, while their effects, that is, the symptoms, continued unchanged as if unaffected by the wear and tear of time. This furnished new evidence for the existence of the unconscious, and just because of it, for particularly powerful psychic processes resembling those originally recognised in post-hypnotic suggestions. The therapy practised by Breuer consisted in causing the patient, while in a state of hypnotism, to recall the forgotten traumata and to react to them with marked affective expressions. The symptom which until now took the place of such emotional expressions then disappeared. The same procedure served at the same time for the investigation and removal of the symptom, and this unusual union also was adhered to by the later psychoanalysis.

PSYCHOGENETIC ELEMENTS OF HYSTERIA

In the early 'nineties, after the writer had corroborated in a great many cases Breuer's results, they (Breuer and Freud) decided to give out a publication which described their experiences and contained an attempt to formulate a theory based upon these experiences. (*Hysteria and Other Psychoneuroses*, translated by Dr. A. A. Brill, Monograph Series of Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases Pub. Co.) This theory states that hysterical symptoms result if the affect of a markedly emotionally accentuated psychic process is deflected from normal conscious elaboration and thus pushed on a false path. In the case of hysteria, it then passes over into unaccustomed bodily innervations, thus causing a *conversion* of psychic into physical, but can be conducted elsewhere and discharged (*abreacted*) if revived in a state of hypnosis. The authors called their procedure *catharsis* or cleansing.

The cathartic method is the immediate predecessor of psychoanalysis and, despite all expansions of this experience and all the modifications of the theory, it is still retained as its nucleus. But it was merely a new path to the medical treatment of some nervous diseases, and there was not the slightest indication that it would become the object of most widespread interest and of the most violent controversies.

II

HYPNOTISM SUPERSEDED BY PSYCHOANALYSIS

Soon after the publication of the studies in hysteria the collaboration of Breuer and Freud came to an end. Breuer who was really a general practitioner gave up the treatment of nervous diseases, while Freud took pains to further perfect the instrument left to him by his older colleague. The technical innovations which he initiated and the new discoveries which he made transformed the cathartic method into *psychoanalysis.*

The most consequential step was the one which he took in abandoning the technical remedy of hypnotism. Two motives induced him to do this: first, because in spite of a course of instruction with Bernheim in Nancy, he was not successful in putting under hypnosis a sufficiently large number of pa-

tients; and, secondly, because he was dissatisfied with the therapeutic results of catharsis based on hypnosis. Although these results were very striking and appeared after a short period of treatment, they did not turn out to be durable, and depended too much on the personal relation between patient and physician. The relinquishing of hypnosis signified a break with the method hitherto developed and marked a new beginning.

But as hypnosis had served the purpose of bringing back to the patient's conscious memory the forgotten material, it had to be replaced by another technique. It then occurred to Freud to substitute for it the method of *free associations*, that is, he urged the patients to give up all conscious reflection and to abandon themselves in calm concentration to the following up of their spontaneous (unwilled) mental occurrences, or, "to steer clear of the surface of consciousness." These mental flashes should be communicated to the physician even if they feel some opposition to them, as for example, on the ground that the thought is too disagreeable, too senseless, or very unimportant, or that it does not belong here.

The choice of the free association as an aid in the investigation of the forgotten unconscious material seems so strange that it will not be amiss to say a word in its justification. In using this method Freud was guided by the expectation that the so-called free associations will in reality prove to be *not free*, in that after the suppression of all conscious and mental intentions it would be found that these mental occurrences were determined by unconscious material. Experience justified this expectation. By following the free associations according to the strict observations of the "analytic fundamental principles" mentioned above, one obtains a rich material of mental occurrences which leads back to the tracks of the material forgotten by the patient. To be sure, the material does not exactly bring back the exact forgotten things, but it shows such clear and rich indications of them, that with some restorations and interpretations the physician is enabled to conjecture (reconstruct) the same. Free associations and the art of interpretation thus furnish the same results as the former method of hypnotising.

Apparently the work has been made more difficult and more complex, but the inestimable gain lies in the insight gained concerning the play of forces which was not revealed to the observer through the hypnotic condition. One realises that the work of uncovering the pathogenic forgotten material has to contend with a constant and very intensive *resistance*. The critical objections with which the patient strives to exclude the emerging thoughts and against which the analytic principles are directed, are already expressions of these resistances.

From the estimation of the phenomenon of resistance there resulted one of the pillars of the psychoanalytic theory of the neuroses, namely, the theory of *repression*. It was quite natural to assume that the same forces which at present struggled against making conscious the pathogenic material have formerly striven against it with success. Thus the gap in the etiology of the neurotic symptoms was filled. The impressions and psychic feelings, for which the symptoms were now substitutes, were not forgotten without reason, or in consequence of a constitutional inability for synthesis, as Janet thinks, but had experienced repression through the influence of the psychic forces, whose success and distinction lay precisely in keeping them from consciousness and excluding them from memory. The first became pathogenic as the result of this repression, that is, they created for themselves, on unusual paths, an expression in the form of symptoms.

As motive for repression and also as cause of every neurotic disease, one must conceive the conflict between two groups of psychic strivings. And

now experience taught quite a new and surprising fact concerning the nature of the forces struggling with each other. The repression regularly emanated from the conscious personality (from the *ego*) of the patient and concerned ethical and aesthetic motives. Repression affected the feelings of selfishness and cruelty, which may be generally conceived as evil, but above all the sexual wish feelings, often of the most glaring and forbidden kind. The symptoms of the disease were thus a substitute for forbidden gratifications, and the disease seemed to correspond to an imperfect taming of the immoral elements in man.

IMPORTANCE OF SEX IN ITS BROADER CONCEPTION

With the progress in knowledge it became clearer and clearer that the sexual wish feelings play an enormous part in the psychic life and give occasion for a detailed study of the nature and evolution of the sexual impulses. (Freud, "*Three Contributions to the Theory of Sex,*" translated by Dr. A. A. Brill, Monograph Series, Journal of Nervous and Mental Diseases.) But one also came upon another, purely empiric result, by discovering that the experiences and conflicts of the first years of childhood play an unsuspectedly important rôle in the development of the individual and leave behind indelible dispositions for the period of pubescence. Thus something was discovered which was hitherto systematically overlooked in science, the *infantile sexuality*, which from the tenderest age begins to manifest itself in physical reactions as well as in psychic attitudes. In order to bring together this infantile sexuality with the so-called normal sexuality of the adult and with abnormal sex life of perverts the concept sexual had itself need for adjustment and extension, which could be justified by the history of the evolution of the sexual instinct.

Since hypnosis was replaced by the technique of free association, Breuer's cathartic method became psychoanalysis, and for more than a decade was developed by the writer (Freud) himself.

RELATION OF PSYCHOANALYSIS TO MEDICAL AND NON-MEDICAL FIELDS

During this period psychoanalysis gradually developed a theory which seemed to give adequate information concerning the origin, meaning and purpose of the neurotic symptoms, and furnished a rational foundation for the medical efforts of removing the malady. I will again group together the factors which constitute the content of this theory. They are as follows: the emphasis laid on the impulsive life (affectivity), the psychic dynamic, the transparent ingeniousness and determination even of the psychic phenomena that are seemingly most obscure and arbitrary, the theory of psychic conflict and of the pathogenic nature of the repression, the conception of the morbid symptoms as substitutive gratifications, and the recognition of the etiological importance of the sexual life, particularly the additions of the infantile sexuality. Philosophically considered, this theory must assume the attitude that psychic is not identified with consciousness, that psychic processes are in themselves unconscious, and can only be made conscious through the activity of special organs (instances, systems). To complete this enumeration, I will add that among the affective attitudes of childhood there arises the complicated emotional relation to parent, the so-called *Oedipus Complex*, in which one recognises more and more clearly the nucleus of every case of neurotic disease, and that in the behaviour of the person analysed one

observes certain striking manifestations of emotional *transference* directed at the physician, which are of great significance for the theory as well as the technique.

Even in this form the psychoanalytic theory contained much that ran counter to existing opinions and tendencies, and evoked in outsiders astonishment, aversion, and incredulity. This showed itself in the attitude towards the problem of the unconscious, the recognition of an infantile sexuality, and the emphasis of the sexual factor in the psychic generally. But there was still more to come.

III

EROTIC WISHES AND PAINFUL SYMPTOMS

In order to understand in a measure how a forbidden sexual wish in a hysterical girl can become transformed into a painful hysterical symptom, it was necessary to formulate profound and complicated assumptions concerning the structure and function of the psychic apparatus. That showed an obvious inconsistency between expenditure and result. If the relations attributed to psychoanalysis actually existed, they were perforce of a fundamental nature and must have manifested themselves in other phenomena besides those of hysteria. But if this inference was true, then psychoanalysis ceased to be an object of interest to neurologists only; it must also claim the attention of all those who are in any way interested in psychological investigation. Its results must not only be taken into account in the spheres of the pathological psychic life, but must also not be neglected in the understanding of normal functioning.

THE NEW PSYCHOLOGY

The proof of its usefulness in the explanation of other than mere morbid psychic activities was early demonstrated by psychoanalysis in two different kinds of phenomena: in the very common everyday *faulty actions* (forgetting, lapses in speech, misplacing things, etc.) and in the *dreams* of healthy and psychically normal individuals.

The slight faulty actions, like the temporary forgetting of otherwise familiar proper names, slips of the tongue, mistakes in writing and similar mechanisms, were hitherto deemed unworthy of an explanation or were attributed to states of fatigue, distraction of attention, and similar disturbances. But the writer could demonstrate by numerous examples that such occurrences are full of meaning, and came into existence as a result of the disturbance of a conscious intention by another suppressed one, often directly unconscious. (*Psychopathology of Everyday Life*, translated by Dr. A. A. Brill, T. Fisher Unwin, London, and The Macmillan Co., New York.) In most cases rapid reflection or a short analysis will demonstrate the disturbing influence. In the frequency of such faulty actions as slips of the tongue, any one can easily be convinced of non-conscious psychic processes in his own person, which are nevertheless active and express themselves as inhibitions and modifications of other intentional acts.

THE FUNCTION OF THE DREAM EXPLAINED FOR THE FIRST TIME

The analysis of dreams which the author published in 1900 led further. (*The Interpretation of Dreams*, translated by Dr. A. A. Brill, Allen and

Unwin, London, 1913, and The Macmillan Co., New York.) It showed that the dream is not differently constructed from the neurotic symptom. Like the latter it may seem strange and senseless, but when it is examined by means of a technique which differs slightly from the free association method used in psychoanalysis one gets from its *manifest content* to its hidden meaning, or to its *latent thoughts*. This latent meaning is each time a wish feeling which is represented as fulfilled in the present. But except in little children and under the pressure of imperative physical needs, this secret wish can never be openly expressed. It must first be subjected to a *distortion*, which is the work of restricting censorial forces in the dreamer's *ego*. Thus originates the manifest dream as it is recalled on awakening; distorted beyond recognition by the concessions to the dream censor, it can nevertheless be unmasked by the analysis as an expression of a state of gratification, or of a wish fulfilment; it is a compromise between two contending groups of psychic strivings, just as we have found in the hysterical symptom. The formula — "the dream is a (disguised) fulfilment of a (repressed) wish" — best describes in principal the essence of the dream. By studying that process which transforms the latent dream wish into the manifest dream content (the dream work), we have been enabled to discover most of the knowledge that has thus far been acquired on the subject of the nature and functions of the unconscious psychic life.

Now the dream is no morbid symptom but a function of the normal psychic life. The wishes which it represents as fulfilled are the same which merge into repression in the neurosis. The dream owes the possibility of its origin to the favourable circumstance that during the state of sleep, which paralyses man's motility, the repression becomes reduced to the dream censor. Still, when the dream formation oversteps certain limits, the dreamer makes an end to it and awakens terrified. It is thus demonstrated that the normal psychic life contains the same forces and the same processes as the morbid, From the interpretation of dreams, psychoanalysis obtained a twofold significance; it was not only a new therapy for the neuroses, but also a new psychology; it not only claimed the attention of the nerve specialists, but also all of those engaged in the study of the mental sciences in any form.

PSYCHOANALYSIS GAINS RECOGNITION DESPITE ENORMOUS OPPOSITION

However, the reception accorded to it in the world of science was not a friendly one. For about a decade no one bothered about Freud's works. In about 1907 a group of Swiss psychiatrists (Bleuler and Jung in Zürich) turned their attention to psychoanalysis, and then a storm of indignation broke loose, especially in Germany, which in method and debate was decidedly coarse. Psychoanalysis thereby shared the fate of so many new movements, which after the lapse of a certain period found general recognition. To be sure, by its very nature it had to arouse particularly violent opposition. It offended the preconceived notions of civilised beings in some particularly sensitive spots; in a certain way it subjected all people to the analytic reactions, in that it revealed what by general agreement was repressed into the unconscious and thus forced the public to behave like the patients, who above all bring to the surface their resistances during the analytic treatment. It must be admitted that it was by no means an easy matter to overcome the obstacles to an understanding of the correctness of the psychoanalytic theories or to obtain real instruction in the practice of psychoanalysis.

The general hostility could not, however, prevent psychoanalysis from continually expanding in the course of the next decade in two directions: on the map, in that it aroused interest in one country after another; and in the field of mental sciences, in that it was more and more applied to newer branches of science. In 1909, President Stanley Hall invited Freud and Jung to give lectures on psychoanalysis at Clark University, Worcester, Mass. Here, too, the subject was cordially received. Since then psychoanalysis has enjoyed popularity in America although in this country much superficiality and abuse are masked under this name. In 1911 *Havelock Ellis* made the statement that psychoanalysis is not only studied and practised in Austria and Switzerland but also in the United States, England, India, Canada, and surely also in Australasia.

It was in this period of struggle and prosperity that those literary periodicals came into existence which were absolutely devoted to psychoanalysis. These were the *Jahrbuch für Psychoanalytische* and *Psychopathologische Forschungen*, edited by *Bleuler* and *Freud* and managed by Jung (1909–1914), the publication of which was suspended at the outbreak of the World War; the *Zentralblatt für Psychoanalyse*, 1911, managed by Adler and Stekel, which was later changed to the *Internationale Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 1913 (now in its 11th year); in addition, Rank and Sachs founded in 1912 the *Imago*, a journal devoted to the application of psychoanalysis to the mental sciences. The great interest of Anglo-American physicians manifested itself in 1913 in the foundation of the still existing *Psychoanalytic Review*, edited by Jelliffe and White. Later, in 1920, there appeared the *International Journal of Psycho-Analysis*, edited by Jones. The *Internationale Psychoanalytische Verlag* and the corresponding English enterprise (*The International Psycho-Analytic Press*) are giving out a series of analytic works under the name of the *Internationale Psychoanalytische Bibliothek* (International Psycho-Analytic Library). To be sure, the literature of psychoanalysis is not confined to these periodic publications, which are largely maintained by the psychoanalytic societies, but are disseminated in a great many places in both scientific and literary productions. Among the journals of the Latin world the *Revista de Psiquiatria* edited by H. Delgado in Lima, Peru, must be mentioned. This periodical pays particular attention to the matter of psychoanalysis.

An essential difference between the second and first decades of psychoanalysis lay in the fact that the writer was no longer its sole representative. A constantly increasing circle of pupils and followers gathered about him, whose work in the first place was to spread the psychoanalytic theories and then continue to develop, amplify, and deepen them. In the course of years, it was inevitable that many of these followers should fall away; they either went their own way or turned to an opposition which seemed to threaten the continuity in the development of psychoanalysis. Between 1911 and 1913, C. G. Jung, of Zürich, and Alfred Adler, of Vienna, caused a certain amount of disturbance by their attempts to misinterpret the analytic facts and by their efforts to deviate from the viewpoints of analysis; but it was soon seen that these secessions caused no lasting injury. The temporary success of their ventures can easily be explained by the readiness of the crowd to free itself from the pressure of the psychoanalytic demands by whatever road might be open to them. The greatest number of fellow-workers remained firm and continued the work along the paths indicated to them. We shall meet their names repeatedly in the following very abridged presentation of the results of psychoanalysis in the various fields in which it has thus far been applied.

IV

PSYCHOANALYSIS AS A THERAPY IN MEDICINE

The noisy rejection meted out to psychoanalysis by the medical world could not prevent its followers from following its original intention and develop it into a special *pathology and therapy of the neuroses,* a task which even to-day is not altogether accomplished. The incontestable curative results, which surpassed everything heretofore accomplished, stimulated to greater and greater efforts, and the difficulties which arose with deeper penetration into the material produced far-reaching changes in the analytic technique, and important corrections in the assumptions and hypotheses of the theory.

In the course of this development the technique of psychoanalysis became as definite and refined as any other medical speciality. In not recognising this fact, much harm is done particularly in England and America, in that persons who have acquired merely a literary knowledge of psychoanalysis through reading, consider themselves capable of giving psychoanalytic treatment without subjecting themselves to any special schooling. The result of such procedure is very harmful to the science as well as the patient.

The establishment of the first psychoanalytic polyclinic by M. Eitingon (in 1920 in Berlin) was, therefore, a step of great practical importance. This institute endeavours on the one hand to make the analytic therapy accessible to a wider circle of people, and on the other hand it offers a course of instruction to physicians desiring to practice analysis on condition that the student will subject himself to an analysis.

Among the helpful concepts which enable the physician to master the analytic material, the concept of *libido* must be mentioned first. In psychoanalysis *libido* signifies, in the first place, that quantitatively changeable and measurable force of the sexual impulses (in the broader sense of the analytic theory) which is directed to an object. Further study showed the need of putting next to this *object libido* one that is directed to one's own *ego,* a *narcistic* or *ego libido*, and the effects of the interchanges between these two forces have enabled us to give an account of a great many normal as well as pathological processes in the psychic life. It was soon found that there was a coarse separation between the so-called *transference neuroses* and the narcistic affections. The former, that is, hysteria and compulsion neuroses, are the real object of the psychoanalytic therapy, while the others or the narcistic neuroses, although they can be studied with the aid of analysis, nevertheless offer real difficulties to the therapeutic influences. It is a fact, however, that the *libido* theory of psychoanalysis is not at all complete, and that its relation to a general theory of instincts is not yet clarified; but it must be remembered that psychoanalysis is still a young science, altogether unfinished, and in the process of a rapid development. Right here it must be emphasised how erroneous is the reproach of pan-sexuality, which is as much as saying that the psychoanalytic theory does not recognise any other psychic instinctive forces except the sexual, and at the same time the critics, taking advantage of a popular prejudice, use the term "sexual" not in the broad analytic but in the vulgar sense.

PSYCHOANALYSIS GIVES NEW INTEREST AND VALUE TO PSYCHIATRY

To the narcistic affections the psychoanalytic conception must add all the maladies which are designated in psychiatry as the "functional psy-

choses." There is hardly any doubt that neuroses and psychoses were no more sharply distinguished than health and neuroses, and it was only natural that, in order to explain the puzzling psychotic phenomena, one should make use of the knowledge gained from the hitherto obscure neuroses. Already in the period of his isolation the writer studied a paranoid case analytically and made it half-way intelligible, and also demonstrated in this unequivocal psychosis the same contents (complexes) and a similar play of forces as in the neuroses. E. Bleuler showed in a whole number of psychoses what he called "Freudian Mechanisms," and C. G. Jung suddenly jumped into the limelight as an analyst, when, in 1907, he explained the peculiar symptoms in the terminal issues of *dementia praecox* by the individual life-histories of these patients. The comprehensive elaboration of *schizophrenia* by Bleuler, in 1911, has probably substantiated definitely the justification of psychoanalytic viewpoints for the understanding of these psychoses. (Bleuler: *Text Book of Psychiatry*, transl. by A. A. Brill, Macmillan, N. Y., 1924.)

In this manner psychiatry became the next sphere of application for psychoanalysis, and so it has remained ever since. The same investigators who have done most for a profounder analytic knowledge of the neuroses, men like K. Abraham, of Berlin, and S. Ferenczi, of Budapest, to mention only the most renowned ones, remained also the leaders in the analytic illumination of the psychoses. The conviction of the unity and homogeneity of all the disturbances which manifest themselves, as neurotic and psychotic phenomena, is carried out, all strivings of the psychiatrists to the contrary notwithstanding. It is becoming obvious — perhaps mostly in America — that only the psychoanalytic study of the neuroses can furnish the preparation for the understanding of the psychoses, that psychoanalysis is called upon to make possible a scientific psychiatry of the future, which will no longer be content with pictorial descriptions of strange conditions, inconceivable endings, and with the investigation of the influence of coarse anatomic and toxic traumas on the psychic apparatus inaccessible to our knowledge.

V

LIGHT THROWN ON THE HISTORY AND EVOLUTION OF CULTURAL INSTITUTIONS

But psychoanalysis would never have attracted the attention of the intellectual world or have gained for itself a place in the history of our times because of its importance for psychiatry. This influence was due to the relation of psychoanalysis to the normal psychic life, and not to the pathological. For the original intention of the analytic study was simply to discover the conditions for the origin (genesis) of some morbid psychic states, but in this effort it succeeded in revealing relations of basic importance, precisely to create a new psychology, so that one was compelled to say that the value of such a discovery could hardly be restricted to the field of pathology. We already know when the decisive proof of the correctness of this conclusion came to us. It was after it became possible to interpret dreams by the analytic technique, dreams which although originating in the psychic life of normals, still correspond to actual pathological productions and regularly appear in healthy states.

If one adhered to the psychological views gained through the study of dreams, it was only one step forward to proclaim psychoanalysis as the theory of the deeper psychic processes not directly accessible to consciousness, and as a "psychology of the deeper mental strata" (*Tiefenpsychologie*) to apply it to almost all the mental sciences. This step consisted in the

transition from the psychic activity of the individual to the psychic functions of human communities and races, that is from individual to group psychology, and one was forced to it by many surprising analogies. Thus it was found that in the deep strata of unconscious mental activity contrasts are not distinguished one from the other but are expressed by the same element. But the philologist, K. Abel, had already made the assertion in 1884 (*Ueber den Gegensinn der Urworte*) that the oldest languages known to us have treated the contrast in the same manner. Thus the old Egyptian language had originally only one word for *strong* and *weak* and only later were the sides of the antithesis distinguished by slight modifications. Even in the most modern languages one can demonstrate distinct remnants of these contrasting meanings; thus the German "*Boden*" signifies the uppermost as well as the lowest part of the house, and similarly "*Altus*" means high and deep in Latin. The equalisation of contrasts in dreams is thus a common archaic feature of human thinking.

AGREEMENT BETWEEN SOME NEUROSES AND RELIGIONS

To give an example from another sphere, the following may be cited: It is impossible to ignore the perfect agreement which one discovers between the compulsive actions of some compulsive neurotics and the religious ceremonials of pious persons the world over. Some cases of compulsion neuroses behave exactly like a caricatured private religion, so that one feels tempted to compare the official religions to compulsion neuroses moderated by their commonness. This comparison, which is most offensive to all believers, nevertheless became very fruitful psychologically. For in the case of compulsion neurosis, psychoanalysis soon became aware of the forces struggling here until their conflicts have created for themselves the remarkable expression through the ceremonial of the obsessions. Nothing of the sort was conjectured regarding the religious ceremonial, until, by tracing back the religious feeling to the father relationship as its deepest root, it became possible to demonstrate here, too, the analogical dynamic situation. This example, moreover, may remind the reader of the fact that in the application of psychoanalysis to non-medical fields also, one cannot help wounding highly regarded prejudices touching upon deep-rooted sensibilities, and thus provoking hostile feelings which essentially have an effective basis.

If we may assume that the most common relations of the unconscious psychic life, such as the conflicts of the impulsive feelings, repressions and substitutive formations, exist everywhere, and if there is a "depth-psychology" which leads to the knowledge of these relations, then it is only fair to expect that the application of psychoanalysis to the most varied fields of the psychic life will everywhere bring to light important and hitherto unattainable results. A very comprehensive study by Otto Rank and H. Sachs has attempted to show to what extent the work of the psychoanalysts had fulfilled this expectation up to the year 1913. Lack of space prevents me from attempting to complete here this enumeration. I can only emphasise the most important result and add to it a few details.

If the little-known inner impulses are disregarded, it may be said that the mainspring of the cultural development of man has been the real outer necessity which denied him the comfortable gratification of his natural wants and subjected him to enormous dangers. This denial from the outer world forced him to struggle with reality to which he partially adapted himself, and partially mastered, but it has also compelled him to coöperate and live together with his fellow-beings; this presupposed a renunciation of some impulsive

feelings that could not be gratified socially. The needs for repression increased with further progress of civilisation. For civilisation is altogether founded on renunciation of impulses; and every single individual, on his way from childhood to maturity, must repeat in his own person this development of mankind to reasonable resignation. Psychoanalysis has shown that it is preponderately, if not exclusively, sexual impulsive feelings which succumb to this cultural suppression. A part of these now shows the valuable quality that it may be deflected from its nearest aim, and as "sublimated" strivings it places its energy at the disposal of cultural development. But another portion remains in the unconscious as ungratified wish feelings, and strives for any sort of gratification even if it be a distorted one.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN MAN AND THE OUTER WORLD RESULTED IN MYTHS, POETRY AND ART

We have heard that a fragment of the human psychic activity is directed to the mastery of the real outer world. Psychoanalysis adds, however, that another part of the psychic activity serves the wish realisation, or the substitutive gratifications of those repressed wishes which have dwelt ungratified in the psyche of every person since the years of his childhood. Myths, poetry and art belong to these creations whose relation to an incomprehensible unconscious has always been conjectured, and as a matter of fact the work of psychoanalysis has thrown an abundance of light on the fields of mythology, literature, and on the psychology of the artist. The works of Otto Rank may be mentioned as a model in these fields. It has been shown that myths and fairy tales are as accessible to interpretation as dreams, that the intricate mazes leading from the impetus of the unconscious wish to its realisation in a work of art have been followed, that the emotional effect of the work of art on the recipient has been made intelligible, and that in the artist himself his inner relationships to the neurotic, as well as their differences, have been explained, and the connection between his predisposition, his accidental experiences, and his accomplishments have been demonstrated. The aesthetic estimation of a work of art as well as the explanation of artistic endowment are not to be considered as tasks for psychoanalysis. But it seems that in all questions which concern the human life of phantasy, psychoanalysis is in position to speak the decisive word.

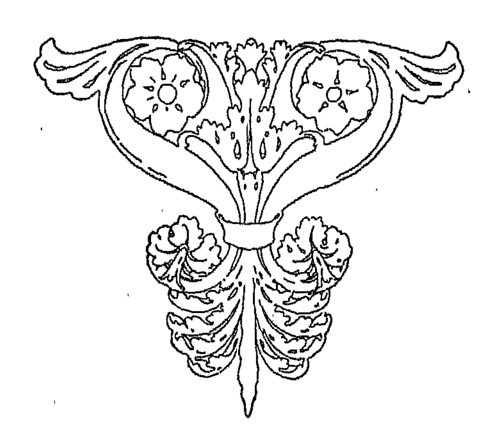
Now let us sum up: To our growing astonishment psychoanalysis has taught us what an enormously important part is played in the psychic life of man by the so-called *oedipus complex* or the affective relation of the child to his two parents. This astonishment lessens when we appreciate that the *oedipus complex* is the psychic correlate of two fundamental biological facts, namely, the long infantile dependence of the human being, and the remarkable way in which his sexual life reaches its first culminating point between the ages of three and five, to reappear anew with puberty after a period of inhibition. But it then dawned upon us that a third, most serious part of the human psychic life, viz., that which brought into existence the great institutions of religion, law, ethics, as well as all forms of government, fundamentally tends to enable the individual to master his *oedipus complex* and to lead over his *libido* from its infantile attachments to social needs ultimately desirable. The application of psychoanalysis to the science of religion and sociology (Freud, Th. Reik, O. Pfister), which led to this result, are still young and not fully appreciated, but there is no doubt that further studies will only confirm the certainty of these important discoveries.

By way of an addendum, I must also mention the fact that pedagogics,

too, cannot afford to ignore the suggestions offered to it by the analytic investigation of the infantile psychic life. Moreover, some therapeutists (Groddek, Jelliffe) have expressed the opinion that there are good prospects for psychoanalytic therapy even in severe organic affections, as in many of these maladies there is also a psychic factor which can be influenced by analysis.

THE EGO AND THE IT IN THE PSYCHOLOGY OF MAN

Thus the hope may be expressed that psychoanalysis, whose development and accomplishment to the present has been here described in a meagre and inadequate manner, will enter into the cultural development of the next decades as an important ferment, and will aid us to a deeper understanding of the world and to resist some things recognised in life as harmful. One must not forget, however, that psychoanalysis cannot in itself furnish a perfect picture of the world. If one accepts the distinctions which I have recently proposed, in dividing the psychic apparatus into an *Ego* which is in touch with the outer world and is endowed with consciousness, and an unconscious *It* which is dominated by the impulsive needs, then psychoanalysis may be designated as a psychology of the *It* and its influences on the *Ego*. Psychoanalysis can thus furnish only contributions to every field of knowledge which must be supplemented by the psychology of the *ego*. If these contributions, as so often happens, contain the very essentials of a state of affairs, this merely shows the importance which the so long unrecognised psychic unconscious may claim in our lives.



CHAPTER LXXIV

PSYCHICAL RESEARCH AND THE INVISIBLE WORLD

By Sir Oliver Lodge, F.R.S., D.Sc., LL.D.

President of the British Association, 1913–1914. President of the Society for Psychical Research, 1901–1904. Principal of the University of Birmingham, 1909–1919. Author of *Pioneers of Science; Life and Matter; The Ether of Space; Man and the Universe; The Survival of Man; Raymond, or Life and Death;* etc.

SUMMARISED HISTORY

In all ages and among all peoples, both civilised and uncivilised, obscure phenomena have been experienced and have received various interpretations. They have lent themselves to superstitions of various kinds, they have been exploited by priestcraft, and they have also been imitated, with attempts to use the imitations for selfish and pecuniary ends. So at length the whole subject became repellent to serious and religious people, until it was possible for some to doubt whether any such incidents ever occurred at all; thus leading to a widespread scepticism, not only of the anciently asserted phenomena—such as those connected with Greek oracles and other classical myths—but of all the abnormal episodes associated with religious doctrines, including Christianity, a scepticism which naturally spread to a rejection of those doctrines themselves.

The slogan of this period might be summed up in the phrase "miracles do not happen." The existence of a spiritual world and of its unknown forces was denied. Its guidance and influence on human life was relegated to superstition, and a vigorous effort was made to emerge from all this confusion into a positive recognition only of that of which we were directly informed by the senses, namely a world of Matter and Energy and Mechanism and the definite laws of Physics and Chemistry. The attempt was made to explain Biology, and even Psychology, in terms of those indubitably substantial realities; an effort which was praiseworthy, though, as it turned out, only to a moderate and superficial extent successful.

Nevertheless, strange and unusual, sometimes weird and inexplicable, phenomena were still asserted to occur, and attempts were made to demonstrate the more tractable of them. These attempts became at once the subject of controversy and ridicule; and no one could be sure where the truth lay. The virulent denial of a spiritual universe gave place to a more rational and refined agnosticism, which, though regarding any phenomena other than material to be highly improbable, did not take the responsibility of denying everything of the kind wholesale, but said that it was a question of evidence and that the evidence was not good enough to establish things outside normal experience.

Not until the last quarter of the nineteenth century was any effort made to investigate the controverted phenomena in a serious, cold-blooded, calm and critical, scientific spirit. Then, however, in the midst of a babel of

utterances both for and against the phenomena, the founders of the Society for Psychical Research pursued their cautious, independent and critical way, pleasing neither side by this attitude, and drawing upon themselves the hostility of Spiritualists and the scoffing of the so-called Rationalists. After some years of study, one fact seemed definitely to emerge, namely, the fact of Telepathy, or thought-transference between minds, apart from the recognised organs either of transmission or of reception. A letter in *Nature* for July 7, 1881, signed "W. F. Barrett," may be held to date the early stages of this discovery, which subsequent experience has amply confirmed; though the manner and method of it is still unknown, and its full theory remains for the future.

Telepathy, however, was in in itself a great step, and suggested many important consequences. Especially it suggested the possibility of mental activity, at any rate sufficient for the transmission of simple ideas, apart from material instruments; and thus opened the way to a rational conception of Mind as possibly separable from Matter. Mind still required a material organ for demonstration purposes; but it seemed to act independently, and to be able to stimulate and so make use of organs other than its own. The brain became the *instrument* of mind and consciousness, in contradiction of the idea that consciousness was any function, or, as some held, secretion, of the brain.

The importance of this is obvious; because in that case it is conceivable that Mind, Memory and Character could survive the death of the physical organism through which they had previously been demonstrated. This idea became prominent when it was found that telepathic communication occurred not only between living people but apparently between the dead and the living. Whatever the truth was, the *appearance* certainly was as if people who had lost their bodies could still exist, still take an interest in human life, and, under certain conditions, with the help of physiological instruments borrowed from specially qualified living people, could send messages of affection and help to survivors.

Such a view, or a view rather cruder but akin to this, had been held by the group called Spiritualists all along: they had indeed pressed it upon the more cautious explorers as the only rational inference from the facts. But so weighty a conclusion was bound to meet with incredulity, and to be held to require a great deal more scientific demonstration, before it could be accepted by the cautious investigators who were pursuing the path of Psychical Research without any particular object in view beyond the ascertainment of truth. Hence it was many years before the leaders of the Society were gradually led, by further and as it seemed more cogent evidence, into a modified and tentative acceptance of some of the less sensational features of the spiritistic hypothesis.

APPARITIONS OF THE DYING

In particular they were able to study and to a certain extent rationalise the great mass of testimony that exists about apparitions of people at or near the point of death. The opposing views previously held about these dramatic appearances — viz., either that they were objective realities, or that they were baseless hallucinations — could be reconciled or replaced by regarding them neither as real nor yet as baseless, but as a mental reconstruction, the vivid result of a spontaneous telepathic impression. At any rate this view of them was sustained in the two-volume book *Phantasms of the Living*, by Gurney, Myers and Podmore.

Another large subject for enquiry was the asserted occasional possibility

of precognition, prevision, or presentiment, about which there is still a good deal of doubt, though the evidence for such a faculty is growing.

The English S. P. R. was not the only society established for investigation, though it seems to have been the first of the permanent ones. In 1884 a Society for Psychical Research was initiated in America, mainly by Sir William Barrett, for the purpose of advancing psychical research in America in coöperation with the English society. Professor Simon Newcomb was the first president; and the officers and council included: Professor G. Stanley Hall of Baltimore, Professor Fullerton of Philadelphia, Professor Pickering, Dr. H. P. Bowditch and Dr. C. S. Minot, all of Harvard University; also Professor William James, Professor G. F. Barker and others. In 1890 this society was, by its own request, converted into a branch of the English society; Dr. Richard Hodgson acting as the secretary and treasurer, and Professor William James and Professor S. P. Langley as an advisory committee. In 1905 Dr. Hodgson died, and in the following year the branch was dissolved, the majority of its members being transferred to the English society. Dr. Hyslop then formed an independent organisation, the present American Society for Psychical Research.

TWENTIETH-CENTURY PROGRESS

These were the general conditions, in the two English-speaking countries, under which the twentieth century was entered; and a more reasonable recognition of the rights of investigators began. The extreme hostility of the Spiritualists had subsided into a sort of regretful suspicion; and the extreme hostility of the Rationalists was diminished by realisation of the fact that the explorers did not hesitate to expose and denounce fraud wherever it was discovered. They seemed indeed, by their attitude, more eager to discover fraud and denounce spurious phenomena than to encourage the production of genuine ones. The attitude which they took up of readily publishing and emphasising — indeed almost over-emphasising — everything that could be brought forward in opposition to their own views, or to supernormality in general, was on the whole respected; though it is still sometimes jeered at by opponents, either as too naïve or trustfully "innocent," or as too grossly unfair. They were sometimes styled the Society for the Suppression of Psychical Phenomena. The subject was still generally disliked, especially by Theologians; but the ridicule which assailed the first efforts of the pioneers gradually almost disappeared, giving place sometimes to a fiercer hostility and sometimes to a certain amount of qualified respect.

SPECIAL EVIDENCE FOR SURVIVAL

In January, 1901, the leader — and at that time official president — of the English S. P. R. died. Frederic Myers was perhaps the most remarkable of all its founders; and his treatise, published after his death, under the title *Human Personality and its Survival of Bodily Death*, is the grandest and most comprehensive standard work on the subject that has yet appeared. The death of Myers, preceded as it had been by that of Gurney, Sidgwick and others, placed this group of pioneers in a position from which they might proceed to demonstrate their own survival, if they could. Presumably they knew the difficulties: they were aware of the more rational kind of scepticism that had to be overcome; and they knew that, since telepathy from the living had been established as a *vera causa*, it would be extremely difficult to eliminate or evade it, and to discriminate clearly between it and other ex-

planations; so that it had seemed at one time almost impossible to make certain, and really prove, that we were ever in telepathic communication with the dead. If the thing transmitted were known to a living mind, the tapping of that living mind was the hypothesis that must first be made: and if the thing transmitted was not known to any living mind, then there was no means of verifying it.

It is true that sealed documents might conceivably be read, or the contents of "posthumous letters" transmitted. (That is, letters or papers written some time before death and deposited in safe custody, with the object of transmitting the substance of their contents before they were opened by survivors.) But a power of reading unopened documents and books had been found to exist among a certain class of so-called psychometric mediums; and nothing that was done in that direction, even if it were done successfully, could be held to demonstrate Survival. Nor could information about conditions on the other side be of much use. We and many people received a number of communications about details of life on the other side: but as there was no means of verifying them, little importance could be attached to such statements. There is indeed a whole mass of literature of this kind, full of what are asserted to be experiences by those who have crossed over. But they are liable to be attributed to the unregulated imagination of the mediums through whom they come; and, when received by responsible people, the statements are recorded as "unverifiable matter." It must be admitted that there is a certain amount of consistency among these messages; but there are also unmistakable discrepancies. By a friendly critic these discrepancies might be attributed to the differing experience of different communicators. By an unfriendly critic they might be explained away in simpler and more drastic fashion. Something much more definite was required if proof of survival was to be obtained.

The appearance now was as if the group belonging to the S. P. R. who had passed over to the other side, being still anxious to convince their fellows, had consulted together and had devised for that purpose an elaborate scheme of "cross-correspondence" — a kind of code or concealed method of signalling to a large number of different and independent mediums in different parts of the world; so that no one medium, or indeed anyone living, should understand or be able to interpret the meaning of what was said at the time; thereby apparently eliminating telepathy between living minds. But yet the messages were so ingeniously arranged, that when the whole set of communications were sent up to a central office, in accordance with instructions which the messages themselves conveyed, and there studied and collated in a painstaking and scholarly manner, the meaning of the whole should unmistakably emerge — even though the deciphering might take a year, or sometimes several years.

It may be suggested, and indeed it has been urged, that with prolonged ingenuity a meaning could be extracted from any group of disconnected messages by this plan. But those who have gone into the question most thoroughly, are not in accordance with this obvious contention. When a solution is found to a puzzle, it is well known to be able to be maintained as the unmistakable and unique solution. In support of this it may be recalled that a method of wrapping up a discovery in an anagram had been popular at one time in the scientific world.[1] The discovery of the Rings of

[1] Galileo announced several of his discoveries in the form of Latin anagrams. For instance, he thus said, correctly, "Venus emulates the phases of the moon"; and about Saturn, incorrectly, "The furthest planet is triple." Huyghens also used to announce discoveries in this way; and his sentence about Saturn, when rearranged and translated, is "The father of the gods is girdled with a ring."

Saturn, for instance, was described in a Latin sentence with the letters confused, so as to be unintelligible until the discovery had been further confirmed by the author to his own satisfaction; for it was recognised that a rational and relevant interpretation of the letters was only likely to be possible in one way, and that then they would convey the meaning the author had originally designed them to convey, without risk of suspicion that the interpretation might be attributed to *post hoc* hyper-ingenuity.

Very different in detail and in scheme, and yet with something of the same underlying faith that the interpretation, when given, would be recognised as having been unmistakably intended all the time — and that the idea transmitted was clearly the work, not of one or more of the incarnate transmitters, but of a designing and controlling discarnate mind acting concurrently upon them all — the system of cross-correspondence was begun, continued and developed, into a scheme which has already occupied many volumes of the S. P. R. in its presentation. So elaborate is the scheme, however, and so few but classical scholars can appreciate all the niceties and minutiæ, that these cross-correspondences have never been popularly appreciated; and only by a few people have they been really understood. This however is not in the least resented. The object of the Society is not to make a popular appeal, but to leave a record which can be interpreted and utilised by a later and better informed generation. Some of the information conveyed is of a confidential nature, and publication has to be deferred. It is likely that much of the material will not be published at all during the present generation, but will be left in some form accessible in the future, when its interpretation in the light of events will probably be easier.

All this, no doubt, signifies much faith, as well as patience and long suffering, on the part of the workers — the workers on both sides. But the thing to be established is of such momentous interest to humanity that the trial of faith seems justified, especially if — as now seems probable — those who go over can exercise some amount of supervision, can stimulate flagging interest, and supplement and assist the efforts of any who may be studying the subject at some future period.

As a supplement to the cross-correspondence puzzles, there has also been received strong evidence of recondite classical scholarship, bearing on its face an individual stamp; and this of a kind not only hopelessly beyond the capacity even of the cultivated ladies who have acted as mediums in this connection, but sometimes taxing the capacities of living scholars to dig out the full meaning from the ingeniously hidden cross-references and allusions — the whole making just the kind of puzzle which a particular deceased writer was wont to take an interest in and sometimes to concoct. Evidence of survival involving this particular variety of classical scholarship has been more plentiful since the accession to the group on the other side of Professors Verrall and Butcher.

At that stage the more mental or psychical side of the research stands in the year 1923.

PSYCHO-PHYSICAL PHENOMENA

Meanwhile, side by side with the mental phenomena, so severely studied in this country, an attempt has been made, chiefly on the Continent, to investigate and substantiate the amount of truth in certain physical phenomena which had always been asserted to occur sporadically in both civilised and uncivilised times. This branch of the subject, though curiously interwoven with the more purely psychical phenomena, appears to be, on the whole, of a lower order, and not to have the same profound human interest

as the other branch; but scientifically it may seem more definite, tangible and accessible. And the study may be pursued equally well by those who hold materialistic views in philosophy, especially by physiologists and savants with medical training. Such people may easily be repelled from the enquiry by the *a priori* impossibility or absurdity of the phenomena; but they should be all the less liable to the accusation or taunt that they were only witnessing and describing phenomena which they wished to believe.

The main phenomena which have been observed are curious and inexplicable movements of objects, near the hands of experimenters, and usually touching them, but not touching them in such a way as to make the movements easy to understand. A table, for instance, can gyrate under the hands of people round it; and sometimes continues to gyrate, or even to rise from the floor, when the hands are removed from it. As long as contact is permitted, we must assume that muscular action is responsible. But occasionally, as in some of Crookes's experiments with D. D. Home, the contact was purposely made of a kind that could not explain the movements, or yield the measured force, by ordinary mechanics. When no contact of any kind is permitted, and yet an object moves or is levitated, all ordinary explanation fails, and the phenomenon is called Telekinesis. At first sight these things appear merely grotesque and lawless; but they seem to be explicable to a certain extent if it be granted that the body of a physical medium — admittedly an exceptional and rather pitiable kind of person — is able to give off or extrude from itself a certain substance with strange properties, which can reach beyond the boundary of the ordinary body, can form itself into various shapes, and can exert on material objects a certain force. This curious and very puzzling substance, which usually escapes detection by normal vision even when it is exerting palpable force, has occasionally been seen, felt and photographed; and the name *ectoplasm* or *bioplasm* has been given it. It has also been weighed; and the weight of the medium has been found to be diminished when it is extruded. Its movements, though apparently spontaneous, appear to be directed by some intelligence. It can achieve most things that a normal limb of the medium could achieve, and some things which a normal limb could not. It can move objects with which it comes into contact, exerting on them sometimes quite considerable force: it can also mould itself into the simulacrum of faces which can be photographed, and the simulacrum of hands which can be moulded — that is to say, of which plaster casts can be taken. It can moreover withdraw itself from an enclosure, which it has moulded round itself, through an opening too small for normal withdrawal: the process simulating a kind of dematerialisation, inexplicable in any normal manner. These are the chief things which it is said to do; and a great bulk of competent testimony — chiefly in France and Italy, but also in Germany — is forthcoming as to the reality of these strange physiological phenomena or freaks. The most recent summary is contained in Professor Richet's book *Traité de Métapsychique*. An earlier record is a large volume by Dr. von Schrenck Notzing of Munich. Current researches are described in the *Revue Métapsychique*, a monthly journal published by the Librairie Félix Alcan, Paris. The earliest scientific investigator of these phenomena — not of the ectoplasm itself, but of the forces it could exert, and the appearances it could present — was Sir William Crookes.

Further study of the material itself will have to be made by physiologists and medical men; to ordinary people it is rather repellent, though there are analogies to it in biology. Movements of objects without apparent contact can however be observed and studied by anyone who has the opportunity;

but it is well to remember that the absence of contact may be only apparent, since inorganic matter does not move except under direct impulsion, though it is true that (as in magnetism) force may be exerted through the ether. Most likely however there is organic connection of some kind in ordinary telekinesis.

The whole thing however is so incredible, or difficult of acceptance, that at present the greater number of scientific men are completely incredulous and hostile. Whether the scientific world will accept first the facts on the mental side of the investigation, or whether it will be first impressed with the reality of these more materialistic phenomena, remains to be seen. Those who have studied them have not the slightest doubt of their reality. Others are entirely sceptical. And in this controversial form the subject stands to-day; the twenty-three years of the present century having brought the subject out into the open, made it on the whole more rational than it was before, and left on record a mass of evidence which cannot safely be ignored by those whose sincere object is the ascertainment of the truth of the Universe in its widest and even least familiar aspects.

Those who bring this history up to date, in or about the year 1950, will have, I expect, something much more definite and apparently satisfactory to report. We are at present in the nascent stages of a science; and the nascent stages of a future science so novel as this is, are bound to be received with temporary derision and hostility. The inclusion of this chapter, even, in the present work may be resented: but progress would never be made if those entrusted with the custody of unpopular truths were to refrain from setting forth, in a calm, placid, inoffensive manner, their apprehension of the truths committed to them, so that they can be submitted to the judgment and ultimate verdict of posterity.

PERSONAL NOTE

So far, I have aimed at dealing with the subject historically, without any sort of personal animus. But if I am asked for my own conviction, it is only fair to put on record that the evidence has thoroughly convinced me (1) of human survival, (2) of the possibility, under favourable circumstances, of communication between the dead and the living, and (3) that death is only an episode in a continuous existence. I also think it fairly established that some kind of help, guidance or inspiration reaches us at times across what is sometimes called "the gulf," or through what is often called "the veil."

Furthermore, though with a minor degree of certainty, the evidence has on the whole convinced me that, in the presence of certain people, supernormal physical phenomena do occasionally occur, which normal Physiology is unable to explain. But this by no means renders me willing to accept every asserted example of such an occurrence. Many of the facts can be skilfully imitated; and a blundering observer may easily mistake appearance for reality.

The subject is admittedly full of difficulties: but in time it will be taken under the wing of Orthodox Science, and progress will then be more substantial and secure.

CHAPTER LXXV

DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES IN EDUCATION

By James R. Angell, LL.D.

President of Yale University. Former President of the Carnegie Corporation. Author of *Psychology; Chapters from Modern Psychology.*

The first two decades of the twentieth century have been extraordinarily fertile in educational developments, not only in the western world but also in the Orient. It may be doubted whether in any previous period of equal length there have occurred so many and so significant changes in educational procedure. The World War interrupted certain phases of the educational systems of some of the nations engaged; but on the other hand it stimulated a keener appreciation than had before existed of the importance of education for national welfare, and at its close led in many countries to immediate changes in the educational programme.

DEMOCRATIC TENDENCIES IN EDUCATION

It may safely be said that the outstanding feature of the whole educational development of the period under consideration has been its essentially democratic tendency. Not only elementary education, but also higher education in all its branches has been increasingly put at the disposal of every individual whose intellectual capacities might enable him to profit by it. In an epoch when absolutism has been in rapid decline and when only a few great monarchies have managed to survive, it was no doubt inevitable that education should reflect the same democratising tendencies which have been dominant in the political life of the nations. The great problem has everywhere been twofold; on the one hand, the intellectual and professional problem of defining ideals, perfecting methods, maintaining high standards, and securing teachers competent to administer the adopted programme; and on the other hand, the financial problem of finding means to pay for the proposed expansions of the educational system. In but few nations or communities has either part of the problem been satisfactorily solved.

Although no part of the civilised world has been without interesting and significant educational developments in this period, the most striking changes have probably occurred in China, England and the United States, so that chief emphasis may properly be placed upon these countries as in many respects typical of what has been in progress on a smaller scale all over the world.

STRIKING ADVANCES IN CHINA

Under the republic China adopted in 1912 legislation which in effect did away with the old traditional education in the classics and in its place created a nation-wide system of public schools with subject-matter and

methods in many respects akin to those of the Occident. This legislation was based upon changes which had been inaugurated under the empire in 1905, but it simplified the administrative machinery, decentralising the control of the schools more extensively than under the earlier programme, simplifying the curriculum and making the lower division of the elementary schools co-educational.

That the unsettled political conditions of the country have prevented the execution of the programme in any but a very imperfect manner, does not detract from the momentous character of the change whereby one of the most conservative of all peoples deliberately cast off an educational system which had endured for centuries and in its place established one of utterly different ideals and purposes. The change is perhaps at no point more astonishing than in the widespread interest in athletics and out-door sports of every kind, for to the traditional Chinese scholar, closeted with his books and preparing for his examinations, nothing could have been more abhorrent than violent physical exercise.

The first four years of the lower primary schools are compulsory and the maintenance of such schools is imposed upon the local authorities, although districts may consolidate for the establishment of primary schools. Continuation schools are provided for; and a middle school, covering four to six years of work, is created. In addition to provision for normal schools, for professional schools of law and medicine, and for technical schools of engineering and agriculture, the original programme contemplated a series of provincial universities.

Several new colleges and universities have been recently established, either *de novo* or on older foundations. Among these may be mentioned Southeastern University at Nanking, Nankai University at Tientsin, and Tsing Hua College, near Peking, which was established in 1911 and is financed from indemnity funds returned to China by the United States after the Boxer outbreak. Many students come from this institution to colleges in the United States to complete their advanced education. At the present moment, although it is very difficult because of uncertain standards to speak with confidence regarding the matter, there are recognised in the republic, according to Chinese statistics, thirty-five universities, seven medical colleges, thirty-three colleges of law, eight colleges for teachers, seven agricultural colleges, eight commercial colleges and thirteen technical schools. Medical education in China has received a great stimulus by the establishment of the Peking Union Medical College, supported by the Rockefeller Foundation and six coöperating missionary societies. The entire plant was finally completed in 1921. In this institution medical education of the most advanced kind is afforded. Not the least interesting fact in the development of the whole period is the rapidly increasing recognition of education for women. Not only are girls admitted to primary schools, but there are now a number of middle schools to which they also have access. A few of the higher institutions are accessible to them, and at least three institutions under foreign auspices have now been established for the sole purpose of giving instruction to women students.

This entire educational programme of the Chinese has been drawn with a view to providing an education which shall produce a broad view of social and national problems and which shall afford the necessary number of professional specialists to care for the educational, industrial and political leadership so gravely needed by China in her transition from the condition of social and geographic isolation which for so many centuries she enjoyed, to the status of a modern nation dealing on terms of equality with the other great nations of the earth.

EDUCATIONAL ADVANCES IN ENGLAND ALSO OF GREAT IMPORTANCE

In England the Education Act of 1918 brought to a successful conclusion a movement which had been long maturing. The Act of 1902 gave evidence at that date of the strength of the interest in a reform of the educational situation. The war crystallised the public determination to secure promptly the desired results. Mr. H. A. L. Fisher's Bill, which was passed after long and careful deliberation, is designed to give England for the first time a uniform public education system and one which embodies much of the most enlightened legislation to be found anywhere. Undoubtedly private and public education are brought nearer together than ever before. That the economic difficulties following upon the war have made it impossible to put all of the provisions of the Bill into immediate operation does not detract from the wisdom of its specifications. The outstanding features of the programme may be briefly, though incompletely, summarised as follows:

(1) Education is made compulsory for all children up to fourteen years of age and this requirement may be extended by local action to fifteen or sixteen.

(2) Continuation schools are provided and attendance is required from the age of fourteen to sixteen and the Act contemplates a later advance of this requirement to eighteen.

(3) Medical supervision is provided before and through the school age up to eighteen.

(4) Nursery schools are provided for children between the ages of two and five or six.

(5) Provision is made for free tuition and for grants to be given poor but promising pupils.

(6) Supervision of the general welfare of children and adolescents in such matters as employment, recreation, etc., is concentrated in local educational authorities.

(7) The independence of local authorities is recognised, but certain minimum standards are insisted upon.

(8) Provision is made for inspection and supervision of private schools.

(9) The costs of education are to be equally distributed between national and local rates.

The Bill makes no effort to prescribe the content of education, and it includes no provision for the training of teachers, although it is clear that, despite earlier expansion in the teacher training facilities, the programme can hardly succeed without improvement in this particular, for the demands placed upon the teaching profession will be increased in intrinsic difficulty and much enlarged. Teachers' pensions are provided for in a later Bill.

This extraordinary piece of legislation could hardly have been enacted were it not for the deep impression made by the war upon all classes of society regarding the defects of the former educational programme. Labour in particular has been increasingly insistent that better opportunities should be placed at the disposal of the children of the labouring classes, and that these opportunities should lie in the direction of liberal studies with intelligent citizenship as a goal, and not merely in training for trades and industry. It will be appreciated at once that when the provisions of the Bill are all in operation, England will not only be insured against illiteracy, but also that her children from their tenderest years on will be growing up under the most intelligent tutelage which our generation knows how to offer, with their health protected, their physical robustness developed, their needs for play and recreation abundantly recognised, their minds trained to whatever

point their native abilities may permit, and in whatever direction their tastes or the exigencies of their lives may dictate. The demand made by many families and also by industry that children go at an early age into pecuniarily profitable employment is resisted, in the interests of both the State and the individual. The practical wisdom of provisions of this kind has been repeatedly demonstrated and should no longer be open to question.

Higher education in England and Wales has made steady progress, with less marked changes in Scotland and with much less progressive conditions in Ireland, where the political disturbances of the later portion of the period have made advance difficult. The continued development of the provincial universities is one of the most striking features in the situation. Since 1900 the following have been established, several of them based on combinations or modifications of older institutions: Birmingham, 1900; Victoria University, Manchester, 1903; Liverpool, 1903; Leeds, 1904; Sheffield, 1905; Bristol, 1909. In addition to work in the classics, modern languages and natural science, these institutions offer instruction in medicine, law, engineering, technology, commerce and agriculture, although no one of them covers all of these fields.

In 1900 the University of London was reconstituted and a number of institutions engaged in various phases of higher education situated within the administrative County of London were federated in this one institution. Of its two original colleges, University College was incorporated with it in 1905 and King's College in 1908. Like Oxford and Cambridge, the University of London carries on an active extension programme, tutorial classes for working people, and in addition a holiday course for foreigners held during four weeks in the summer, to which a limited number of students are admitted for instruction in the English language, English history, customs and institutions.

Beginning almost at the outset of the century Oxford and Cambridge have developed their earlier "extension" activities by establishing tutorial classes in coöperation with the Workers' Educational Association. The courses extend over a three-year period, are restricted to small classes and are designed to achieve serious intellectual results. Summer schools have also been opened for students ineligible to regular university classes. These great historic foundations thus continue and develop their nineteenth-century movement toward extra-mural educational work.

In 1920 after prolonged opposition, Oxford University admitted women, who may now receive any Oxford degree except that in theology. Cambridge University has declined to accord full university membership to women, but in 1921 voted to open to them titular degrees by diploma. With this action all British universities now accord women opportunities for higher education.

After prolonged discussion Cambridge University in 1919 and Oxford in 1920 abolished Greek as a condition of matriculation. It is not without its dramatic features that this subject which, only after bitter controversy, gained a foothold in these seats of learning some eight hundred years before, should be dropped from the list of absolute requirements for entrance and again after a most acute struggle covering many years. Opponents of the change see in it only a sign of decadence, a yielding to the clamour of the market-place. Its proponents, on the other hand, insist that with the passing years inevitable changes must occur in the educational programme of the nation, and that the universities cannot blindly refuse to recognise these changes when they come. It is solely incumbent upon them to hold the torch of pure learning and the freedom of the human soul.

The increasing emphasis laid upon modern studies in both Oxford and

Cambridge is reflected in the establishment in 1905 by Cambridge of economics as a special Tripos, and in 1919 a similar action with reference to English. In both the older universities there is a growing tendency to take two subjects for specialisation in undergraduate work, and many of the older Triposes have now been divided to provide for such a programme. For example, classics is thus combined with history. In both institutions individual instruction has been continuously emphasised and developed, and may be said to be the most characteristic feature of the form of training to be gained at these institutions.

There has in recent years been a marked increase in the emphasis placed upon research, and English institutions now offer the Ph.D. or D.Phil. degree. This action was in part the outcome of studies made by commissions to determine how best the interest of foreign students might be directed to British universities and what changes could be brought about in these institutions to make their opportunities most valuable to such foreign students. It may be said in passing in connection with the interests of research, that both the British and the Canadian Governments, the former through the Privy Council, and the latter through the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research, have recognised by appropriations the importance of scientific investigation for the development of national interests. Other countries have taken similar steps.

TWO OUTSTANDING ADVANCES IN THE UNITED STATES

In the United States undoubtedly the two outstanding features of educational development in this country have been the unprecedented growth of the public high schools and—especially since the World War—the extraordinary increase in the attendance at colleges and universities. In 1900 there were 696,000 high-school students. In 1922 there were 2,371,000. Nor does this mere increase in numbers at all convey the real situation, for partly as cause and partly as effect there has occurred in parallel with this growth in attendance, an amazing growth in the physical appointments of many of these schools and in the educational opportunities offered. Millions of dollars have been expended upon school buildings, certain of which challenge in beauty and convenience any educational buildings ever erected. In many cases they have become centres for civic interests related to the schools: for example, the development of music, art and general public education. The pride felt by towns and cities in these buildings and their equipment reflects a radical change in the community attitude toward education.

Whether the educational work carried on in these schools has kept pace in quality with the development of their physical facilities, is often questioned. Whatever the justice of this query, there can be no doubt that the rapid expansion in the number of high-school pupils has far outstripped the possibility of supplying properly trained teachers and, in many instances, the possibility of erecting buildings large enough to care for the increased numbers. The inevitable result has been that an appreciable part of the teaching has probably been of inferior grade and has certainly been done under highly disadvantageous conditions.

Again it is often urged that the growth of the high schools has been accompanied by a regrettable expansion in the subject-matter of the course of study, with an alleged ensuing superficiality in the training received.

The change in the curriculum which had begun long before the opening of the twentieth century, but which has gone on rapidly since then, is attributable chiefly to two circumstances, the first of which has affected higher

education as well as secondary, and European as well as American. (1) A few generations ago the scope of American education beyond the elementary school was fundamentally comprised of Latin, Greek and mathematics. Presently the natural sciences (astronomy, chemistry, geology, physics and biology), the modern languages, including English itself, history, both modern and ancient, and the social and economic sciences, all came knocking at the door and all were admitted, with the result that where half a dozen subjects formerly covered the entire educational offering, there are now four or five times as many, each of which can present some cogent claim to replace certain of the older subjects, or at least to stand upon a par with them. Some of these subjects, especially those of laboratory character, require much more elaborate and costly equipment for their proper presentation than did the older and more bookish subjects. Moreover, instruction in them requires large number of teachers who are more or less specialists and who will be difficult to secure in requisite numbers until the demand has induced a sufficient number of candidates to undergo the necessary preparation.

(2) Again the high-school movement has been fundamentally affected by the natural desire to give students who will complete their formal education at this level, opportunity to acquire training which it is hoped and believed they can make immediately available in earning a livelihood and in taking up the practical duties of citizenship. Considerations of this character have resulted in the establishment of new commercial and technical high schools and in the introduction of many essentially vocational studies into the programme of the ostensibly non-technical schools. High schools, state colleges and state universities have all been affected by Federal legislation such as the Smith-Hughes Bill of 1917, which appropriates large sums for vocational education on the condition that the state contribute dollar for dollar with the Central Government. The invasion of this material has called for the construction of costly shops and laboratories of various kinds. The same motive has in part controlled the curricula offered in the continuation schools, whose pupils pursue during some fraction of the time when they are not engaged in business or industrial employments, the school training which they interrupted to seek such remunerative occupation. With the growing power of the high school and with its increasing sense of local obligations, needs and prejudices, it has rapidly freed itself in most parts of the country from any conscious subserviency to the college such as it earlier displayed.

One notable circumstance deserves especial emphasis. Never before has any country entered seriously on a programme of *free* education of high-school grade for literally every child who may apply and whose intelligence permits the pursuing of the course of study, and with the expectation that a very large proportion of the eligible children will take advantage of the opportunity. This programme carries with it the necessity of providing trained teachers and physical facilities on a scale never before undertaken. The cost of the enterprise is staggering, and many communities are at present proceeding under the gravest financial embarrassment in the maintenance of their schools.

Side by side with the increase of the number of high schools and the number of their pupils has naturally been a great increase in the number of children in the primary schools, of whom there were 20,383,222 in 1920. This increase, which has been in general most marked in urban centres, has reflected in part the tremendous growth in population, and in part a better enforcement of compulsory education laws, to say nothing of some growth in the ambition of parents to have their children educated to meet the more exacting demands of modern life.

NEW KINDS OF EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTIONS

Besides the mere growth in the number of pupils in the elementary and secondary schools, there should be mentioned as significant of this period in American education the creation of several new types of educational institutions, many of them under public control.

First may be mentioned the junior college built on high-school foundations. Although there have been many exceptions, the traditional American high school has in recent years generally offered a four-year course, following upon eight years of work in the grades. Superposed on the high school has been the typical four-year college. The junior college has been formed by taking the first two years of this college course and setting it up in a separate institution in connection with a high school. It thus serves to relieve the crushing burden of excessive numbers under which many of the universities, especially those under State control, have been suffering. It permits young or immature students to take up college work while still living at home and by its moderate expense permits many students to go on with their education who could not afford to go away to college. Although the number of these institutions is increasing, final judgment on their success must be deferred. Many junior colleges have also been set up independently of high schools on private foundations and show promise of enduring vitality.

Again there is to be noted the junior high school, an organisation which has come into existence as a result of the growing feeling that, under present conditions, the dividing lines in the administration of the school organisation do not correspond to the real needs of the educational process. For example, it is alleged that the line of separation between the grade school and the high school, which in the North is commonly found at the end of the eighth school year, does not occur at the point where a change in method and subject-matter of instruction is most essential. Partly because of this fact, it is urged that there is much wastage of time and effort on the part of both pupil and teacher. The high-school instruction is generally departmentalised, the grade school not. That is to say, in a primary school one teacher handles all the subjects of study with a given class. In a good high school a teacher will ordinarily be responsible for only one subject and very rarely will teach more than two. Moreover, the curriculum of the grade school has until recently been quite circumscribed and stereotyped, whereas that of the junior high school is appreciably expanded and enriched. The movement to which reference is now made has been directed to a rearrangement of these boundaries, and among other suggestions which have actually been tried is that of the junior high school, which commonly comprises the seventh, eighth and ninth grades, leaving a senior high school of the tenth, eleventh and twelfth grades leading on to the junior college.

Undoubtedly much is to be said in support of these reorganisations of secondary and primary periods, and, even if the present tentative solutions of the problem be not accepted as final, they mark distinct forward steps in the solution of a problem which undoubtedly must be faced.

THE PROBLEM OF THE RURAL SCHOOL

The rural school problem has been peculiarly pressing. Poor roads and widely scattered population have often rendered it very difficult to give country school children proper school facilities, and the lack of financial resources has much complicated the case. The Union school and the county

high school represent a most interesting and, on the whole, successful effort to meet a portion of these difficulties. The population of several districts, or even an entire county, coöperate to support one good school, to and from which the children are transported in automobiles or other vehicles which makes it possible to bring them from considerable distances. By this method, much better buildings and equipment become available and better paid and better trained teachers can be secured. The growth of the "good roads" movement has much aided this general procedure.

The period under consideration has seen increasing attention given to schools for defective or retarded children, for whom special teachers and special facilities have been provided; thus, on the one hand affording the sub-normal children more and better supervision than they could otherwise receive, and, on the other hand, freeing the regular school classes of the heavy burden imposed by the effort to carry such sub-normals along side by side with their more fortunate comrades. Under the older procedure, the normal as well as the sub-normal suffered materially and the task imposed upon the teacher was often too heavy. In this connection may also be mentioned the rapid development of parental schools, established to deal with children who have been brought into the juvenile courts now widely established. This is but another aspect of the growing sense of responsibility in the community for the care and nurture of all its members.

In parallel with the development in the public schools has occurred a distinct but far less impressive movement in the growth of private schools. In part these are country day schools, in part regular boarding schools for boys and girls. They serve chiefly the wealthier members of the community who for one reason or another prefer not to send their children to the regular public schools.

RESULTS OF THE WAR ON HIGHER EDUCATION

So far at least as concerns higher education the growth in size and power of the state universities has doubtless been the most striking single feature of the period under discussion — a process which has been much accentuated since the war. Certain private foundations, like Columbia University, have also experienced a most remarkable growth. In general, the growth of the small colleges has both absolutely and relatively been less striking; but very great increase in attendance, quite outstripping any corresponding increase in population, has occurred in every group of collegiate institutions. There seems reason to believe that the rapid increase since the war reflects the lessons then taught, when instantly men and women who had had college training were given preferential treatment in all kinds of circumstances.

Standards of professional education have moved steadily upward. Not only have the standards for students been raised, the qualifications for teachers have also been altered. This has been particularly true in medicine. Peculiarly striking has been the development in preventive medicine and in public health work. Education in technology has, like every other branch, undergone expansion, with an especially marked emphasis on the field of industrial chemistry or chemical engineering.

Not least interesting has been the development of the graduate schools and the normal schools, including the so-called "teachers' colleges" generally in affiliation with universities (such for example as Teachers College, Columbia University, and the College of Education of the University of Chicago). The graduate schools train scholars and scientists who are to find their professional occupation chiefly as college and university teachers,

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The Prince of Wales inspecting a Boy Scout Rally at the Alexandra Palace, London. In 1921 there were 350,000 Boy Scouts in the British Empire and 400,000 in the United States.



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A class-room on the roof of the Ethical Culture School, New York. In this and several other American schools for young children, directed play and frequent periods of relaxation are regarded as of as much importance as formal study.

although not a few enter Government service and others find positions as specialists in commercial and industrial concerns. The normal schools prepare teachers particularly for the elementary schools, including the rural schools, and share to some extent with the colleges the preparation of high-school teachers. The teachers' colleges prepare teachers for all levels of work, but are likely to stress supervisory and administrative duties in the lower parts of the educational system. They train men and women for positions as principals and superintendents, as well as for direct teaching, and those of higher grade recruit the staffs of the educational departments of the colleges and universities. All of the larger universities have developed graduate schools. A generation ago a large proportion of the students in these schools would have gone abroad to complete their professional education. At present, apart from certain library and museum treasures and from the opportunity to acquire foreign languages, few foreign universities can now offer opportunities superior to those available in America.

If one inquires what essential developments have occurred in educational ideals and ideas, running parallel with this extraordinary expansion on the quantitative side, one finds it much more difficult to speak with confidence. In elementary education there has been repeated emphasis upon spontaneity and freedom. Motivation is in almost all these movements the keynote, the theory being that only as you proceed from living interests do you really secure mental growth; that when you do so proceed, you secure moral training as well, and that the usual problem of educational discipline disappears. Not a few schools have been created for explicitly experimental purposes, with a view to making actual tests of such new ideas as seemed to be the most promising.

In collegiate and university education it is more difficult to discern new ideas of so distinct and promising a character. The system of free election developed at Harvard under President Eliot, and widely adopted elsewhere, has been largely discarded in favour of devices which lack the restrictive character of the older curricula, but which in no sense involve free election. Most of the collegiate courses of study now require that the student select one field in which he will specialise to some extent, with a view to attaining a general mastery of the subject concerned, while at the same time he pursues a certain amount of work in other designated fields designed to assure him some breadth of outlook. A measure of freedom for election in addition to these requirements is practically always given.

The great size of the classes has been the bane of many American institutions and every effort has been made to offset the evils attendant on this circumstance. Wherever possible additional teachers are secured, in order to keep the teaching sections small, and several colleges have instituted a tutorial system modelled on the English university system (not always under this name) whereby students come into intimate personal contact with an instructor. A number of institutions have tried to turn the student's attention away from the passing of separate courses to an interest in real mastery of some subject of study. This they have attempted by setting up examinations designed to test from time to time, and especially toward the end of a student's four years of residence, his general power in a field much wider than that of any single course he might have chanced to take. Following the practice earlier adopted in a few institutions and then discarded, some colleges are preparing to give their ablest students, especially toward the latter half of the curriculum, complete freedom from any obligation for class attendance, with the understanding that they present themselves late in the course for a drastic examination upon such fields of study as they [illegible] with the approval of the college authorities, have chosen to pursue.

This also is an effort to divorce the students' attention from the compiling of a series of "credits" for more or less separate courses and to put in place of it an interest in genuine mastery in real scholarship.

Athletics have developed markedly and two major tendencies are discernible: first, the tendency of college faculties to take over an increasing control of the conduct of intercollegiate games and competitions and all therewith connected including student health; and, second, a tendency, fortunately most wholesome, to extend participation in athletic games to practically every student.

TENDENCIES ON THE CONTINENT OF EUROPE

Prior to the war, education in Europe was following the main lines earlier laid down with no indication that any radical changes were imminent. In the early years of the struggle the nations concerned managed to keep the educational machinery moving with astonishing success, although the British and French universities were quickly decimated of their students and a large proportion of their faculties. But as time went on the difficulties increased in all of the countries involved. Lack of food, lack of teachers, failure to enforce school-attendance laws — these and other factors combined to bring grave disintegration to the educational work of many communities, a disintegration from which a number of them have not as yet wholly recovered.

It is impossible to speak with any confidence of what has occurred in Russia since the establishment of the Bolshevik Government. The Kerensky Government had formulated sweeping changes in the old imperial system, but they were never realised in the brief time that this Government endured. Prior to the war the Imperial Government had, after long deliberation, entered on a programme of developing the elementary schools which had resulted in a doubling of the attendance of children between the years 1910 and 1912. But in general Russian education was lamentably backward and completely under the control of the State.

Since the war Czechoslovakia has rapidly extended her school system and affords probably the most striking example in Central Europe of revival from the disaster of that struggle.

In France, in Italy, and in Spain there have been significant indications of discontent with the earlier educational procedure and of intention to improve conditions. In Italy and Spain the most urgent problems concern the organisation and administration of the lower schools; the elimination of illiteracy and the providing of a training which will prepare for enlightened citizenship. In France the problem concerns rather the supplying of an education better adapted to the needs of contemporary life than the traditional one which was in force at the outbreak of the war. Discussion has been actively directed to the modification of the old curriculum in ways which will permit the introduction of more material bearing on modern life and the organisation of society.

All through western Europe, and particularly in the Germanic countries, there has been renewed interest in the "Einheitschule" and the idea embodied in it, which before the war had enlisted much attention. The essential feature of this programme is the establishment of a uniform elementary school which shall give entrance to all of the more advanced and more specialised schools, so that an intelligent and promising child may not find his way to higher training blocked because of the fact that at the outset he may have started in the wrong kind of school. This freeing of talent to reach its

fullest development is as important for the State as it is for the individual; and the old systems, built as they largely were on lines of social and economic caste, had not made such free progress possible. Another phase of the same tendency is the establishment in Germany and some other Continental countries of schools for specially gifted children. Only a few such schools are in actual operation, but they reflect a deep sense of the nations' needs to cultivate the best of their human resources in whatever social class these may be found.

Although not active participants in the war, the Scandinavian countries were deeply affected by it; and educational, as well as other national interests, reflect this fact. One effect has been to emphasise the importance for the schools of utilitarian subjects of study; another to increase the responsibility of the teacher for the general welfare of his pupils outside as well as inside the classroom. In Denmark a new type of school has been created, appealing to the children of farmers and middle-class parents and offering training which is designed to send out students far better fitted than heretofore for every practical service in life. Similarly and less important is a Swedish Act of 1918, to become fully effective in 1924, whereby the Folk School is to be extended and courses offered which will bear directly on the needs of the social and economic life of the day. All this is but another evidence of the democratic trend in education, which has already been stressed, as typical of the two opening decades of the century. Mention may also be made of the establishment of the University of Iceland in 1909, with the four faculties of theology, philosophy, medicine and law.

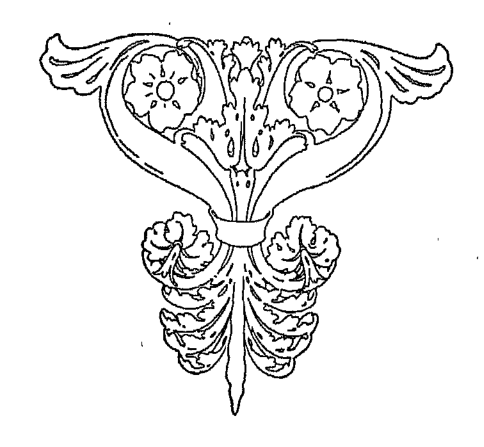
OTHER COUNTRIES

Three striking circumstances in India deserve mention. The first is the enactment in 1918 by the Legislature of Bengal of the first compulsory education law in the history of India. The rural areas are temporarily excluded, but otherwise under the law all children must attend school through the eleventh year and without the payment of fees. This means that in practice both boys and girls will receive about five years of instruction and that at last a real beginning has been made in the education of the great masses of the Indian population. The second fact is the marked increase in the attendance upon secondary schools, especially in those for girls, a fact which presumably reflects the prosperity of the middle-classes and which is indicative of their desire to give their boys access to professional and governmental careers, and to fit their daughters for happier marriages or for self-support. Finally, four new universities were established, or opened their doors, in 1917. These are the Hindu University at Benares, the University of Patna, the University of Mysore and the Indian University for Women, which has various branches but with an administrative centre at Poona. In India also there is accordingly evidence of interest in education of a more general character than has hitherto obtained.

In both the Central and South American republics there has been a vigorous development of interest in practical education directed to making the powers of the younger generation more fruitful for their several countries. In view of the conditions obtaining in many of these nations, there can be no question that such a movement is wholesome and deserving of every encouragement.

In Africa an important reorganisation of college and university education took place when, in 1918 in the Union of South Africa, the colleges at Grahamstown, Wellington, Bloemfontein, Pretoria, Johannesburg and Pieter-

maritzburg were federated in the University of South Africa, which succeeds the University of the Cape of Good Hope and has its administrative seat at Pretoria. Under the same general reorganisation the South African College becomes the University of Cape Town and is developing the faculties of engineering and medicine, while Victoria College receives a fresh charter and becomes the University of Stellenbosch, specialising in agriculture. It is expected that these changes will materially improve the facilities for higher education now offered to the white youth of the Union, and that the nationalistic feeling of the Dutch and English elements will be given fair treatment. As in China and Asia, a large part of the Occidental education at the disposal of the natives throughout the African Continent is under missionary auspices. There has been substantial expansion and improvement of this work in the period under discussion, but it cannot be treated here in detail.



CHAPTER LXXVI

MODERN RELIGIOUS TENDENCIES

By Shailer Mathews, D.D., LL.D.

Dean of the Divinity School, University of Chicago. Editor of the *Biblical World*, 1913–1920. President of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, 1912–1916. Author of *The Social Teachings of Jesus; The Church and the Changing Order; Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*; etc. Editor of *The Bible for Home and School; Dictionary of the Bible.*

Like other aspects of social life, religion reflects the influence of the World War. Prior to 1914 conditions had been rapidly developing which promised changes within the religious field, but these have been emphasised by social and political conditions which have prevailed in many countries since 1918. Changes have by no means been limited to any one country or one religious group.

I. MAHOMMEDANISM

The rise of the Angora Government in Turkey resulted in the separation of the political from the religious status of the Sultan. For centuries he had been both the head of an empire and the successor of the Prophet. Under the new Constitution political power is resident in the Turkish and other Mahommedan states and the Sultan becomes a sort of Islamic pope without political power. Just what effect such a change will have upon the Mahommedan world, it is too early to say. Its political significance seems thus far to be negative, as the pan-Islamic movement is no longer sure of the political and military support of Turkey which now desires only nationalism.

II. INDIA

In *India* the nationalist movement has led to rather a short-lived fellowship between the Mahommedans and the Hindus. These ancient enemies united in opposition to the British control and temporarily forgot their enmity. But already the ancient religious prejudices are reasserting themselves. The movement under Ghandi has in it moral and religious elements as well as political and economic. He succeeded in expressing nationalist longings in certain groups in India, but it is difficult to discover that his ethical teachings have made any widespread change. Opposition to Western civilisation because of its "materialism" is more a phase of the new nationalism than a revived spiritual interest. Yet among the educated Indians there is a genuine religious revival in favour of Vedic simplicity resulting in a decline in Brahman religious interest, and a consequent diminution in the numbers of the priesthood, at least in the Madras Presidency. There is also to be seen a tendency by no means limited to India for an ethnic religion to emphasise such of its tenets as are similar to those of Christianity. In this way there begins a more or less unconscious synthesis, not unlike that which

took place in the early centuries within the Roman Empire. Missionary efforts are increasingly judged on religious grounds, and the development of indigenous churches seems assured.

III. CHINA

In *China* the disturbances incident to political unrest have not seriously checked missionary enterprise. More serious is the anti-Christian attitude among the students. This has resulted in large measure from the new national feeling among the student class, the opposition to the exploitation of China by foreigners and the popularity of scientific agnosticism introduced by certain American and English lecturers as well as by students returning from Europe and America. At the same time nationalism is expressing itself in the demand, which found notable expression in the National Christian Conference in Shanghai in 1922, that Chinese Christianity be allowed to organise itself without entanglements with western sectarianism. The representatives of indigenous churches look to education as the method of expansion and are largely affected by modern religious ideals and methods. Opposed to this modernist tendency is the Bible Union financed by the Fundamentalists of the United States, which is endeavouring to root out all modernist tendencies among missionaries.

IV. RUSSIA

In *Russia* the position of the Church has been seriously affected by the policy and attitude of the Soviet Government. By the decrees of 1918, if not earlier, the Church was separated from the State and religion was rapidly disestablished. Education was taken from the control of the Church as was the oversight of marriages and funerals. Churches were not allowed to organise as groups and could not hold property, all of that possessed under the old *régime* being nationalised. No local religious association can be formed without at least fifty members. It can be suppressed if a part of its members — which in particular means a single member — is arrested for political offence or if in the church edifice any sermons or speeches are delivered, or social or political meetings are held which are hostile to the Soviet Government. The churches are not allowed to give instruction to those under 18, nor are they allowed to use Government buildings and institutions for religious ceremonies or to place in them religious symbols. They are permitted to take up collections for the support of an edifice and to pay the taxes upon it, but teachers of religion are deprived of all State rations and supplies. Religious associations are allowed to organise as other associations and to establish both provincial and national councils, which are permitted to elect executive officers, but which can not hold any property or levy any compulsory dues.

Every church is regarded as a possible political force because it "acts collectively" toward a definite end "and goes against the working class." Such an interpretation of hostility to the Church as a bourgeois institution has led to severe treatment of the clergy. This has particularly been the case since the Soviet Government undertook to take the consecrated as well as the unconsecrated treasure of the Church. Many of the clergy opposed this action and were arrested and placed on trial. In June, 1923, sixty-seven high church officials were in prison or exile. The Patriarch Tikhon who had been elected by the *Sobor* or General Council during the First Revolution of 1917, was arrested and kept in prison for considerable time until he published a letter expressing loyalty to the Soviet Government. He was re-

arrested in January, 1924. The Roman Catholic Bishop Budkiewicz was executed on the ground that he was opposed to the Soviet Government. This unfriendly attitude of the Soviet Government is the outcome of the attitude of the Communist party, the leaders of which are in the Soviet Government. Under its direction the schools are made explicitly anti-religious, and children are trained in atheism. Religious holidays are utilised for anti-religious celebrations, some of which under the leadership of the Russian Union of Communist Youth have been blasphemous. The Communist papers abound in editorials and cartoons intended to break down belief in religion as something hostile to the proletarian dictatorship and to Communist progress.

A fact which at one time seemed to be of considerable importance was the emergence of the Living Church of Russia which favoured the Soviet Government. This new body appeared at the time of the arrest of the Patriarch Tikhon and undertook to clear the Orthodox Church of officials who were friendly to the Patriarch. For some time it appeared to some foreign observers that the new movement might be a forecast of a marked church reform free from the opposition of the Soviet Government. In January, 1924, however, the Living Church did not give promise of great development. It seemed to be composed of a group of reactionaries who were endeavouring to curry favour with the Soviet Government. The mass of the people seemed devoted to the Patriarch rather than to his enemies. The Orthodox Church as a whole seemed to have taken upon itself new vigour and was having more influence. A Theological Academy for the training of priests was opened on the condition that it teach nothing political. The poverty of the people and the anti-religious attitude of the Government and schools were constant hindrances placed in the way of religious activity, and made the situation of the Church difficult and indeed critical. The Soviet Government was evidently trusting largely to the propaganda carried on in the army and the instruction given in the public schools to produce a generation that is not only anti-clerical but also anti-religious. This danger was foreseen by church authorities, and the Roman Catholic Church as well as the Orthodox Church have been endeavouring to meet the situation as well as they could under the circumstances.

The status of the numerous sects of Russia is difficult to discover. Such information as we have argues that like the Orthodox Church they suffer from the anti-religious attitude and control of the Soviet Government and the Communists. Some of them have recently come forward with a statement of loyalty to the Soviet Government. This action seems to have been taken as a response to the propaganda carried on by the official organ of the Communist party to which there is no possibility of replying. Yet the various Baptist sects alone are already estimated to number between one and two million and this number is said to be steadily increasing. There is said to be evidence of an increasing interest in religious matters among many of the intelligentsia.

V. ITALY

In *Italy*, the Fascisti movement has on the whole encouraged the Vatican to assume a more friendly relation with the State, and there has been opposition to the development of the Methodist university in Rome. The hostility of the Socialists to the Church and religion in Italy has to some extent been silenced by the Fascisti. There has been an idealistic awakening which has resulted in a number of organisations.

VI. SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE

In *south-eastern Europe,* the Patriarch of the Greek Orthodox Church was at one time ordered by the new Turkish Government to leave Constantinople, but a compromise permitted him to retain his residence in Constantinople on condition that he separate himself entirely from politics. He has, however, retired to the monastery at Athos. An attempt to establish an independent Greek Church in Albania has thus far resulted in a deadlock between the Patriarch and Bishop Yerotas who was elected chairman of the Albanian synod. In Bulgaria, Rumania, and Yugoslavia there have been no important ecclesiastical changes.

VII. CZECHOSLOVAKIA

In *Czechoslovakia* new political conditions assuring religious liberty have had important results. Among the Protestants a General Council (1918) united the Reformed and Lutheran churches in the "Evangelical Church of Czech Brethren." This was legally recognised by the republic in January, 1922, and it is now the largest Protestant body in the republic. Many other Protestant bodies exist, including some recently established by missionaries. A Protestant theological seminary has been established at Prague. Attendance at the services of the Protestant churches has rapidly increased, the total membership being at the beginning of 1924 approximately 1,000,000 members, at least a quarter of whom belong to the church of the Czech Brethren.

Within the Roman Catholic body in Czechoslovakia there have been marked changes. The anti-papal National Church (1920) has developed rapidly. Thousands have withdrawn from the Roman Catholic communion to become members of the new National Church, in some cases taking over the church buildings, although when such acts have been opposed, the courts have decided in favour of the original owners. The new Czechoslovak Church at first inclined toward the Eastern Orthodox Church, especially toward that in Serbia, but division of opinion resulted between the more conservative and the modernist elements in the new body. A compromise was attempted, but the more conservative party withdrew, leaving the Czechoslovak Church proceeding to formulate its polity (which is Episcopal) and doctrine in conformity with the modern world-view. The question of ordination for its bishops-elect is not yet (1924) answered.

VIII. GERMANY

In *Germany,* the financial conditions of the country have particularly affected the class of people that would be expected to support the churches now possessed of religious liberty. The general uncertainty of affairs has magnified the difficulty of Germany's return to her old-time eminence in theological scholarship. There seems to be no great moral movement within the limits of the Reich. Socialism, financial distress, vulgar profiteering, have all alike contributed to a demoralisation of normal life. Particularly sad is the condition of the teaching body and students. None the less, theological studies are still pursued, and German scholars are making heroic efforts to reëstablish theological learning. New works are again appearing, although the output is small in comparison with that of the pre-war period.

The Revolution brought about the separation of Church and State, but has not radically changed the religious situation. As in Russia the Socialists

are anti-religious, but the attempt of the first radical Minister of Education, a Socialist, to exclude Catholics and Protestants from political life, failed. The former have had increasing influence in politics. Among the Protestant groups the early tendency toward unity, especially after the attack upon them in 1919, has been largely checked, and the old state grouping continues. Two general movements, however, resulted from the Revolution: (1) the formation of the *Volkskirchenbünde* (unions for the creation of a People's church) and (2) the German Evangelical Church Union. The former movement for a time disregarded denominational and theological differences. Lately, however, the passing of the common danger from anti-religious forces has resulted in the reappearance of old geographical groupings (churches of Thuringia, Prussia, Württemberg, Baden, etc.). The effort of the Reich's Parents' Union with about 2,000,000 members, to maintain religious teaching in schools has been largely directed by the pastors and is increasingly devoted to the perpetuation of orthodoxy of the older type.

Some promise of efficiency lies in the Federation of the United Protestant churches. But this movement also is threatened by theological disputes resembling those fostered by the Fundamentalists in America. The increase of democratic control by the various local churches seems checked by the overhead control on the part of the old State churches. The lack of experience in self-determination in German Protestantism has also been a hindrance in the healthy growth of church life, especially in Prussia. The local congregation has little opportunity to develop its own life. The protection of theological minorities is unassured. The effort to introduce creedal statements into the constitutions of the various State churches has led to new theological controversies extending to other than ecclesiastical interests. Whether these will lead to the indifference of the educated classes to Protestant churches, the future alone can decide.

IX. FRANCE

In *France*, there has been no marked religious development since the separation of Church and State in 1905. The war brought closer coöperation between Catholics and Protestants, but this has been checked by the Papal direction forbidding any participation of Catholics with Protestants in moral and religious undertakings.

The war is believed to have resulted in a new interest in religion, but this has not reached any organised expression. Among the Protestants there is a beginning of a renewed practical activity and even of a Federation between the various Lutheran and Reformed churches, but this has been seriously hindered by the revival of theological polemics. There has been as yet no union of the Lutherans of Alsace and France. The poverty of the Protestant congregations has been increased by the war, and financial help has been rendered by the United States. The Protestant churches, few in number, have been more or less disorganised by the efforts of conservative and pre-millenarian leaders to offset modernist influences.

X. ENGLAND

In *England*, the war deepened the desire for Christian union. Most notable was the action of the Anglican Bishops in issuing an irenic Declaration opening the doors to the Nonconformist churches. In brief, this Declaration provided that the Bible should be basal, the Nicene Creed should be taken as a sufficient statement of Christian belief, that the Nonconformist

clergy might be re-ordained in the Anglican Church, and that the unity of the Christian churches should be recognised. The reception of these proposals was courteous, but no steps as yet have been taken by the Nonconformist churches promising their adoption. The questions of ordination and the use of the Creeds are the chief difficulty.

The English churches of all groups have been increasingly active in social affairs. The war left a heritage of unemployment and social unrest, and church leaders have endeavoured to meet the situation with new determination. No great movement has been inaugurated, but clergymen of all communions have emphasised the obligations of the churches to meet the needs of social and industrial reconstruction.

With English Christianity the struggle between orthodoxy and modernism has grown more pronounced. The all but universal adoption of scientific historical and critical methods by theological teachers, led inevitably to the attempt to restate the essence of Christian belief for the new social mind. In this attempt the Churchmen's Union had assumed leadership in 1914. The war diverted attention in large measure, although the opponents of modernism issued a manifesto emphasising the necessity of postponing plans of social reconstruction because of the imminent return of Christ. In 1921, however, the Churchmen's Union organised a Conference which attracted wide attention. Both Convocations in 1922 refused to condemn the Modernists, although urging caution on the part of teachers in the Church in denying elements of the Creeds. Many of the leading churchmen of England are Modernists. The younger generation is particularly in evidence in the insistence that religion be so divorced from technical theology as to be a social force. At the same time there is a widespread hesitancy in adopting radical positions regarding the place of Jesus in Christianity, although considerable freedom is recognised in the discussion of the Incarnation and the Resurrection.

XI. CANADA

In *Canada* the most outstanding event in religious circles has been the progress toward the organic union of certain Protestant bodies. This may be said to have begun in 1902 with the invitation to form an organic union extended by the Methodist General Conference to the Congregational and Presbyterian churches. Negotiations continued in a series of conferences by representations of the three bodies, a large joint committee finally making a report to the three church bodies which proceeded to vote upon it. The first point of difficulty was that of a satisfactory basis. This was approved in 1915. In 1921 a Joint Committee on Church Union met in Toronto. The most recent discussions have concerned the doctrinal basis of the Union, concerning which there has been difference of opinion. On the whole, however, the movement has not been theological. In general it may be said that while the doctrinal basis is Presbyterian rather than Methodist, the reverse is true regarding government. Legal steps were necessary; the Union Bill was accepted by the Methodist General Conference in 1922, and the Presbyterian General Assembly in 1923. The body when organised is to be known as the United Church of Canada. The existence of a considerable minority among the Presbyterians opposed to this union promises a split within that body.

The churches of Canada have been increasingly interested in the social aspects of Christianity. The utterances of the Methodist General Conference have been especially outspoken in favour of industrial reforms. The controversy between the conservative and progressive parties of the churches

has been similar to that in the United States. Fundamentalism has been especially active among the Baptists.

XII. THE UNITED STATES

Certain well-defined lines of development among the American churches are to be seen during recent years. The World War served to accelerate these tendencies, but in itself seems hardly to have contributed much to religious history. During the progress of the war many hopes were expressed that the ideals for which the soldiers were fighting would give great impetus to the spiritual life of the nation. The war, however, brought no great spiritual uplift.

(1) Church coöperation has proceeded rapidly since the organisation of the Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America in 1908. In coöperation with the Church Peace Union the Federal Council has been able to organise relief work among distressed peoples; it has stood for international morality and the participation of the United States in the League of Nations. It has maintained a Commission intended to help the establishment of more Christian relations in the economic world, and it has been able to focus Christian interest on such important matters as the Conference for the Limitation of Armaments, and the needs of the Protestant minorities in Europe. Just after the war the work of the Council was supplemented and partly overshadowed by the Interchurch World Movement. This organisation undertook to coördinate the financial aspects of the missionary and benevolent work of the churches of the Protestant denominations. It adopted methods which had been used successfully during the war in the Red Cross and the Y.M.C.A. "drives" and proceeded to raise and spend enormous amounts of money in building up a nation-wide organisation. In the course of a few months, however, it became apparent that the Interchurch World Movement did not have sufficient support and preparation and that it had incurred debts amounting to millions. It was, therefore, disbanded almost over night, except that one committee on research was maintained which now exists as the Institute for Social and Religious Research. One matter of importance was the report by the committee appointed by the Interchurch World Movement, on the steel strike. In this report the committee criticised the United States Steel Corporation and urged that an eight-hour day be established among steel workers. The report occasioned bitter controversy and for some time the Federal Council, the Y.M.C.A., the Y.W.C.A. and the Interchurch World Movement were accused of radicalism. Special efforts were made to discredit these bodies and to reduce their financial support. The subsequent adoption of the eight-hour day by all the Steel Corporations is regarded by many as due in a large measure to the pressure of public opinion aroused by this report.

Another movement looking toward church unity has been made by the Presbyterian General Assembly, U.S.A. It has established a Commission which looks to organic church union among those bodies that are represented in the Federal Council. The Conference on Faith and Order planned by the Protestant Episcopal Church looks to the reunion of Greek, Roman and other churches. It has held a number of preliminary meetings and expects to be summoned as a whole in 1925. This Conference has been given attention by the evangelical bodies in America, and on the part of certain individuals there have been distinct efforts at adjusting the position of the clergy, both within and without the Episcopal Church. Thus far, however, the matter has not reached any definite conclusion. At the end of 1923 it would appear

that Protestant bodies in America were not so much concerned with the development of church unity as with coöperation as represented by the Federal Council, the rapidly increasing local church federations and the Councils representing the various Boards of Home and Foreign Missions. The most important obstacle to church unity on the basis proposed by the Anglican Bishops seems to be the matter of ordination. The Conference on Faith and Order, however, is expected to furnish opportunity for frank discussion of the points of difference and agreement.

(2) The development of religious education has been rapid within the last few years, especially since the formation of the Religious Education Association in 1903. At first this movement was partly concerned with the development of graded lessons and graded Sunday-schools. It was, therefore, sometimes opposed by those who believed in the so-called uniform lessons. Gradually, however, these objections disappeared and the use of graded lessons became very widespread. The two important bodies, the Sunday-school Council and the International Sunday-school Association, were united in a new body known as the International Sunday-school Council for Religious Education.

The scientific treatment of religious education in theological seminaries, as well as the new interest in religious psychology, have served to expand the conception of the subject. In addition to the teaching of the Bible and the truths of Christian religion it covers the social field of self-expression including recreation, pageantry and other forms of expressional activity. Particularly noticeable in more recent years is the growth of Vacation Daily Bible Schools and week-day religious instruction. Both of these movements promise great development in the future.

(3) In evangelism and in revivalism there is still much activity. The development of religious education and the social application of the Gospel has not wholly replaced the more conventional types of revival meetings. There seems, however, to be less interest and less success attending meetings of the more sensational sort, and in their stead a new coöperation is appearing among the churches of various cities for the purpose of stimulating the religious interest of cities without the assistance of imported helpers.

(4) One of the outstanding characteristics of the recent church life is the development of foreign missions. The missionary movement indeed has attained a size and importance which makes it one of the more important social movements of history. The money raised annually for this purpose amounts to millions, and the number of Christian missions in non-Christian lands runs into thousands. In recent years particular attention has been given the development of educational institutions and medical missions. Adjustments have been made by the foreign mission administrations of the denominations and responsibility for the evangelisation of specific sections of the world has been allocated to different denominations.

(5) The development of lay religion has been marked. The war here was of great significance. The Young Men's and the Young Women's Christian Associations have developed rapidly, especially on the side of social service (including hotels) and education. The Knights of Columbus have greatly increased in numbers and influence. The Salvation Army has won general support. Other organisations like the Boy Scouts have more or less allied themselves with church activities although maintaining themselves as independent bodies. The Ku Klux Klan has developed in many states on the basis of religious enmities.

(6) From a variety of causes there has been renewed attention paid by the churches to matters of health. The Emmanuel and similar movements have attracted attention, particularly in the Episcopal Church. Other reli-

gious bodies have attempted to use new psychological methods with the view of making religion minister to health. The outstanding illustration of this is Christian Science, which since the death of Mrs. Eddy (1910) has maintained itself as a developing faith. There has been of late some litigation as to the control of the property of the Christian Science Church, but neither this nor certain schismatic movements have apparently affected its institutional solidarity or its growth.

(7) One of the most marked developments of church life in the United States is its social interest. In general this may be said to include philanthropy of all sorts, the support of prohibition, community service and an attempt to introduce the principles of Jesus into industrial and political life. The latter is particularly noticeable as it undoubtedly indicates the line of development of modern Christianity. Under the guidance of economic and social thought, the leaders in what is sometimes called the "social gospel" have redefined and extended Christian conceptions of sin and salvation by the introduction of social elements. Such teaching, while emphasising the responsibility of the individual both religiously and morally, calls attention to the relation of the churches to industrial and social processes and institutions. It is to be found not only in an increased literature but also in resolutions taken by many religious bodies. The Social Creed of the Churches adopted by the Federal Council has been readopted by many religious bodies, and most of the communions have Commissions of Social Service with employed personnel. These Secretaries coöperate with the Social Service Commission of the Federal Council and are accustomed to hold conferences of ministers and religious workers as well as representatives of labour and employees. In a number of cases there has been careful investigation of strikes, and the public opinion of the churches has been directed to what seems unjust or unchristian conditions in various industries.

In somewhat the same way there has been a decided awakening of the churches as to the moral significance of international affairs. While church members have been involved in the political struggle over the League of Nations, they have frequently expressed themselves clearly as regards the moral aspects of international affairs. The churches undoubtedly exercised considerable influence in organising public opinion supporting the Conference for the Reduction of Armaments.

(8) Under the influence of modern ideas and methods in science, the study of religion has taken on a new vitality. Throughout most of the Protestant denominations and, until suppressed by authority, among the Roman Catholics, there have appeared scholars who have sought to apply scientific methods to the study of Christianity. Modernism, however, is something more than an academic attitude of mind. It finds expression in practical programmes dealing with religious education and social reconstruction, but its central theological position is found in its understanding of the Bible and its conception of religion as affected by the laws of development. So widespread has this new attitude of mind become that in the northern states there are few theological seminaries, except the Lutheran, in which historical and critical study of the Bible is not employed in the training of young men for the ministry. Modernism, however, is not a theological system, but the rise of scientific methods in the study of religion.

Before the war this success had led to active opposition on the part of those who stood for the confessional positions in theology. Under their leadership there grew up Bible Institutes for the purpose of training men and women in religious work on the basis of the belief in the verbal inerrancy of the Scriptures and the literal interpretation of passages dealing with the death, the birth, the resurrection of Christ, his substitutionary atonement

and his return within the lifetime of those now living. The psychology of conflict engendered by the war served to stimulate the hostility of this group to the Modernist movement and there developed a Fundamentalist movement. This movement has appeared in various denominations in the United States, although it is by no means limited to that country. It seeks to establish a type of religious thought and teaching even more conservative than that of the seventeenth century. Fundamentalism has its own organisation, propaganda, conventions and finances. Its leaders are almost without exception pre-millenarian in their beliefs, and do not hesitate to criticise the activity of the Church in social service and in attempts to bring the Gospel to bear upon social affairs. They are vigorously endeavouring to get control of church organisations. In fact, an impartial comparison of Fundamentalism and Modernism suggests a comparison of the present situation with the period of the Reformation. Now as then the exigencies of human life are giving rise to the attempt to project Christianity into the modern world with methods and ideas calculated to give it efficiency. The opposition to this movement comes largely from those who distrust scientific and social thought because of their view concerning the Scriptures. The controversy is, therefore, at bottom, a phase of the opposition between two social minds and two attitudes toward progress, two estimates of education.

A particular phase of the attack of Fundamentalism upon the modern world-view has appeared in the attempt to get various legislatures, particularly among the southern states, to pass laws forbidding, under punishment, the teaching of evolution in any educational institution supported by taxes. Since the failure of the Kentucky Legislature to pass such a law, others of a less drastic nature have been passed by Oklahoma and a few other state legislatures. There has been also, especially in the South, attempts on the part of denominational schools to prevent teaching of evolution by members of their faculties.

XIII. SUMMARY

Recent religious history is thus seen to be marked by:—

(1) Changes due to new political conditions which tend toward national churches.

(2) Opposition to religion itself in countries most affected by economic and political radicalism.

(3) New emphasis upon the social bearing of Christianity, religious education and Christian unity.

(4) Attempts among those in sympathy with modern education and thought to interpret the Bible according to historical methods, to centre attention upon the religious rather than the theological elements in Christianity and to apply the teaching of Jesus to modern conditions (Modernism).

(5) Organised opposition to the use of scientific and social conceptions in the application of Christianity and emphasis upon the inerrancy of the Bible literally and unhistorically interpreted (Fundamentalism).

(6) The expansion of Christianity to non-Christian peoples, where the religious conditions seen in America and England tend to reappear and for the same reasons.

These conditions are not limited to any country or civilisation, but are symptomatic of a world-wide change in thought and life, due to the expansion of Western civilisation. Religion is thus tending toward a unity of characteristics that promises marked development in the future.

CHAPTER LXXVII

SOME REFLECTIONS ON BIG BUSINESS

By Charles M. Schwab

Superintendent of the Homestead Steel Works, 1887–1889. General Superintendent Edgar Thompson Steel Works, 1889–1897. President Carnegie Steel Company, Ltd., 1897–1901. President of The United States Steel Corporation, 1901–1903. Chairman of the Board of the Bethlehem Steel Corporation. Formerly Director-General of Shipbuilding, U. S. Shipping Board, Emergency Fleet Corporation.

One cannot really look forward without first looking backward. Let us look back for a moment, and accept the axiom that history repeats itself, as being true. If steel is a barometer of business, then from that point of view I may speak with some knowledge. I started in steel in 1880, 44 years ago.

I remember very vividly on a bright sunny Sunday morning, as a boy of 17 or 18, when I left my native village of Loretto, Pennsylvania, never having been 50 miles away from that place in my life before, and went down to Pittsburgh. As the train rounded the curve, the great smoking stacks of the Edgar Thompson works, the flaming converters belching forth, made such a vivid impression upon my youthful mind that it will never fade. I thought I had seen the very acme of what might be accomplished in an industrial way. It then appalled me as something gigantic, something never to be duplicated.

Some few years afterwards I became the manager of those works, and I then began to dream of the works of the future — works that were far to surpass those in existence. In the construction of all the industrial works that I have ever undertaken, I have always dreamed of something more gigantic, more economic, and more thorough than anything that had ever existed. Yet the realities have always far surpassed the previous anticipations. I remember when we built the great rolling mill at the Edgar Thompson Steel Works near Pittsburgh: I wrote Mr. Carnegie that when this was finished it would produce 1,000 tons of rails a day, and Mr. Carnegie wrote me that he was foolish enough to agree to the expenditure of the money necessary for the plant, but he insisted that I never tell any one that the country was ever likely to require 1,000 tons of rails a day. I have seen the country take 20,000 tons a day, and even then the mills were insufficient to fulfill the demand.

When the United States Steel Corporation was formed in 1900 Mr. J. P. Morgan — one of the greatest men who ever lived — said to me "here is this country producing 12,000,000 tons of steel a year. Haven't we overbuilt, isn't it too big?" As a matter of fact, we have seen the United States Steel Corporation alone produce nearly 25,000,000 tons of steel in a single year. If the past be any criterion, and the hopes and ambitions of the American people be the measuring stick, then the future holds brighter dreams of industrial development than anything in the past. I base this

belief not upon any theory but on the fact that history repeats itself. We have seen this one industry grow from 1,000,000 tons in 1880 to 43,000,000 tons in 1923. We shall see it continue to grow until the 43,000,000 tons will be swollen to 100,000,000 tons — and even then we shall be but at the beginning.

The comparative production of pig iron of the three leading countries of the world is interesting. Nearly one-half (precisely, a trifle over 45 per cent) is contributed by the United States. About one-fourth comes from the Lorraine ore fields now held by France. Germany, just before the war, produced in a year (1913) 19,000,000 tons, which is also the approximate figure for the war years. Great Britain, in 1913, produced about 10,000,000 tons, and in 1918, approximately the same quantity. In 1920, however, conditions had so far changed that the pig-iron production of Great Britain was given as 8,139,000 tons, whereas the estimate for Germany had dropped to 7,000,000.

Extraordinary as was the general industrial development of the United States during the nineteenth century, that development was far surpassed, at least as far as volume of business is concerned, during the first quarter of the present century. If the figures were not vouched for by the Government census bureau they would seem hardly credible. In 1904, according to these figures, there were 216,180 manufacturing establishments in the United States, and the total value of their products had increased to the phenomenal figure of $62,418,078,000, an increase of more than 200 per cent. This increase was of course partly due to higher prices, but the contrast is none the less significant. If we take only physical volume of production, the results are equally striking. In the twenty-year period 1899–1919, according to Professor Day of Harvard, agricultural production increased 138 per cent, mining 228 per cent and manufacture 195 per cent. But in the same period the population increased only 140 per cent. In other words, the increase in agriculture only just kept pace with the population, while the production of minerals and manufactures went far beyond it.

All of this indicates that the United States has gone through an extraordinary transformation — since 1870, for example, when nearly one-half the people of the country were engaged in agriculture. Fifty years later — 1920, to be exact — only 26 per cent of the population was on farms, yet this 26 per cent was able to produce enough foodstuffs not only to supply 105,000,000 people but to send abroad farm products worth $4,107,000,000. And that must be accounted a triumph of the machine, itself a product of American industry. In no other country, it is safe to say, could relatively so small a farming community achieve so great a result.

Big business has been charged with seeking a return on excessive capitalisation, with stamping out competition by ruthless and unscrupulous methods, and with oppressing labour. That these abuses of power have often occurred may be admitted; on the other hand they are by no means as frequent as they used to be, and it can be shown that they are not necessary accompaniments to the conduct of large corporations. It would be easy to cite a great many important industries of which such charges would be utterly untrue. But the public is primarily interested in the question of prices; and it seems to be very generally the opinion among the uninformed that big business should be blamed for a large share of the increase in the cost of living. Now it is very true that where combination has replaced cut-throat competition, prices have been raised, but no one believes that prices could be indefinitely maintained at a level below the cost of production. Large corporations have naturally sought to avoid losses and to make a profit, and some have undoubt-

edly made exorbitant profits, but it could easily be demonstrated that on the whole, American big business has actually kept prices below what they would have been if combination had been effectually prevented. The profits of large corporations have largely come from the economies that have been effected; and where these have been very high, the natural result has been to attract new capital and effective competition into the field. It may be considered axiomatic that no combination can be strong enough to eliminate the possibility of effective competition; and this factor affords the consumer a very real protection against exploitation.

In recent years, moreover, rigid legislation has served to remedy the worst evils that used to be regarded as typical of the American "trusts." These laws provide for more effective scrutiny of methods of incorporation, and enlarge the responsibility of directors to stockholders and the public. Public opinion has also had its influence, and the typical "captain of industry" of to-day regards his position more as a public trust than as a mere opportunity for private gain.

The United States is not the only country that has witnessed the growth of big business, though it is unquestionably the most prominent one. In Great Britain combinations in a great many trades have been formed, though the tendency originally was to organise "selling combinations" rather than one large corporation. In late years many large industries have been united into single corporations maintaining a virtual monopoly. These consolidations have not aroused the hostility that similar combinations once did in America, nor has the Government sought to restore competition by legal interference.

In Germany, before the war, the tendency toward consolidation was often favoured rather than opposed by the Government. This was undoubtedly due in part to the superior advantage of large corporations in developing foreign trade, especially where a long period of "missionary" work is required to make the new market profitable. Early combinations in Germany were largely in the form of cartels, involving contracts among independent establishments. These contracts were designed to regulate the output of each concern, and in certain cases to fix prices. Very often, too, a central selling bureau for all the members of the combination was maintained. In Germany, too, are seen the most noteworthy examples of the so-called "vertical trust." The "vertical trust," it is hardly necessary to say, is one in which control is sought not so much in a single product, or allied products, but in all the things that go to make up the finished product from the source to the end. Many American firms have extended their operations in like manner, though usually for the purpose of obtaining cheap and sufficient raw materials.

This is an age of science, and no man more than the engineer is applying the lessons of science to the promotion of the well-being and the happiness of mankind. The achievements of the American engineer are among the wonders of the modern world. The Panama Canal, the railways, the New York subways, the sky-scrapers, the great aqueduct tunnels, to say nothing of the stupendous manufacturing enterprises — these are among the most spectacular achievements which have yet come from the mind of man.

But there is one respect not so often talked about in which engineers are to-day taking the lead, and that is in the development of human engineering. We may build great buildings, dig deep tunnels, span rivers with stupendous bridges, erect great factories and lay uncounted miles of railway, but unless the men who must do the ordinary routine work of operation are imbued with the right spirit and have a healthy orientation toward their work, there can be no success. And so in recent years the engineers — and I use the term

engineers in the broadest sense — have directed their energies not alone toward great mechanical achievements but toward the promotion of sound and amicable relations with labour.

The people who labour are not and cannot be treated like dumb, driven cattle; they are human beings, with feelings and sentiments, hopes and aspirations, and the fundamental problem of all industry is so to relate the human elements in the men who do the work, to the machines which they operate, that the men themselves shall be happy and healthy, and so that they shall thus be able to operate their machines with spirit and efficiency.

Few things in our modern world are more wonderful than the great enterprise which Henry Ford has developed. Mr. Ford has taught many new lessons in the handling of machinery and large-scale production. But all of Mr. Ford's machinery and plans would have amounted to little had he not been able to build upon the foundation of satisfied and happy employees. When during the World War I was placed at the head of the Emergency Fleet Corporation, I realised that the need was not so much for machinery, or more machinery, as to put spirit and power into the hearts, minds and muscles of the rank and file of the men who were doing the work. To build great plants, to erect huge machines, would take time, and the war would not wait. To put new life and spirit into the men who were doing the job could be accomplished in a very short time. I paid, therefore, little attention to the mechanical and material end of the business. I devoted my time to going among the men, both the superintendents and the rank and file, and seeking to promote in them a spirit which would enable them to get almost miraculous results with the materials at their command.

Many people conceived the relationship between capital and labour as one of stress and struggle. They talk as though the interest of the two were different. My experience is that there can be no success in industry unless there is at least a measurable appreciation of what is so fundamentally true, namely, that the interests of labour and capital are identical. Perhaps the division of the effort of industry as between labour and capital is not always equitable, but the effort of all engaged in industry should be to make that division ever more equitable. And that is the direction which human engineering is taking to-day.

There is a distinct movement among industries all over the world toward giving the men a greater voice in the management, towards securing for the employees representation with the management in the consideration of problems of mutual interest. There is a sincere effort being made to give every man the benefit of the economies and the improvements which his efforts make possible, and great progress is being realised in making the men understand that their interest and the interest of the corporations for whom they work are the same.

As an illustration of the possibilities in this direction, the Bethlehem Steel Corporation is enabling and assisting its employees to purchase the preferred stock of the Company in order to create interest on the part of the employees in the activities of the Company. Another and similar instance of importance in securing coöperation between management and employees is being worked out in the Pennsylvania Railroad.

There are many other organisations, many groups of men, engaged in this movement for the perfection of human engineering. It is not only a movement which will promote the material well-being of our civilisation and continue to produce *big things*, but it is also a movement in which American engineers can well take greater pride, because it will produce *great men*.

CHAPTER LXXVIII

THE POLITICAL AWAKENING OF WOMEN

By The Viscountess Rhondda

The years between 1900 and 1923 have shown all over the civilised world an alteration in the position of women, such as no similarly short period has shown in historical times. During these years women in the majority of countries have taken the first concrete step forward towards political and social equality with men.

There is no more puzzling study than the consideration of the origin of the woman's movement. Whether, as Olive Schreiner suggested, it had its origin, as had the Labour Movement, in the growth of industrialism, whether it is an inevitable part of any strong movement towards democracy (a view which history does not seem to support); whether it is an inevitable development at a certain stage of civilisation; or whether, as Mathilde and Mathias Vaerting, the authors of *The Dominant Sex,* suggest, the slow swing of time's pendulum is taking us back once more to a state of affairs which was common all over the world in pre-historical days, it is not our business to investigate here. What is certain is that the movement which had its beginning in the early nineteenth century and grew steadily through that century, had by 1900 assumed considerable proportions in all the Anglo-Saxon, Scandinavian and Teutonic countries, and that by that time it had, for the time being, resolved itself mainly into a demand for the vote, certainly in the Anglo-Saxon countries, and to a rather lesser extent in the others.

The instinct which lies at the root of the woman's movement would seem to be, so far as it may be put into words, twofold. There is on the one hand the instinctive realisation described by Olive Schreiner in *Woman and Labour.* The industrial era had resulted in woman's work being taken from her; work which was once all done and superintended in the home came to be done — and superintended — in the factory; at the same time, in the well-to-do classes large families gave place to small ones. The woman — even in the only comparatively well-to-do classes — was left idle at home. She was no longer pulling her weight in the world.

Olive Schreiner wrote:

> "The Woman Labour Movement has taken its rise almost exclusively among the wealthy, cultured, and brain-labouring classes, where alone, at the present day, the danger of enervation through non-employment, and of degeneration through dependence on the sex function, exists. The female labour movement of our day is, in its ultimate essence, an endeavour on the part of a section of the race to save itself from inactivity and degeneration, and this, even at the immediate cost of most heavy loss in material comfort and ease to the individuals composing it . . . (it) consists mainly in a demand to have the doors leading to professional, political, and highly skilled labour thrown open to them."

The demand, she said, might be expressed in these words:

> "Give us labour and the training which fits for labour! We demand this, not for ourselves alone, but for the race."

Olive Schreiner left out, or at least minimised one aspect of the demand for labour. Side by side with the demand of the woman of the professional

classes for labour and the training which fits for labour, was the demand of the woman already in the factory for fair conditions and equal pay and opportunities with the men around her. But in its main contention, *Woman and Labour* is undoubtedly right.

Nevertheless, the woman's movement is something more than a demand for labour. Besides the demand for the right to work there is — quite definitely — a demand for a half-share in the management. And that because women have come to believe that for the sake of their children, for the sake of their race, and for the sake of the world, it is essential that they should have this share. Why this belief should so suddenly have arisen among them we cannot say, but it is there, and the woman's movement is not likely to stop until women have with men equal share in the management of the world. How far distant they are from such an ideal to-day, even in the most civilised countries in the world, will be realised by any one who stops for one moment to think.

THE DEMAND FOR THE VOTE

By 1900 it had become clear that in any democracy the vote was the first essential. It was the hall-mark of citizenship. Great numbers of women who had originally been more interested in securing education, the right to practice medicine, and various other reforms of the kind, had come to recognise it as the "first concrete step" to be achieved, as alike proof of equality and necessary if equality were to be obtained. Like most other movements the woman's movement did not start in the sphere of politics, it was forced into it because in that sphere lay the weapon necessary to achieve its aim.

In these few pages then, we will leave out other aspects of the movement and tell only of the winning of the vote, which was the great achievement of the early years of the twentieth century, and of the results which have almost always followed within the first few years of the granting of the vote.

We propose to devote the greater portion of our space to a consideration of the militant movements of Britain and America, because these are the outstanding events of the woman's movement in the early years of this century, and this not only because these movements were responsible for success in their own countries, nor only because they influenced and accelerated the coming of suffrage in almost every country in the world. But because the militant movements had in themselves, quite apart from their political success, a great effect on the women of the countries concerned. They had a big psychological reaction, they influenced the status of women almost as profoundly as did the granting of the vote, because they altered the conception women had formed of themselves. It has been said of Christabel Pankhurst that the suffrage was but a part of what she achieved, that "what she really did was to change the whole mental attitude of the thinking women; she gave them self-confidence: she gave them self-respect. The vote was after all merely the inevitable result of the achievement of self-respect. For the first time women in a group no longer meek and subservient, stood upon their own feet, made their own decisions, and faced their own consequences." *Time and Tide,** October 12, 1923. There is considerable truth in the statement.

* *Time and Tide*, a successful weekly review of politics, art and literature, which has a considerable circulation in Great Britain, is one of the most interesting developments of the woman's movement. It is directed and staffed entirely by women, and numbers amongst its contributors, who include both men and women, some of the best known writers of the day.

THE ANGLO-SAXON COUNTRIES

In the Anglo-Saxon countries by the year 1900 the demand for the vote was already a hundred years old. First publicly made by Mary Wollstonecraft in England in 1791, it had been definitely and loudly made in America at the Equal Rights Convention in 1848. England had followed with an active agitation, which beginning shortly before the Reform Bill of 1867 had continued unabated through the 'seventies and early 'eighties. The American movement, whose leaders showed in those days more political wisdom than did the English suffragists, had by 1900 resulted in enfranchisement in four Western States: Wyoming, which enfranchised its women in 1869, but was not admitted as a State until 1890; Colorado, Idaho and Utah, which followed close on each other's heels between 1893 and 1896. The British movement resulted only in one or two reforms (such, for instance, as the Married Women's Property Act, 1882) being thrown to the women when the agitation was at its hottest, and in the achievement of a limited local-government suffrage. After 1884, when the third Reform Bill passed without including votes for women among its provisions, something like a lethargy of despair seemed to settle on a great number of the British suffragists, and the movement died down for sixteen or seventeen years. It was still in the slough of despond in 1900. The American movement, on the other hand, went on energetically working in individual States, and some good work was accomplished.

If the British and American movements had by the year 1900 achieved but little for themselves, the seed they had sown had had great effect in Australia, a country in which conditions approximated somewhat to those to be found in the Western States of America, which, as we have seen, were the only ones in which victories had been gained. In 1900 women were already voting in New Zealand and in South and Western Australia, and they had achieved their victory after a comparatively short and not very widespread agitation. In 1901 the Australian Federal vote was given, and by 1908 all the states had fallen into line. The spade-work for this victory had really been done in older countries; women were given the vote in Australia not so much because they asked for it—although they did ask for it—as because it seemed to the men of the new continent just.

GREAT BRITAIN

Meanwhile in Great Britain things began to happen. By 1900 women had become profoundly convinced that the vote was essential to any further progress. It is therefore not surprising that within the next few years they found leaders to lead them to victory.

In the summer of 1902 it happened that Susan B. Anthony paid a visit to Manchester, and there, all unwittingly, she handed on her torch to the British suffragists. "It is unendurable," declared Christabel Pankhurst after her departure "to think of another generation of women wasting their lives begging for the vote. We must not lose any more time. We must act." Those words heralded the birth of the British militant movement. In October, 1903, at Mrs. Pankhurst's house in Manchester a tiny group of women formed the Women's Social and Political Union. A new spirit had come into the suffrage movement. Shortly after the formation of the W.S.P.U. Mrs. Pankhurst attended an annual ceremony in a room in the House of Commons and made clear what that new spirit was. This is her account of the affair:

"The old suffragists had long since given up hope of obtaining a Government suffrage bill, but they clung to a hope that a private member's bill would some time obtain consideration. Every year, on the opening day of Parliament, the association sent a deputation of women to the House of Commons, to meet so-called friendly members and consider the position of the women's suffrage cause. The ceremony was of the most conventional, not to say farcical character. The ladies made their speeches, and the members made theirs. The ladies thanked the friendly members for their sympathy, and the members renewed their assurances that they believed in women's suffrage and would vote for it when they had an opportunity to do so. Then the deputation, a trifle sad but entirely tranquil, took its departure, and the members resumed the real business of life, which was support of their party's policies.

"Such a ceremony as this I attended soon after the founding of the W.S.P.U. Sir Charles Mc'Laren was the friendly member who presided over the gathering, and he did his full duty in the matter of formally endorsing the cause of women's suffrage. He assured the delegation of his deep regret, as well as the regret of numbers of his colleagues, that women so intelligent, so devoted, etc., should remain unenfranchised. Other members did likewise. The ceremonies drew to a close, but I, who had not been asked to speak, determined to add something to the occasion.

"'Sir Charles Mc'Laren,' I began abruptly, 'has told us that members of his colleagues desire the success of the women's suffrage cause. Now every one of us knows that at this moment the members of the House of Commons are balloting for a place in the debates. Will Sir Charles Mc'Laren tell us if any member is preparing to introduce a bill for women's suffrage? Will he tell us what he and the other members will pledge themselves to *do* for the reform they so warmly endorse?'

"Of course, the embarrassed Sir Charles was not prepared to tell us anything of the kind, and the deputation departed in confusion and wrath. I was told that I was an interloper, an impertinent intruder. Who asked me to say anything? And what right had I to step in and ruin the good impression they had made? No one could tell how many friendly members I had alienated by my unfortunate remarks.

"I went back to Manchester and with renewed energy continued the work of organising for the W.S.P.U." (*My Own Story*, by Emmeline Pankhurst.)

Put in a nutshell the policy of the new militant organisation differed from that of the older body, the National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, in that instead of asking gently for help, accepting the crumbs offered, and being content with trying to introduce from time to time a private member's bill which had no chance whatsoever of passing into law, it *demanded* a Government measure, and made it clear from the start that it intended to bring what pressure might be necessary to force the Government to accede to its demand. It had therefore a clear-cut and easily understood policy. It never deviated one inch from the path laid down. It was responsible for many wild and unlawful deeds before the end, but not one single one but was carefully planned with the clear and deliberate intention of directly or indirectly bringing pressure to bear upon the Government, and not one single one but had this effect.

The first militant act to result in prison took place in the Free Trade Hall in Manchester on October 13, 1905. Annie Kenney and Christabel Pankhurst attended the meeting with a view to questioning Sir Edward Grey (now Viscount Grey of Fallodon), the principal speaker, and one of the leaders of the Liberal party shortly expected to come into office, as to whether that party would give votes to women.

"They sat quietly through the meeting, at the close of which questions were invited. Several questions were asked by men and were courteously answered. Then Annie Kenney arose and asked: 'If the Liberal party is returned to power, will they take steps to give votes for women?' At the same time Christabel held aloft the little banner (on which was inscribed 'Votes for Women') that every one in the hall might understand the nature of the question. Sir Edward Grey returned no answer to Annie's question, and the men sitting near her forced her rudely into her seat, while a steward of the meeting pressed his hat over her face. A babel of shouts, cries and catcalls sounded from all over the hall.

"As soon as order was restored Christabel stood up and repeated the question:

'Will the Liberal Government, if returned, give votes to women?' Again Sir Edward Grey ignored the question, and again a perfect tumult of shouts and angry cries arose. Mr. William Peacock, chief constable of Manchester, left the platform and came down to the women, asking them to write their question, which he promised to hand to the speaker. They wrote: 'Will the Liberal Government give votes to working-women? Signed, on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union, Annie Kenney, member of the Oldham committee of the card and blowing-room operatives.' They added a line to say that, as one of 9,600 organised women textile-workers, Annie Kenney earnestly desired an answer to the question.

"Mr. Peacock kept his word and handed the question to Sir Edward Grey, who read it, smiled, and passed it to the others on the platform. They also read it with smiles, but no answer to the question was made. Only one lady who was sitting on the platform tried to say something, but the chairman interrupted by asking Lord Durham to move a vote of thanks to the speaker. Mr. Winston Churchill seconded the motion, Sir Edward Grey replied briefly, and the meeting began to break up. Annie Kenney stood up in her chair and cried out over the noise of shuffling feet and murmurs of conversation: 'Will the Liberal Government give votes to women?' Then the audience became a mob. They howled, they shouted and roared, shaking their fists fiercely at the woman who dared to intrude her question into a man's meeting. Hands were lifted to drag her out of her chair, but Christabel threw one arm about her as she stood, and with the other arm warded off the mob, who struck and scratched at her until her sleeve was red with blood. Still the girls held together and shouted over and over: 'The question! The question! Answer the question!' Six men, stewards of the meeting, seized Christabel and dragged her down the aisle, past the platform, other men following with Annie Kenney, both girls still calling for an answer to their question. . . . Flung into the streets, the two girls staggered to their feet and began to address the crowds, and to tell them what had taken place in a Liberal meeting. Within five minutes they were arrested on a charge of obstruction and, in Christabel's case, of assaulting the police. Both were summoned to appear next morning in the police court, where . . . Annie Kenney was sentenced to pay a fine of five shillings, with an alternative of three days in prison, and Christabel Pankhurst was given a fine of ten shillings or a jail sentence of one week. Both girls promptly chose the prison sentence." (Mrs. Pankhurst's *My Own Story*.)

We have given this story at some length because the scenes which occurred at Manchester are typical of many which occurred all over the country during the succeeding months. During the next four years hundreds of women were flung out of meetings and hundreds more imprisoned for no worse offence than asking for a vote at what the authorities regarded as an inopportune moment. A few of the women imprisoned were arrested in connection with disturbances at meetings, but for the most part they owed their imprisonment to their determination to present in person a petition to the Prime Minister asking for the right to vote. The women held that their action was legal; they based their claim on the Bill of Rights: "It is the right of the Subject to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal." (The Prime Minister is, of course, the King's representative.)

Whether legal or not this petitioning was exceedingly inconvenient to the Government. It had exactly the effect the Women's Social and Political Union desired it to have; it embarrassed the Government, and it kept the question of Votes for Women before the public. In fact it achieved an amount of publicity which was amazing to those who had known the older days of the suffrage agitation. There were headlines in the Press, meetings all over the country were filled to overflowing, money flowed into the coffers of the W.S.P.U., and there was an enormous increase in its membership; women from all over the country, and especially young women, fired by the ideal of sacrifice and service which it held out, hastened to join its ranks. It was not only the W.S.P.U. which increased its membership. Other societies did likewise, and notably the older National Union of Women Suffrage Societies, led by Mrs. Fawcett, was also galvanised into fresh activity, and did fine educational work all over the country. All those who while wakened

to interest by the militant methods found themselves disapproving of them, joined one of the milder organisations. Many new societies sprang into being.

Meanwhile on the political side the new methods had had great effect. The W.S.P.U. had initiated a definite bye-election policy. As the Liberal Government (which was returned to power in 1906) refused to give votes to women, the W.S.P.U. opposed the Liberal candidate in every bye-election, and had markedly successful results. Mr. Winston Churchill was one Liberal member who lost his seat (North-West Manchester) at a bye-election, and whose defeat was very generally attributed to the Suffragettes. Another constituency was found for Mr. Churchill (Dundee), and in the course of his election campaign there in 1908 he declared:

> "No one . . . can be blind to the fact that at the next general election woman suffrage will be a real, practical issue; and the next Parliament, I think, ought to see the gratification of the women's claims. I do not exclude the possibility of the suffrage being dealt with in this Parliament."

No woman suffrage bill had been before the House since 1897, since even private members had ceased to trouble to bring them forward. But in 1908 one was introduced, by Mr. Sanger, and about the same time Mr. Asquith started making vague and rather obviously false promises as to possible suffrage amendments to a Government reform bill. His promises had a soothing effect on the Liberal women who had been getting restive; nobody else took them seriously. In 1909 the women, growing tired of being battered about and imprisoned for merely asking for a vote, decided on more militant methods: they began to use the time-honoured protest of the stone. The departmental windows in Whitehall were no longer safe. The public was horrified, the Press expressed its feelings in cross headlines and many columns. The publicity which had tended to die down as people got used to the idea of the imprisonment of deputations of women, became better than ever. The Government was clearly embarrassed, and became still more so when the women to whom treatment as political prisoners had been denied proceeded to hunger-strike. In January, 1910, came a General Election — not an easy one for the Government. Mr. Asquith, heckled wherever he appeared,

> "travelled from one constituency to another accompanied by a body-guard of detectives, and official 'chuckers out,' whose sole duty was to eject women, and men as well, who interrupted his meetings on the question of 'Votes for Women.' The halls where he spoke had the windows boarded up or the glass covered with strong wire netting. Every thoroughfare leading to the halls was barricaded, traffic was suspended, and large forces of police were on guard."

The Government was returned to power with a much reduced majority. In the new Parliament a Conciliation Committee was almost immediately formed, consisting of suffragist members of all parties, who decided to put forward an agreed bill. The militants consented to stop all militancy, so as to give the bill a fair chance. In spite of the strong opposition from certain members of the Government the Conciliation Bill — a private member's bill — passed its second reading by a majority of 109. The Government, however, refused to allow time for its further stages. The militants called an end to the truce. In one week in November as many as 160 women were arrested. In December the Government went to the country again and were once more returned to power. A new Conciliation Bill was introduced, which in May passed its second reading by the huge majority of 137. This time Mr. Asquith began to give way. He promised that if the bill again passed its second reading in the following session the Government would give a week of Parliamentary time for its further stages. The women were overjoyed; the W.S.P.U. once more called a truce. In the following November Mr. Asquith, imagining



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Lady Rhondda, who contributes the chapter on *The Political Awakening of Women.*

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Lady Astor, the first woman to sit in the House of Commons.



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Mrs. Chapman Catt, the American champion of the rights of women.



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Mrs. Emmeline Pankhurst, the originator of the militant "Votes for Women" movement in England.

FOUR FAMOUS FEMINISTS

possibly that the truce had broken the back of militancy, suddenly announced that he intended to introduce a Manhood (but not Womanhood) Suffrage Bill in the following session. The effect of this, as was immediately and universally recognised, was to torpedo the smaller Conciliation Bill for which facilities had been promised. Militancy immediately broke out again.

It is not necessary to follow the devious political tactics of the Liberal Government through all their windings during the next few years. Suffice it to say that further Government pledges were made — and broken — but that nothing was done, and that by August, 1914, when war broke out, the women were exasperated to the point of extreme militancy. Scarcely a week passed in which churches, public buildings, or empty houses were not burned down. Letters in pillar boxes were continually set on fire. Meanwhile, the Government had retorted on the hunger-strike with forcible feeding, and the Cat and Mouse Act, under which persons released from prison on account of health could be re-arrested and made to continue their sentences an indefinite number of times. They had attempted — unsuccessfully — to crush the movement by imprisoning all the leaders for "conspiracy." Each side was trying to force the other to give in: the Government by ever harsher measures on the persons of the women; the W.S.P.U. by ever greater destruction of the property of the country. The situation had, in fact, reached something like a deadlock. At the outbreak of war, however, both sides called a truce, the women threw themselves into war work, and little was heard of suffrage in England for nearly four years.

In March, 1918, a new Government Suffrage Bill, called the Representation of the People Act, 1918, passed into law. It conferred what was in effect manhood suffrage on the men of the country. It conferred a limited suffrage on women, that is to say, it gave a vote to women over thirty years of age who were (a) householders, (b) wives of householders, (c) University graduates. Parliament, Press and public combined to declare that women had been enfranchised as a reward for their magnificent war work. The women knew better; they were perfectly well aware that they had received the vote because the Government and the country knew that if they did not get it, the end of the war meant a renewal of militant methods, which was a thing neither Government nor country was prepared to face. Few women troubled to say so however; provided they got the vote they were not concerned with the explanations of why it was accorded them. In fact much high-flown and tiresome nonsense was talked about women's war work. Of course the women worked well, just as the men fought and worked well, because the future of their own country was at stake. Women have always worked well for their country in any great war, as have men. The only possible difference between this war and others lay in the fact that this time there was a much larger body of trained, educated and self-confident women to draw on than there had ever been in the past, and that the need being great these women were, especially in the later stages of the war, allowed to do more than women had ever been allowed to do before.

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

It is curious how closely related have been the suffrage movements in England and America. Each has continually learnt from the other. In 1910 two young American students, Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, who had come over to Europe to study, met for the first time in Cannon Row Police Station in London, whither they had been taken after being arrested for attempting to present a suffrage petition to Parliament:

". . . from then on they worked together in England and Scotland, organising, speaking, heckling members of the Government, campaigning at bye-elections; going to Holloway Prison together, where they joined the English women on hunger-strike." (*Jailed for Freedom*, by Doris Stevens.)

Meanwhile the American suffrage movement as a whole had not been advancing very fast. But about the year 1910 the movement seemed to take a new lease of life in the West. After an interval of fourteen years, during which no State was enfranchised, Washington was enfranchised that year, California in 1911, Arizona, Kansas and Oregon in 1912.

In 1912 the national movement began to awaken. Alice Paul, still in her twenties, had returned to America. Working at first with the old suffrage society, the National American Woman Suffrage Association, she became chairman of their Congressional Committee, whose business was to get a national suffrage amendment in the United States Constitution. The amendment asked for, known as the Susan B. Anthony Amendment, ran as follows:

"The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex."

The Democratic party had been successful in the elections of 1912, and Mr. Wilson had been elected President. Alice Paul's plan of campaign was perfectly simple: realising that the enfranchisement of women of the United States would not be won for many, many years—if ever—if they were to go on by the method of enfranchising one State at a time, and that sufficient States had now been enfranchised to enable the woman's movement to use the new women voters as a political lever with which to achieve victory, she came to the conclusion that the day had now come to concentrate action at Washington, and to push forward the Susan B. Anthony Amendment. Her political action was equally simple. The Democrats were in power; then to the Democrats she must go for help. The only man who could influence the Democrats was President Wilson; then on the conversion of President Wilson she must concentrate.

For the passage of a constitutional amendment it is necessary that there should be a two-thirds majority in both Houses of Congress, and that their vote should then be ratified by a three-fourths majority of the States. Miss Paul set to work in 1912; she was soon joined by Miss Burns. The third outstanding leader of the new group was Mrs. Oliver H. P. Belmont. As had happened in England, the old-fashioned society soon became frightened by the determination and ruthlessness shown by the younger women, and fell away from them, and Alice Paul's Congressional Committee was shortly afterwards reorganised as The Woman's Party. The older society continued to do magnificent and essential work in individual States. The achievement of woman suffrage in New York, a key State, in 1917, was largely due to its well-organised efforts.

In 1913 a deputation led by Miss Paul waited upon President Wilson to enlist his support for the passage of the National Suffrage Amendment. It was the first deputation of suffragists that had ever been received by a United States President. President Wilson said that he had no opinion on the subject of woman suffrage; that he had never given it any thought. Three months later suffrage was actually debated in the Senate; it was the first time for 26 years that it had been debated in Congress.

In June, 1914, by which time the President was receiving his seventh deputation, he had advanced to another position; he had, he explained, "a passion for self-government" which led to his conviction "that this is a matter for settlement by the States and not by Federal Government." It became clear that the President must be cured of his passion if progress were

to be made. The leaders of the new movement proceeded to organise the women voters in the West in favour of the amendment and against the Democratic party. They were successful, and the results of their success were immediately seen in the fact that both the Republican and the Democratic parties adopted suffrage as one of their planks in the summer of 1916. The Democratic plank, however, was specifically against action by Congress; it read: "We recommend the extension of the franchise to the 'women of the country *by the States* upon the same terms as men.'" It was said openly by leading Administration Democrats that the President had himself written this suffrage plank.

By this time the President had become a convinced and enthusiastic suffragist — provided he need do nothing for it. If suffrage was to be obtained, he must be moved from that position. The Woman's Party decided in March, 1917, that it would picket the White House, that is, it would arrange for relays of women to stand

> "day after day at the gates of the White House with banners asking, 'What will you do, Mr. President, for one-half the people of this nation?' Stand there as sentinels — sentinels of liberty, sentinels of self-government — silent sentinels."

The American President enjoyed sentinels, silent and well-behaved as they were, no more than the English Prime Minister had enjoyed deputations. The Press, on the other hand, gave them — as the British Press had given the deputations — enormous publicity. And the whole country was roused to heated controversy.

In April, 1917, when Congress declared war on Germany, President Wilson said, "We shall fight for the things we have always carried nearest our hearts — for democracy — for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own Government." Next day the pickets carried on their banners:

"WE SHALL FIGHT FOR THE THINGS WE HAVE ALWAYS CARRIED NEAREST OUR HEARTS.
DEMOCRACY SHOULD BEGIN AT HOME.
WE DEMAND JUSTICE AND SELF-GOVERNMENT IN OUR OWN LAND."

Day by day the President made beautiful remarks about freedom and democracy; morrow by morrow the silent women bore these remarks — with applications explained — on their banners. By June the President could stand the pickets no longer and they were arrested. The authorities, however, were a little puzzled as to what their offence had been, and the first batch was discharged. The women continued to picket. The next batch arrested was sent to prison on a charge of "obstructing the traffic." In prison the American women appear to have been treated worse than were the Englishwomen. The conditions were indescribably filthy. Miss Doris Stevens gives the following account of the methods employed:

> "We went back to our cots to try to sleep side by side with negro prostitutes. Not that we shrank from these women on account of their colour, but how terrible to know that the institution had gone out of its way to bring these prisoners from their own wing to the white wing in an attempt to humiliate us. There was plenty of room in the negro wing. But prison must be made so unbearable that no more women would face it. That was the policy attempted here."

American public opinion was roused to indignation. Mr. Dudley Field Malone, a prominent Democrat, resigned his post of Collector of the Port of

New York as a protest against the imprisonment and the refusal to pass the Suffrage amendment.

Through the autumn of 1917 the fight was carried on; sometimes the Administration would yield an inch or so in the hopes of appeasing the suffragists and their friends; then again, finding that nothing short of passing the amendment would stop the picketing it would start to imprison the pickets with renewed vigour. The suffragists, following the example of the British women, adopted the hunger-strike; the Administration retorted by forcible feeding and by putting the leader of the strike into the psychopathic ward and sending noted alienists to see her, in the apparent hope that they would certify her as insane. No alienist would do so. Meanwhile, public opinion was being more and more incensed at the treatment of the women, and money flowed into the coffers of the Woman's Party.

At last in December President Wilson and his party capitulated. The women were released from prison. The amendment was brought up; then President Wilson made an open declaration of his support of it, and on January 10, 1918, it passed the House of Representatives with the requisite majority. The women gave up picketing. Remained the Senate, in which the amendment was known to be short by several votes of its two-thirds majority under the Constitution. All suffragists turned their attention to gaining these votes.

President Wilson had now openly and definitely, and on more than one occasion, declared himself in favour of the amendment, but he did not put much backbone into his attempt to bring pressure to bear on the recalcitrant Democratic Senators. At the end of seven months two votes were still lacking. The Woman's Party, convinced that the President could secure the requisite majority if he really tried, renewed their protests against him. They evolved a new form of agitation; they held meetings at which they burned those words of President Wilson in which he declared himself to believe in freedom and democracy. More imprisonments followed and embarrassments for the Administration. President Wilson gave in and appealed in person to the Senate to pass the amendment. He bestirred himself also behind the scenes. Finally at a special session in June, 1919, the amendment was passed. It remained for the requisite three-fourths of the States to ratify the amendment. This was done by August 26, 1920, just in time for the women to vote in the presidential elections of the following November.

THE SCANDINAVIAN COUNTRIES

We have included in the Scandinavian group Finland and Holland, which racially speaking do not belong there, because it seems clear from a consideration of the history of the woman's movement in these countries that both came under the Scandinavian influence, and in their turn influenced the other countries of the group; and that in fact for the purposes with which we are here concerned Norway, Sweden, Finland, Denmark, Iceland and Holland formed a special group with definite characteristics. Of these countries the two which led the way were Norway and Finland, and there can be little doubt that in the early years of the twentieth century, before the rise of the militant movement in England, the position of women was very considerably more advanced in Norway, Finland, Denmark and Iceland than in any other countries in the world, and this despite the fact that the vote was actually granted in certain newly established countries earlier than it was in Scandinavia. The vote is the best rough and ready test of the position accorded to women, but generally speaking the newer and less established a country,

the more easy it is to make a change; the older a country is, the more difficult it finds it to move, so that the vote may be granted in, say, Western Australia, when the actual position is not nearly so advanced as it would have to be before a similar result followed in a European State. In spite of all that has happened in the Anglo-Saxon countries during the past twenty years the Scandinavian countries are still on the whole ahead of the rest of the world.

The first Suffrage Association in Norway was not founded until 1886, nor is the history of the suffrage movement in Finland of very long standing. The Danish suffrage movement is older; it dates back to 1872. In Iceland, on the other hand, there are scarcely any traces to be found of any definite suffrage movement at all. Yet Finnish women were completely enfranchised in 1907, whilst Norwegian women, who received a limited franchise in 1907, were after seven years' trial given the vote on the same terms as men in 1913. Denmark gave full suffrage in 1915, and Iceland partial suffrage then and complete suffrage five years later.

The fact is that the position of women in the Scandinavian countries had always been extremely good, and that the idea of enfranchising them did not startle these countries nearly so much as it did the Anglo-Saxon countries. It seemed, in fact, a natural thing to do. On the other hand, just because the vote did not involve so great a change of status as it did in other countries, the women were less occupied in achieving it. There was a very strong *woman's* movement in all these countries, but not so strong a suffrage movement. The woman's movement was occupied in thinking out various problems relating to the position of women — we get some light upon its line of thought from Ibsen's plays; certainly up to 1907 it would be true to say that for breaking new ground in thinking out the problems connected with women's position, the Scandinavian countries led the world. Every other country was beholden to them for fresh points of view. Whilst the women were thinking, and almost without their asking, their men folk enfranchised them.

This is not quite true, however, either of Sweden or Holland. Dutch women, led by Dr. Aletta Jacobs, had a hard battle for enfranchisement, and had to concentrate all their efforts on it. They came near to having to adopt militant methods before they finally achieved it in 1919. In Sweden again the position was different. The greater part of the woman's movement occupied itself at first, as it did in the other Scandinavian countries, with thinking out the position of women from various angles, rather than directly with the vote, and Ellen Key, the best-known Swedish writer on the woman's movement, actually declared herself in 1896 to be opposed to the suffrage struggle, a declaration which she afterwards recanted. The country as a whole, however, was of a conservative tendency, and the Swedish men showed no disposition to enfranchise women without being strongly urged to do so. The Swedish women had to work strenuously towards the end for their vote, which was finally gained only in 1921.

RUSSIA AND CENTRAL EUROPE

Before the war none of the Central European countries was in fact a democracy. The vote in so far as it existed was, therefore, of comparatively little value. The German women's movement, widespread as it was, occupied itself for the most part, as did the Scandinavian movements, with which it was closely linked, in trying to think out clearly from every standpoint what the position of women was and should be. It occupied itself also in improving the educational facilities for women, which even in the early years of this

century were still appallingly bad. The position of women in Germany was until the Revolution of 1918 worse than that of the women in any other northern European State. Large masses of the women, however, were deeply and bitterly aware of it, and determined to change it. Intellectually, if not politically, the movement was very much alive.

In the states further east, the woman's movement as we know it can scarcely be said to have existed before the war, but in many places, and especially in Russia and Poland, great numbers of women were working side by side with their men for freedom. In the revolutionary movements sex did not count for very much. In Russia there was one leading woman, however, who had definitely dedicated herself to the woman's movement, Mme. Schiskina-Yavein. She had a very considerable following. When the Revolution of 1917 came, Mme. Schiskina-Yavein organised a big procession to demand the inclusion of women as voters in the new Constitution. She struck at the right moment; Kerensky gave way to her. Russian women received the vote. The smaller states which split off followed the example of revolutionary Russia. States further west were influenced in their turn. It is probably largely due to Mme. Schiskina-Yavein that Poland, Latvia, Lithuania, Esthonia, Hungary and Czechoslovakia are enfranchised. Even Germany and Austria were probably not uninfluenced by the precedent she succeeded in establishing.

LATIN AND SOUTHERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES

The tide of enfranchisement has crept steadily over Europe from the north and more than two-thirds of that Continent are now enfranchised, but southern Europe remains unenfranchised, as does South America. The Latin races do not take easily to the idea, and it is likely to be some time before many of them adopt it. There is, however, a considerable women's movement and considerable talk of suffrage bills both in France and Italy, and it would seem as if, in the latter country, at least, a small measure of suffrage were shortly to be brought about.

Women's suffrage usually appears to go with a high state of civilisation and an efficient political organisation. Switzerland, which has not (in spite of repeated demands) enfranchised its women, forms one exception to this rule. Nor can the political organisation of all the eastern European states in which women vote be said to be highly efficient.

RESULTS OF ENFRANCHISEMENT

It is notable that although there has been but little direct communication between many of the countries enfranchised, the legislative and political results of enfranchising women are the same all over the world. In every country where women vote a strong demand immediately grows up for legislation along two lines: To achieve equality of rights, opportunities and pay between the sexes: and for the better protection and education of children. This demand seems to be generally quickly successful. We will take as specific instances five reforms which have been asked for in every enfranchised country:

(1) Equal economic status for men and women.
(2) Equal divorce laws.
(3) Equal responsibility of parents of illegitimate children.
(4) Pensions for widows with dependent children.
(5) Protection of young persons from drink.

A table will be found on page 570 showing the effect of suffrage on these reforms. In several enfranchised countries not mentioned in the table they are being urgently demanded by the women, but have not yet been granted.

POST-FRANCHISE AMERICA

The woman's movement in America is to-day particularly worthy of study. Whilst the old-fashioned suffragists are following the precedent set in other countries and attempting to obtain the reforms they want one by one and State by State, the Woman's Party, which was mainly responsible for winning the Federal Amendment which gave American women the vote in 1920, and which is still led by Miss Alice Paul, is now demanding another Federal Amendment, which shall at one blow do away with all inequalities in the law between men and women throughout the whole of the United States. The amendment it asks for runs: "Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." Such a policy is, of course, only applicable to a country with a written Constitution; but if it succeeds it will place America ahead of all the other nations.

POST-FRANCHISE BRITAIN

In Great Britain the political progress made by women since the vote was achieved, whilst not great, is on the whole not unsatisfactory. What success there has been has been largely due to the first two women to take their seats in the Mother of Parliaments, Lady Astor and Mrs. Wintringham. Great Britain has been singularly fortunate in her first two women members.

THE FUTURE

The results of the franchise likely to be seen all over the world during the next twenty to fifty years are not difficult to envisage. Women are demanding equality; they have taken the first step towards it, they will not stop short until they have completely achieved it. They are, as we have said, asking for two things: The right to work and the right to a half-share in the management of the world. They have a long way to go before they get either completely.

The results of an equal partnership when it does come are likely to be far-reaching. Certainly there will be a tendency to consider first the interests of the rising generation, resulting in better fed, better housed, and better educated children than we have to-day. Almost certainly there will be a world-wide movement for international peace and good-will on a scale of which we find it difficult to conceive at the present time. Another tendency is likely to show itself sooner or later. The world has enfranchised its consumers. That is going to alter the economic balance considerably. Every country will have to consider every economic question far more from the point of view of the consumer than it has hitherto done. One last prophecy. The sheltered and leisured women of the well-to-do classes have been largely responsible in the past for the attitude of those classes towards the problems of the world. If, as seems probable, the time is shortly coming when, as a result of the effect of the woman's movement on public opinion, those leisured women will be at work, the whole attitude of the well-to-do classes is likely to be altered.

EXAMPLES OF LEGISLATION FOLLOWING ON THE GRANTING OF FRANCHISE TO WOMEN

1. Illegitimacy			2. Pensions for Widows with Dependent Children	3. Protection of Young Persons from Drink	4. Equal Divorce Laws	5. Equal Economic Status of Men and Women		
Legitimation	Equal responsibility of parents	Increased responsibility of father, not yet amounting to equal responsibility				(a) Openings of professions, etc.	(b) Marriage not to involve dismissal	(c) Equal pay
Queensland, 1899			U.S.A., 40 states, 1911–1919	S. Australia, 1896	New Zealand, 1898, 1904	N. Zealand (legal), 1896		
New Zealand, 1908, 1922	New Zealand, 1894		New Zealand, 1912, 1919					
W. Australia, 1909		W. Australia, 1907	Canada Saskatchewan, 1917, 1922	New S. Wales, 1905	W. Australia, 1912	S. Australia (legal), 1911, 1921		
S. Australia, 1898, 1902		S. Australia, 1898, 1900	Alberta, 1919	New Zealand, 1910–1918	Russia, 1917	N. S. Wales (legal), 1918		
New S. Wales, 1902		New S. Wales, 1904	B. Columbia, 1920	Queensland, 1912	Austria, 1919			
Tasmania, 1905	Tasmania, 1907		Ontario, 1920, 1921	Poland, 1920–1921	S. Australia, 1919	Tasmania (legal), 1904		
Victoria, 1915			Norway, 1919 (Christiania Town Council Law)	Czechoslovakia, 1922	Tasmania, 1919	Finland (official posts) (except judicial), 1919	Finland (Teachers), 1916	
Norway, 1915	Norway, 1915			Gt. Britain, 1923	Czechoslovakia, 1920	Denmark (all except military and ecclesiastical), 1921	Denmark, 1921	
Canada: Alberta, 1916 B. Columbia, 1920		Alberta, 1921			Gt. Britain, 1923 *Sweden, 1920	Gt. Britain, 1919 Lithuania, 1922	Lithuania, 1922	
N. Brunswick, 1920 Pr. Edward I., 1920 Saskatchewan, 1920 Manitoba, 1920					Latvia, 1921 Denmark, 1921	Latvia, 1918 Esthonia, 1918 †Rhodesia, 1920 Ukraine (civil service)	Rhodesia, 1920	
Ontario, 1921		Ontario, 1921				Germany (civil service), 1919	Germany (except Teachers), 1918, 1920	
U. S. A., Arizona, 1921	U. S. A., Arizona, 1921					Sweden (civil service)		
	Russia, 1917					U.S.A. (civil service), 1919		
	Finland, 1922					Holland (judicial), 1922		
		England and Wales, 1918, 1923				Russia (legal and judicial), 1917	Austria, 1919	
		Austria, 1919					Czechoslovakia (Teachers), 1919	

* Swedish Political Suffrage was granted by both Chambers in 1919, but to be valid had to be adopted again by both Chambers after new election, 1920.
† All Public and Civil offices except juries.

CHAPTER LXXIX

THE BREAKDOWN OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

By James Brown Scott, A.M., J.U.D., LL.D.

Solicitor to the Department of State, Washington, 1906–1910. American Delegate to the Second Hague Peace Conference, 1907. Special Adviser, Department of State, and Chairman, Joint State and Navy Neutrality Board, 1914–1917. Technical Delegate to the Paris Peace Conference, 1919. Legal Advisor to the American Commission to the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments, 1921–1922. Editor-in-Chief of the *American Journal of International Law*, 1907. Author of *The Hague Peace Conferences of 1899 and 1907*; *Survey of International Relations between the United States and Germany*.

On the eve of the twentieth century the First International Peace Conference met at The Hague in 1899, and drew up a convention for the pacific settlement of international disputes and several others on the conduct of warfare. The great significance of the Conference in the domain of International Law lay in the fact that it met in time of peace to consider how peace could be preserved and what limitation could be placed upon the growth of armaments. In the latter point it failed. Its chief work was its convention for pacific settlement, providing for tribunals of arbitration, commissions of inquiry and the use of good offices and mediation. It was limited to the Powers represented at St. Petersburg. Its success led to a Second Conference, to which all civilised Powers were invited, and no fewer than 44 sovereign states were represented at The Hague in 1907.

The period of eight years between the two Conferences was marked by events which rendered the Second Conference one of supreme importance. Not only was there no cessation in amassing armaments, but the Orient came into the field of international competition, Japan as a Great Power and China as a likely cause for international discord. Therefore, in the year of the First Peace Conference at The Hague, Mr. John Hay, Secretary of State of the United States, proposed to the Powers what may be called in English parlance, a "self-denying ordinance" by which they should not only state the honourableness of their intentions, but also pledge themselves to respect the territorial and commercial integrity of China, and not to seek to obtain for themselves special advantages. To this policy, properly called that of "the open door," the large Powers — the British Empire, France, Germany, Japan, Russia and the United States — pledged themselves, a policy which still stands.

In 1904 war broke out between Russia and Japan upon various pretexts. After the capture of Port Arthur by the Japanese, the invasion of Manchuria and the defeat of the Russian army in the great battle of Mukden, and the destruction of the Russian fleet in the Sea of Japan, peace was concluded through the friendly offices of President Roosevelt at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, on September 5, 1905. Russia lost Port Arthur; and Korea, whose possession was coveted by both Russia and Japan, became a protectorate of the latter country, and in August, 1910, was formally annexed. The island empire had become continental, and loomed large as a new Power with which the Great Powers would thereafter have to reckon.

THE TRIPLE ENTENTE AND THE TRIPLE ALLIANCE

This change of affairs was not lost upon the keen-eyed guardians of the British Empire, who, immediately upon the heels of the Russian War, concluded a military alliance, August 12, 1905, with Japan, for "the consolidation and maintenance of the general peace in the regions of Eastern Asia and of India," the common interests of all Powers in China, its integrity, with equal opportunities of commerce and industry to all, and the maintenance of the territorial rights of the high contracting parties in Asia and India, and the defence of their special interests in those regions. In case of an unprovoked attack, each was to come to the aid of the other, to "conduct the war in common, and make peace in mutual agreement with it."

The policy of King Edward VII was not merely to reach agreements with Japan for Asiatic interests, but to make other agreements with other countries so as to include not only Europe, but also Africa and America. Therefore, he brought about an arrangement with France settling outstanding difficulties, including recognition by France of British interests in Egypt, and acknowledgment of the paramount interests of France in Morocco.

In the beginning of the 'nineties France had come to an understanding with Russia and an *entente cordiale* pledging the forces of each to the other in case of aggressive attack. Of course, this meant an attack by Germany, which had formed an alliance with Austria-Hungary and Italy called the Triple Alliance. Little by little, relations between Great Britain and Russia improved: outstanding difficulties were removed to a degree where coöperation appeared possible, should circumstances require it. The British Government, however, was unable to bring about an agreement with Germany to remove misunderstandings which were likely to cause those two countries to drift into war.

EUROPE A POWDER MAGAZINE

We know now that in the first decade of this century, Europe was a vast powder magazine, which might leap into flame the moment a match was dropped. The agreements with Great Britain had encouraged France to exercise the liberty of action in Morocco accorded to it by these agreements, and the match was almost dropped by the appearance of William II at Tangier, in March, 1905, when he stated that he was visiting the Sultan of Morocco "in his position as an independent sovereign." He stated that the object of his visit to Tangier was to make known, to quote his own words, that "I am determined to do all in my power to safeguard efficaciously the interests of Germany in Morocco, for I look upon the Sultan as an absolutely independent sovereign." This was the challenge on the part of Germany to the *Entente Cordiale* between France and Great Britain and led to a conference of interested European Powers. It was held at Algeciras in 1906, and adopted the so-called Act of Algeciras, placing Morocco more or less under international control, and preventing, for the time, the conflagration.

THE SECOND HAGUE CONFERENCE

It was under such circumstances that the Second Hague Peace Conference met in 1907 to consider the larger interests of the world.

The first Conference had been largely European, with a sprinkling of outsiders, but the Second Conference represented the world.

It happened that the Second Pan-American Conference had met in the City

of Mexico late in 1901, and adjourned early in 1902, adopting, as American public law, the Conventions of the First Hague Conference which were open to the adherence of the Powers at large. The Pacific Settlement Agreement was what was called a "closed convention," and non-signatory Powers could only be admitted to it upon certain conditions, which the signatories were to determine.

The Conference at Mexico requested the United States and Mexico to take steps to secure the invitation of all the Latin-American States to the Second Hague Conference. President Roosevelt, having been requested by the Inter-parliamentary Union meeting in St. Louis in 1904, to take steps for the meeting of a Second Conference at The Hague, sounded the Powers, and they agreed to meet in Conference. However, as the Tsar had called the First Conference, President Roosevelt gracefully yielded the initiative to Russia. It was now at peace, and desired to take charge of the movement.

The first great step had been taken. Two things were necessary to make of the Conference a world assembly: (1) an agreement upon which non-signatory Powers, largely the American Republics, might adhere to the Pacific Settlement Convention; (2) an invitation to the Latin-American Republics. Mr. Elihu Root, then Secretary of State of the United States, persuaded the Powers to allow the non-signatories to adhere to the Pacific Settlement Convention by the simple device of signing it. A much more difficult matter was to secure an invitation to the Latin-American Republics, because they had not hitherto taken part in a world conference, and the older states then looked askance at the young republics of America. Secretary Root was able to persuade them to extend the invitation, and in order that there might be, as it were, an added reason for their presence, he had the question of the forcible collection of contract debts, in which Latin America was deeply interested, referred by the Conference of the American States at Rio de Janeiro in 1906 to the Conference of the representatives of the world at The Hague. With the exception of Costa Rica and Honduras, all of the American republics participated in this Second Peace Conference at The Hague in 1907.

The Conference met on June 15 and organised with the First Russian Delegate as president. They adopted *pro forma* and without discussion French as the official language of the Conference, with which language diplomats are professionally familiar, and the Conference began at once its labours, which extended over a period of four months. It revised its previous conventions and made many new ones, such as the Limitation of Force in the Collection of Contract Debts; a convention on the rights and duties of neutrals in land and maritime warfare; a convention for the establishment of an international court of prize, and a draft convention for the establishment of a court of arbitral justice by the nations, which, with sundry amendments and under the title of the Permanent Court of International Justice, was in 1921 formally installed in the Peace Palace at The Hague. Not the least important recommendation of the Conference was that a third conference, to meet approximately eight years after its adjournment, should be called. Preparations for this had reached an advanced stage by August, 1914, when they were stopped by the outbreak of war.

HOW THE CONFERENCE DID ITS WORK

The Conference was divided into commissions, in which each of the nations participating could be represented. These commissions divided into sub-commissions or committees, and in important cases into committees of examination. Commissions and committees elected their presiding officers,

their secretaries and their reporters. When a committee of examination — supposing one had been appointed — concluded its labours, it laid its report before the committee of which it was a creation. The committee reported its deliberations and conclusions to the commission, and the commission reported its labours, with its recommendations to the Conference in plenary session under its president. The rule of unanimity obtaining in diplomatic bodies prevailed, and rightly so, because in a body composed of nations having equal rights and duties before the law, none could be constrained by the action of the other, and a nation which had refused its consent in the Conference would likely withhold its consent permanently. The projects adopted by the Conference in plenary session had to be given the form and content of diplomatic agreements. For this purpose a drafting committee, to which each nation recommended one of its delegates, was created. But as this body consisted of forty-four members and was a conference in itself, it chose a smaller drafting committee of seven members, designating the chairman and allowing him to add two members who, in his opinion, possessed the necessary qualifications. This sub-committee reported the draft treaties and conventions to the Conference in plenary session, inasmuch as they had already been agreed upon in substance and only required to be given due shape and form.

However formal the document, a draft it was, so far as the nations were concerned, which assumed an obligation solely by deposit of the instruments of ratification in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Netherlands. Only those nations which thus ratified the conventions were bound by the agreements. Those which did not ratify assumed no obligations. Experience, however, has shown that the recommendation of the Conference was tantamount to an acceptance. This method of transferring political questions to the domain of law is at the disposal of the nations whenever they may care to use it.

GERMANY BLOCKS LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS

The limitation of armament mentioned above, which had been the reason for the First Hague Conference, was not debated at the Second, because of the opposition of Germany. A treaty of arbitration binding all participating nations, which had failed at the First Conference, failed at the Second, because of the opposition of Germany. That great country, then at the height of its power and seemingly invincible, wished to maintain its freedom of action. It did, however, agree to an international court of prize and to the creation of the Court of Arbitral Justice. It was apparently willing to coöperate in the domain of law; but unwilling to stay its hand in advance in the field of politics. However, the Conference was able to declare itself unanimously in favour of the principle of obligatory arbitration, and that in the interpretation and application of international agreements, obligatory arbitration should be admitted without restriction.

The Conference, it must be admitted, did not meet in an altogether peaceful atmosphere. Differences between Great Britain and Germany frequently appeared on the surface, and added considerable warmth to the debates and discussions.

Three years later the world was almost at war. It was again Morocco. The German gunboat "Panther" appeared at Agadir in the month of July, 1911. The cause was the failure of the German intervention in Moroccan affairs to stop the growth of French influence in Morocco. War was imminent, but the British Government bluntly informed Germany that the

Moroccan question could not be settled without conferring with Great Britain, and war was, for the time being, averted.

In the meantime, Italy and Turkey were warring over Tripoli, and by the Treaty of Lausanne of 1912, Tripoli became Italian, according to the forms of law. Europe was a step nearer war. It was to break out in the Balkan Peninsula. The situation in that part of the world was complicated. German influence predominated at Constantinople. The Balkan States were restive. They felt that they were but pawns in a game which the Great Powers were playing; they determined to take matters in their own hands, to dismember Turkey and grasp the leadership of the Peninsula. Bulgaria, Serbia, Greece and Montenegro formed a league for this purpose in 1912. In the war which followed, Turkey was badly beaten.

THE POWDER MAGAZINE EXPLODES

In this state of affairs, Ferdinand, Austrian Archduke and heir to the monarchy, and his morganatic wife were assassinated in Serajevo, capital of Bosnia. This was the spark to the magazine — at least it was the pretext. What were the causes? They have been variously stated, and in this case as in others the motives were many and mixed. One thing is certain: distrust of one another by the Great Powers and, for that matter, by the smaller Powers in the Balkan Peninsula, rendered an outbreak possible at any time during the first dozen years of the twentieth century.

Without attempting to apportion the influence of the various and often conflicting ambitions in the outbreak of the World War, it is sufficient for present purposes to say that the Austro-Hungarian Government served an ultimatum upon Serbia, requiring the categorical acceptance of ten points within a period of forty-eight hours. Serbia accepted nine of the ten demands, and proposed arbitration for the other. The Austrian Minister at Belgrade declared the reply unsatisfactory within half an hour of receiving it, and withdrew. Events moved rapidly, and Germany, after declaring war on Russia and France, occupied Luxemburg contrary to the Convention of 1867 neutralising Luxemburg; on the night of August 3, Belgium was invaded, contrary to the Treaty of 1839 neutralising Belgium — by both of which agreements Austria-Hungary and Germany were bound. Upon the failure of the German Empire to assure Great Britain that Belgium would not be invaded, Great Britain promptly declared itself to be in a state of war with Germany from and after August 4.

THE WAR ITSELF NOT A BREACH OF INTERNATIONAL LAW

There can be no doubt that International Law did not forbid Austria-Hungary to declare war against Serbia; there is no doubt that Germany could declare war against Russia and France, if it cared to run the risk. Germany, however, could not legally invade either Luxemburg or Belgium. The German Chancellor, Bethmann-Hollweg, declared solemnly in the Reichstag that Germany's conduct in invading Belgium was in violation of law, and pledged Germany to repair the wrong which it had done when it accomplished its purpose. The action of Great Britain in declaring war would have been justified had it done so only in its own interests; it was doubly justified when, as a party to the Treaty of 1839, it drew its sword for the protection of Belgium.

The war technically lasted until the deposit of ratifications of each of the treaties of peace made with the belligerents: the treaty with Germany,

signed at Versailles, June 28, 1919, the treaty with Austria, signed at Saint-Germain-en-Laye, September 10, 1919, the treaty with Bulgaria signed at Neuilly-sur-Seine, November 27, 1919, the treaty with Hungary, signed at the Trianon, June 4, 1920, and the treaty with Turkey, signed at Sèvres, August 10, 1920. After the outbreak of hostilities, Turkey and Bulgaria joined Austria and Germany, making in all four nations. The original group of Allied Powers was strengthened from time to time by other countries, either by joining in the war or by rupture of diplomatic relations with the Central Powers. The representatives of most of these countries took part in the treaty with Germany, as they considered it to be in their interests, and they were permitted to do so by the principal Allied and Associated Powers.

Of the Powers signing the treaties, the United States alone did not ratify. It concluded a separate treaty of peace with Austria, at Vienna, on August 24, and ratifications were exchanged November 8, 1921; with Germany, at Berlin, August 25, ratifications being exchanged November 11, 1921; and with Hungary, at Budapest, August 29, ratifications being exchanged December 17, 1921. The United States had not severed its diplomatic relations with Bulgaria, hence there was no need of a treaty. It had severed diplomatic relations with Turkey, but was not at war with that Power, and took no part in the negotiation of the treaty of peace with Turkey.

The conduct of these various wars, if they be considered as isolated instances, and the course of diplomacy during the war, are treated elsewhere and in detail. Some observations are offered in this connection upon the attitude of the two belligerent groups toward International Law.

BREACHES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW DURING THE WORLD WAR

It should be premised that in war two interests are invariably in conflict — the interests of the belligerents on the one hand, and those of the neutrals on the other. In times of peace it is generally admitted that nations should in war carry on their peaceful trade unhampered by belligerent operations, recognising, of course, the admitted rights of belligerents. In time of war, belligerents are, from the very nature of things, intent on extending their rights, in order that success may crown their efforts. They are not solicitous of their duties. The neutrals, on the other hand, stand by their rights, that is to say, to abstain from the war; to be unaffected by it in so far as possible; to carry on the activities of peace, notwithstanding the war. Therefore, they dwell upon belligerent duties. It is human nature that each group should think of its interests and seek to act accordingly. Secretary of State Bryan said frankly, in an admirably tempered note condemning unneutral acts of the Germans, that the United States had insisted upon neutral rights when neutral, and that when belligerent, it had stood for the extension of belligerent rights. This is the case with all Powers, although it is rarely so frankly admitted. But this being so, it is difficult to establish a standard by which the action of any Power can be tested when neutral or belligerent. The failure of the neutrals to protest against the violation of Belgian neutrality prejudiced their cause at the beginning, and reduced it to the plane of trade and profit. They should have followed the example of Prussia in 1861, when it protested vigorously against the violation of neutral rights committed by the United States in removing two civilian commissioners of the Confederate States from the neutral British steamer "Trent," on a voyage between two neutral points. The Prussian Minister of Foreign Affairs rightly maintained that the action of the United States in this case did not merely affect Great Britain, but Prussia and, indeed, every neutral state; for if the

United States had the right to remove civilian passengers from a British neutral ship, it had the right to do so from any and every neutral ship.

In the next place, the maintenance of neutral rights depends not merely upon individual, joint or concurrent action of neutrals, but upon the preponderance of power in the hands of neutrals. It is natural for belligerents to resort to extreme measures in order to prevent neutrals from aiding the enemy, if there is no restraining hand. In the wars of the French Revolution and of the Empire, all Europe was involved at one time or another. The only neutral was the United States; but it was then weak, and although its voice was strident, it lacked weight. The result was that from the beginning of the war, the Republic of the New World was, as it were, ground between the upper and the nether millstone of the warring nations of Europe. The will and power of the belligerents became the test and measure of their conduct.

In 1915, the neutrals of Europe were for the most part the so-called small Powers; the United States was the only powerful country not involved in the war. When it became a belligerent in 1917, due to the conduct of Germany, neutral rights were without a protector.

These observations should not cause us to lose faith in right, but they may well temper the edge of criticism by a restraining sense of human frailty.

At the beginning of the war, Germany sowed the North Sea with mines. This, of course, affected neutral commerce. Great Britain retaliated, but under protest from the United States consented to refrain from indiscriminate use of mines. However, Germany continuing, Great Britain retaliated in kind. The German fleet was driven from the seas, and the Allied Powers endeavoured to cut Germany off from the outer world. The time-honoured method of doing this was by blockading its ports. They did not, however, blockade Germany, because of danger to their blockading vessels from mines and later from submarines. Neutral commerce attempting to reach Germany could properly be taken anywhere upon the high seas if it were of the kind known as absolute contraband — that is to say, if it consisted of arms, munitions of war or objects susceptible only or chiefly of a warlike purpose.

This was not enough. According to the rules of International Law recognised as in force on the outbreak of the war, neutrals could trade in articles of a peaceful nature, some of which, susceptible of a warlike use, might be intercepted and confiscated if destined to the enemy's naval or military ports of equipment. These articles are called technically "conditional contraband" — that is to say, contraband conditioned upon destination. The Allied Powers (Germany followed closely) added article after article of conditional to the list of absolute contraband, thereby rendering such objects subject to capture on the high seas immediately after sailing from a neutral port.

But this was not enough. The Allies maintained that they were dealing with a nation in arms, and that every man, woman and child of the enemy was aiding in the prosecution of the war. Hence, all commodities susceptible of warlike use, addressed to Germany, were in effect addressed to passive, if not active combatants, and were used by the authorities in the interest of the actual combatants. Adopting and applying the doctrine of continuous voyage — that is to say, shipment from a neutral port to a neutral port in the neighbourhood of the enemy, to which the articles could be transshipped — the Allies were able to deprive Germany in large measure of supplies from neighbouring neutral countries. As the Allies were the judges in the matter, they considered articles shipped to neutral ports as intended for the enemy if they appreciably exceeded in amount the importation of such commodities at the outbreak of the war. Recognising that such measures might impose

insupportable hardships upon the neutrals (the most extreme case was that of Switzerland, surrounded by belligerents on all sides, after the entry of Italy into the war in 1915), they forced the creation of the so-called Overseas Trusts in neutral countries, which pledged themselves to prevent the goods and supplies received by them from finding their way to the enemy.

Still this was not enough. Neutral ships were made subject to capture if they were destined to a neutral port adjoining the enemy, unless they had touched at an Allied port and received a pass.

Further it was seen that German products might pass through neutral countries, and from neutral ports be shipped to other parts of the world. There was no doctrine of International Law which would seem to prevent this. But necessity has always been the mother of invention. If Germany had been blockaded, all shipments from German ports could have been captured. The belligerents doubtless had the right to intercept enemy property except in neutral vessels. Sending enemy property through a neutral territory, and by this act impressing it with neutral character prevented the exercise of this belligerent right. Furthermore, mines and submarines prevented the blockade of German ports, therefore the Allies brushed aside the adjoining neutral countries and seized the commodities as if they had left Germany directly. This was in effect, although not in law, a blockade of neutral countries.

THE SUBMARINE

It is not to be supposed that Germany was less inventive. It did not have the same scope for its ingenuity, inasmuch as it did not have command of the high seas — at least on the surface. It had made of the submarine a weapon, and upon its effectiveness the Germans pinned their hope of success. There can be no doubt that it was not illegal to use the submarine against war vessels and transports of the enemy. There is no doubt that as a vessel of war the submarine had the right to capture merchant vessels of the enemy, and it had the right to visit and search neutral vessels and to send them before a prize court under certain conditions. But the submarine was a frail craft. It could be destroyed from a distance by a well-directed shot from a merchant vessel. It could be run down if it came to the surface and was in the way of the merchantman. The submarine was a small craft. It could not take aboard the passengers of great ocean liners. It was unwilling to accompany them into port. It could not spare a prize crew because it carried too small a crew. The submarine was no respecter of vessels. Coming to the surface and spying a vessel in the distance, it fired its shot and the merchant vessel — enemy or neutral — sank. The submarine was no respecter of persons. Neutral passengers aboard, whether men, women or children, shared the fate of subjects or citizens of the belligerent. The submarine was so effective that it might have destroyed Allied shipping and accomplished its purpose, if Allied ingenuity had not made it possible to check, and eventually to control the submarines in the neighbourhood of their coasts. Germany had attempted a blockade of the British Isles by means of mines. It attempted a blockade of the British Isles and of the Allied coasts by submarines.

Both theory and practice would, if accepted, have rendered neutral vessels liable to capture. But the inability or unwillingness of the submarine to discriminate between enemy and neutral merchantmen, and subjects and citizens of the enemy and neutral persons (of which the "Lusitania" is a notable but not an isolated case) caused the neutrals, especially the United States, to repudiate this method of warfare. The determination of the German Government in a final attempt to rescue victory from impending defeat,

by the indiscriminate use of the submarine within the vast expanse of waters adjoining Allied countries, caused the break of the United States with Germany, and its association with the Allied Powers in the war. On January 31, 1917, Count von Bernstorff, German Ambassador to the United States, informed President Wilson that indiscriminate warfare would be begun on February 1—the ensuing day. President Wilson's reply was to order Secretary of State Lansing to hand the German Ambassador his passports. This was done on February 3. As, however, Germany continued its conduct of indiscriminate and ruthless submarine warfare, the United States, on April 6, declared itself to be in a state of war with Germany, because of its hostile acts.

UNFORTUNATE POSITION OF THE WEAK NEUTRALS

It is unnecessary to consider further the actions of the belligerents. There was, henceforth, no neutral Power to bid them pause, and the restraint upon their action was their sense of propriety or of the "necessity" of the case.

If neutrals could be eliminated, the question would be belligerent against belligerent. The neutrals can not be; hence, it is belligerent against neutrals in any war. We thus have a twofold point of view from which the matter may be considered. If the neutrals are weak, practices of the belligerents prevail, based upon their sense of present need; and they are checked only by a lingering sense of propriety. Retaliation begets retaliation; excess begets excess. *La force prime le droit.* If excesses only concerned the belligerents, it might be said, in theory, that it is their concern. It is. It is also their responsibility. They effect excesses; the excesses affect neutrals. They are wounded in their right. Retaliation, therefore, can not, it would seem, be accepted as sanctioned by law, although it has precedent—bad precedent, be it said—in its behalf. The views of the late Sir Erle Richards, whose competency can not be gainsaid, are so in point that they must needs be quoted:

> The experience of our two great wars [that of the French Revolution and the World War] has shown that, whatever the legal objection, belligerents will retaliate when they can afford to disregard the check of neutral opinion; and no rule of law will prevent them from so doing under supreme stress.

In his opinion, however, retaliation was not illegal; and it certainly is not, if the prize decisions of one country can make law for the others. "Decisions of British Prize Courts in this war," he says, "have established the right of one belligerent to disregard the limits of International Law and to retaliate against neutral commerce, if the other belligerent has infringed neutral rights of trade to the detriment of the first belligerent; and the Courts have given effect to that right by their decrees. (The *Stigstad*, L. R. 1919, A. C. 279; The *Leonora*, L. R. 1919, A. C. 974.) . . . It was known that Lord Stowell had upheld the Retaliatory Orders in the Napoleonic wars and that Napoleon had claimed the right to retaliate in his Decrees." Sir Erle Richards mentions, however, in this connection, that "the United States had gone to war in 1812 because of the British claim to enforce these orders, amongst other causes. . . . At present the limit of retaliation is really found only in the action of the opposing belligerents." He suggests conventions to settle the occasions when retaliation may be exercised and the limitations to be placed upon it; but if the right exists, limitations are certain to be disregarded. The real check is, as he says, the fear of neutral action. "It is only in super-wars such as the last," to quote his exact words, "in which neutral influence ceases to be a real power, that belligerents will find it to their ultimate advantage to disregard neutral interests." His final conclusion he thus states:

"The whole matter is certain to be the subject of discussion at any future conference at which the laws of war at sea are under revision; and the right of retaliation will have behind it the usage of England and of France in their wars a century ago, and of Great Britain and Germany (and to some extent of France) in the late war: against it the action of the United States in 1812."

It was hoped by many that the Peace Conference at Paris might consider these, among other matters of International Law, but the conferences were political, and only law-making bodies in the sense of politics, not of law. A Third Conference at The Hague is still a *desideratum.*

THE PEACE CONFERENCE AT PARIS

Some reflections of a general nature concerning the Peace Conference at Paris may be ventured.

The first matter of importance is the negotiations leading up to the Armistice of November 11, 1918, with Germany. That defeated country requested an armistice to conclude a peace based upon President Wilson's Fourteen Points, contained in his address before the Senate of January 8, 1918, and the principles laid down in his subsequent addresses. The Allied Powers accepted the proffer of Germany, reserving to themselves "complete freedom" in the matter of "the freedom of the seas" and stating that compensation should be made by Germany "for all damage done to the civilian population of the Allies and their property by the aggression of Germany by land, by sea and from the air." These propositions were accepted and the Armistice was negotiated for the conclusion of peace in accordance with the offer as modified and accepted. It constituted a contract; as such it would seem that its terms could only properly be varied with the consent of Germany, and that if Germany were forced to sign a treaty of peace differing from the terms offered and accepted, the question of duress would arise.

The second matter of importance is that Germany was not invited to the Conference upon terms of equality. No delegate or representative participated in the proceedings of the Conference. It was an imposed, not a negotiated peace. It is no answer that the Germans were allowed to send delegates to France to receive, at Versailles, the terms of the treaty and to make written observations upon them — some of which were accepted and some rejected. Such a procedure is contrary to experience, which is to the effect that there must be negotiation. If it does not precede the treaty, it will have to come later. And there probably is no doubt to-day that it would have been better to have had discussion precede than follow the Treaty of Versailles.

The third matter is the type of delegates attending the Conference. Mr. Wilson, President of the United States; Mr. Lloyd George, Prime Minister of Great Britain; M. Clemenceau, Prime Minister of France; Sig. Orlando, Prime Minister of Italy, attended in person. They were men of political, not of diplomatic experience, and the Treaty of Versailles differs from other documents of the kind in that the methods of diplomacy were lacking in its composition.

The fourth matter is the arrogation of superiority by the Great Powers. There were two groups in the Conference — the first and only group having influence was frankly called the Principal Allied and Associated Powers and included Great Britain, France, Italy, the United States and Japan; all the rest were secondary Powers. It was not, therefore, merely a treaty imposed upon Germany, but upon "inferior" Powers as well.

The fifth matter is that, contrary to international usage, the Conference did not adopt a single authoritative text, but used two languages, French and

English, instead of French, which in the course of centuries has become the diplomatic language. Interpreters played a disproportionate rôle. The proceedings were delayed because of translations which would have been unnecessary if diplomats, instead of political personalities, had been in charge; and the confusion of two texts would have been avoided by an agreement upon one.

A sixth matter, and one of prime importance, was the attempt to have the Conference act in the double rôle of a war conference — that is to say, one to impose terms upon the enemy — and of a peace conference meeting in peace to consider in an atmosphere of peace the means whereby peace could be preserved for a long time; in other words, the rôle not only of a Congress of Vienna but also that of a Hague Peace Conference. Vienna had the lion's share.

A PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE

Curiously enough, the Peace Conference recognised its limitations — at least in one respect. It did not attempt to create an International Court of Justice. Article XIV of the Covenant of the League of Nations referred this matter to the Council of the League, composed, according to the document, of the Principal Allied and Associated Powers with four members elected by the Assembly of the League of Nations in which latter body the states are upon a footing of equality. The Council did not, itself, prepare a draft. It invited representative jurists to prepare a draft, and pursuant to their invitation ten jurists (five from the Principal and Associated Powers and five from the other states) met at The Hague in the summer of 1920, and drafted a plan for a Permanent Court of International Justice which, with sundry amendments, was approved both by the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations in the course of the year. And this great and beneficent institution has since been installed in the Peace Palace at The Hague.

The Advisory Committee of Jurists (as that body was called) made a series of recommendations, the first of which provided for a meeting of a conference in succession to the Hague Conferences, and a succession of such conferences:

> 1. To restate the established rules of International Law, especially, and in the first instance, in the fields affected by the events of the recent war.
> 2. To formulate and agree upon the amendments and additions, if any, to the rules of International Law shown to be necessary or useful by the events of the war and the changes in the conditions of international life and intercourse which have followed the war.
> 3. To endeavour to reconcile divergent views and secure general agreement upon the rules which have been in dispute heretofore.
> 4. To consider the subjects not now adequately regulated by International Law, but as to which the interests of international justice require that rules of law shall be declared and accepted.

This recommendation was referred to the Council and the Assembly of the League of Nations, and was unfortunately rejected. But the ordinary processes of peace have begun and, unless in the next few years war breaks out upon a large scale, the nations in conference will resume their law-making activities, through which alone, it is believed, permanent peace may be had with justice.

The experience which the world has had in the last few decades shows that it is only the will to peace which is lacking. A renewal of international lawmaking activities would be in itself an indication that this will to peace was realised.

THE WASHINGTON CONFERENCE

In the summer of 1921, the Government of the United States invited eight Powers to meet in conference at Washington to consider the limitation of armament and questions concerning the Pacific. There was here a division into the larger and smaller Powers. There was, however, a reason for it. The large Powers had large armament, and they were to be asked to reduce their armament. Their situation was different from the small Powers, with little armament in comparison. Hence the large states, "the Principal Allied and Associated Powers" of the Peace Conference, considered and reached an agreement upon the limitation of their armament, supplying a precedent for the reduction of armament by international discussion and concession in conference. All of the Powers invited had an interest in the Pacific, and Belgium, China, the Netherlands and Portugal took part upon a footing of equality with the other Powers in the settlement of these questions.

Without analysing these matters, which likewise require and receive separate treatment, submarine warfare was considered and subjected to the rules applying to surface vessels; the use of noxious gases was renounced.

The agreements of the Washington Conference have either been ratified and are law for the ratifying states or are in process of ratification.

Pursuant to a resolution, a conference of the five larger Powers and the Netherlands has since met at The Hague and drafted a series of rules concerning aerial warfare, and control of radio in time of war. These rules, however, can only bind other Powers in so far as they meet with the consent of the other Powers.

The Peace Conference of Paris had before it the experience of the past in the matter of occasional conferences called for definite and specific purposes at The Hague. It preferred a permanent association of the nations for general purposes meeting annually at Geneva.

The League of Nations, discussed in detail elsewhere, from which the United States is absent, has displaced the Peace Conference including the United States. Which method is the better, time only can tell.

CHAPTER LXXX

THE GREATEST SOCIAL EXPERIMENT OF MODERN TIMES

By Thomas N. Carver, Ph.D., LL.D.

Professor of Political Economy, Harvard University. Formerly President of the American Economic Association. Author of *Government Control of the Liquor Business in Great Britain and the United States; The Conservation of Human Resources;* and various text-books in political economy.

I. History of the Prohibition Movement — The Constitutional Amendment

The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States reads as follows:

Section 1. After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.

Section 2. The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Section 3. This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by the Congress.

On January 16, 1919, the State Department announced that the above amendment had been ratified by the required number of state legislatures and was therefore part of the law of the land. This was the culmination of a struggle that had lasted for at least two generations, the purpose of which was to make laws against the business of manufacturing and selling alcoholic drinks. The laws had sometimes taken the form of local enactments; sometimes the form of legislation by state legislatures; sometimes the form of amendments to the State Constitutions. This final and culminating bit of law-making not only made prohibition nation-wide but made it as nearly perpetual as any law can be.

Having finally achieved this supreme act of law-making, many of the more short-sighted enemies of the liquor business felt that their work was all but finished. They were destined to find that it had hardly begun. The fight against liquor was only transferred from the field of law-making to that of law-enforcement. In the latter field, the struggle is still going on. Though there is not much doubt as to the ultimate issue, no one is able at the present time (beginning of 1924) to predict the day or the year of the final victory of law-enforcement.

These two phases of the war against the liquor traffic together constitute perhaps one of the most important social experiments of modern times. Some understanding of the steps in the progress of the experiment and of the factors that entered into it will be necessary to any one who hopes to understand the future civilisation of the United States.

THE UNEXPECTED VICTORY OF PROHIBITION — ITS CAUSES

This amendment was proposed during the excitement and high moral fervour of the World War and was ratified shortly after the Armistice. The resolution submitting it to the various states passed the U. S. Senate August 1, 1917. Temperance reform had for more than a century been made distinctly a moral issue in the United States. The high moral fervour engendered by the World War was a factor in the final victory of the anti-liquor forces — a victory so sudden and so overwhelming as to surprise even the most ardent temperance advocates. In fact, many of them feared a moral reaction as soon as the stress and strain of the war was over. This overwhelming victory, however, was not the result of a sudden change of feeling. The anti-liquor movement had been gathering momentum from the beginning of national existence, and the war merely brought it to a climax.

At least two other factors — economic rather than moral, if there is a difference — contributed to the sudden and spectacular completion of the movement. They were, first, the danger of the loss of man-power through drunkenness; and second, the danger of the loss of food through the use of food materials in the manufacture of alcohol. Both dangers were urged by men in positions of responsibility. Their reasoning was so convincing that many people who had never been brought to regard prohibition as a moral issue and who were, in fact, not teetotallers on general principles, supported a policy of repressing the liquor traffic, at least for the duration of the war. Some, however, were dismayed to find that the sentiment against the liquor traffic had crystallised in the form of constitutional prohibition, thus making permanent what had been for a time regarded as a war measure.

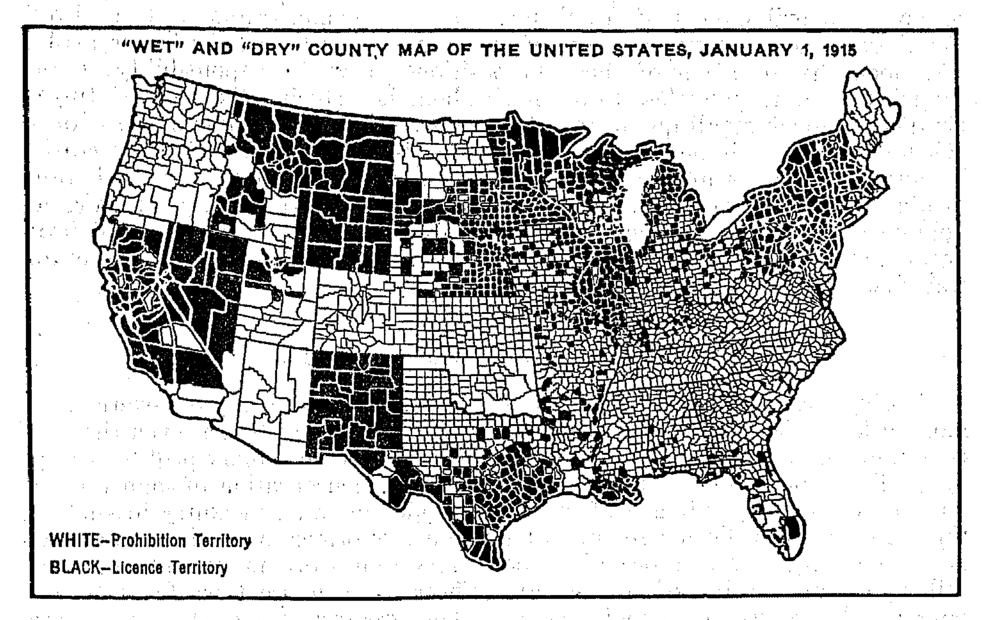
ITS EARLIER GROWTH

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that prohibition would never have come if it had not been for the war. The movement was undoubtedly accelerated by war-time conditions; but it had been growing so palpably for so many years before American entry into the war as to leave little doubt in the minds of unbiassed observers that it would ultimately succeed. Some indication of the growth of the prohibition movement in the years just before our entry into the war may be gathered from the fact that in 1900 there were five prohibition states: Maine, Kansas, North Dakota, Vermont and New Hampshire, besides the Indian Territory; though Vermont and New Hampshire repealed their prohibitory laws in 1903. In 1910 there were nine states, those added being Oklahoma, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, North Carolina and Tennessee, though Alabama repealed her laws in 1911. West Virginia adopted prohibition in 1912. Rapid acceleration began in 1914, during which year five states were added: Arizona, Colorado, Oregon, Washington and Virginia. In 1915 came five more states: Arkansas, Idaho, Iowa, South Carolina and Alabama, the last named readopting it during this year. In 1916 four states were added: Michigan, Montana, Nebraska and South Dakota; in 1917, Indiana, New Hampshire, New Mexico and Utah; in 1918, Wyoming, Florida, Ohio, Nevada and Texas. By the end of 1919, therefore, thirty-two states already had state-wide prohibition.

In addition to the movement for state-wide prohibition, there were, under the operation of local-option laws, considerable areas of dry territory in the states that had not adopted state-wide prohibition. It was estimated that at the time of the adoption of the Eighteenth Amendment 68.3 per cent of

the population lived in dry territory and that 95.4 per cent of the land area was dry and only 4.6 per cent wet; however, the 4.6 per cent of wet territory was the most densely populated of all. The accompanying map shows the dry and wet areas by counties as well as by states in 1915. Unfortunately there is no map that can show the proportion of dry and wet populations.

Prior to 1914 there was very little discussion of the possibility of national prohibition. It was, of course, dreamed of by the more extreme supporters of the prohibition movement, but very few expected it to succeed within a measurable period of time. However, to the surprise of many genuine supporters of the movement, and to the consternation of its enemies,



on December 22, 1914, more than two years before our entry upon the World War, the lower House of Congress voted 197 to 189 in favour of an amendment for national prohibition upon a motion introduced by Mr. Hobson, representative from Alabama.

THE FAMOUS ORIGINAL PACKAGE DECISION

Even earlier than this, namely in 1913, the Federal Government began taking an active part in the fight against liquor by the adoption of the Webb-Kenyon Act. This Act aimed to prevent the shipment of liquor from wet into dry territory. As this was a form of interstate commerce, Congress alone had the power to regulate it. Until the passage of this Act, the officials of a dry state were powerless to prevent the shipment of alcoholic liquor into the state, provided it was delivered to customers in the original package. There had been a decision back in 1847 to the effect that intoxicating liquors imported from one state to another were subject to the laws of the state into which they were taken and could not be sold in such state, either in original packages or otherwise, *except as the laws of such state might prescribe.* This decision stood for about forty years, but as a result of the prohibition controversies of the 'eighties it was reversed by the then famous Original Package decision (1890), which stated that liquor could be shipped

even into a prohibition state and delivered to customers so long as the original package was not broken. This decision stood until superseded by the Webb-Kenyon Act referred to.

THE WORLD WAR AIDS PROHIBITION

That the World War should have accelerated the movement for prohibition was no accident. War has always accentuated the gravity of the liquor problem, partly because of the increase of drunkenness that usually accompanies the violent disturbance of the normal life of the people, and partly because the evil effects of drunkenness are so demonstrable in war time. For these reasons, every great war of recent times has forced the liquor problem upon the attention of those in positions of great responsibility, even though they were powerless to do much about it. During the War of Independence, though small quantities of liquor were issued to soldiers as rations, Washington found it necessary to call upon his officers to do all they could to curb drunkenness among the soldiers. During the Civil War several men in high positions expressed alarm over the menace of drunkenness and urged voluntary abstention. In none of these cases, however, was there a sufficient accumulation of popular sentiment against alcoholic indulgence to make even war-time prohibition possible.

FOOD CONSERVATION A BLOW TO LIQUOR

During the World War, other countries found it necessary to exercise a more or less strict control over the manufacture and sale of liquor, even though they were untold years behind the United States in the development of hostility to the liquor business. The great problem of the conservation of man-power and of food was so acute as to force such a policy upon any country in such a time of testing. It did not require a temperance reformer to see that drunkenness on a large scale, especially among munition workers, train men and sailors, to say nothing of soldiers and officers, was a great waste of man-power and constituted a real menace. The greatest waste of man-power was not in the mere time lost by a drunken man; it was in the general disorganisation that resulted from having men in responsible positions incapable of functioning. One drunken man in such a position might cause loss of time on the part of hundreds of others, and, in fact, might endanger their very lives as well. Accordingly it was not the professional temperance reformers that did most to rouse the public in any of these countries to the necessity of controlling liquor and diminishing drunkenness.

In a country situated as England was, with a threatened food shortage, the problem of conserving food was almost as important as that of conserving man-power. Even Germany had to take careful stock of her food resources and strictly limit the amount of food materials that could be used in the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. Austria-Hungary in the first year of the war limited the hours of sale on ordinary days from 9 A.M. to 5 P.M. and on Sundays and holidays shops in which liquors were sold were closed. In Germany various restrictions and prohibitions were placed upon the sale of spirituous liquors to soldiers. February 16, 1915, it was forbidden to serve spirits in any form to soldiers of any rank in uniform in the city of Berlin and the province of Brandenburg. On March 26, 1915, the Federal Council empowered local authorities to restrict or prohibit the sale of spirits. On March 31, the Federal Council forbade any one to produce brandy who was not in the business prior to 1913–1914, and even those

who were in the business before that time were forbidden to put on the market in any month more than two per cent of the quantity for which they paid duty during 1913 and 1914. This definitely reduced the manufacture of brandy to 24 per cent of that of 1913-1914. Beer was apparently treated with greater leniency.

LIQUOR RESTRICTION IN GREAT BRITAIN DURING AND AFTER THE WAR

There are many questions relating to the manufacture, sale and consumption of alcoholic beverages upon which there are wide differences of opinion. At least four statements can be made, however, without exciting opposition. One is that considerable quantities of starch and sugar are used in the manufacture of alcohol. Another is that whatever food value there may be in alcohol, there is less than there was in the starch and sugar of which it was made. Another is that alcohol makes men drunk when taken in the stomach in sufficient quantities, and a fourth is that where it is sold as a commodity, considerable numbers of men actually drink enough to make them drunk. The first two statements carry the conclusion that the total quantity of food is reduced by the manufacture of alcoholic beverages. The last two carry the conclusion that man-power is wasted when men drink in considerable quantities. Those who accept these conclusions may pursue different policies with respect to them. In war time there is likely to be less difference of opinion with respect to the proper policy than in peace time. Most Britons were intelligent and loyal enough to see that the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages had to be greatly restricted during war time. There was no such accumulation of prohibition sentiment during the half-century preceding the war as there was in the United States. Therefore it was not to be expected that the necessity for war economy would carry them so promptly to definite war-time prohibition as it did the people of the United States. For the same reason it was, perhaps, not to be expected that whatever ground was won for liquor control during war time would become a permanent policy in peace time.

During the first year of the war, the question of drunkenness was more effective in arousing public opinion in favour of liquor control than the question of food. It was only after the menace of the submarine produced some genuine alarm that the conservation of food became a positive factor in liquor control.

Early in the war Mr. Lloyd George was quoted as saying, "We are fighting Germany, Austria and drink, and, as far as I can see, the greatest of these deadly foes is drink." Nevertheless, he could do nothing about it inasmuch as there was no such body of public opinion behind him as there was behind the Government in Washington. Arnold Bennett was quoted as saying (*New York Times*, June 16, 1915), "The Government failed in its attempt to handle the drink question -- because there is no sufficient body of opinion in Britain about alcohol." The development of British popular opinion is, therefore, of great importance, but it is difficult to trace or measure.

The extreme moderation of the first efforts at liquor control, and the very gradual acceptance of more drastic methods show how careful the British Government was to avoid going in advance of popular opinion. The first were Orders in Council giving competent naval and military authorities power to forbid or restrict the selling of liquor within specified areas. The licensed trade submitted to this as a matter of public necessity, but resented any attempt to make use of a national crisis to foist upon the community measures unduly interfering with the rights of the public. On October 28, *The Times*

published an *Appeal for Sobriety* in which Lord Kitchener and the Archbishop of Canterbury appealed to the public to help in maintaining sobriety among the soldiers by refraining from treating. On November 13 it mentions the League of the Khaki Button, whose wearers pledged not to stand any one a drink or be stood a drink until the war was over.

From these feeble beginnings, expressions of opinion increased in frequency and definiteness in favour of the Government's doing something about the drink evil. It was not until the summer of 1916, however, that a mass movement in favour of war-time prohibition developed. It was known as the Strength of Britain Movement. One of its first acts was to publish a memorial, signed by more than 2,000,000 adult persons in England and Wales, more than 400,000 women in Scotland, and more than 150,000 adult persons in the single province of Ulster in Ireland. This memorial is a remarkable document, reciting the loss of national strength due to drink and requesting the Government to *withdraw all drink licenses throughout the kingdom for the period of the war.* This meant prohibition. The Government did not accede to the request.

Following or leading this development of popular opinion, the Government enacted a series of regulations which greatly restricted the liquor business. On August 8, 1914, four days after war was declared, Parliament passed a Defence of the Realm Act conferring upon the King in Council power to issue regulations for securing public safety. Four days later, August 12, the first regulation of the drink trade authorised competent naval or military authorities to close all premises for the sale of liquor except during such hours as might be specified, within or in the neighbourhood of any defended harbour.

On August 31, 1914, the Intoxicating Liquor (Temporary Restriction) Act authorised the licensing justices to suspend the license of any retailer and to stop the consumption of liquor in any club whenever it was deemed necessary for the maintenance of order or the suppression of drunkenness. A number of Orders in Council and Acts for the Defence of the Realm were passed, during 1914 and 1915. The most important of all was that dated June 10, 1915, creating the Central Board of Control (Liquor Traffic) with almost dictatorial powers over the liquor business. On July 6, 1915, a series of liquor-control regulations were issued defining certain areas that were to be completely under the control of the Board. These areas were those in which war industries were concentrated and where it was deemed that special measures were justified as war regulations. Beyond these areas the Board had no jurisdiction. In most of these areas the sale of liquor was restricted to two and a half hours in the middle of the day and two or three hours in the evening.

So far as the rest of the country was concerned, there was very little direct control of the liquor traffic. There was, however, a great deal of indirect regulation: first, through the activities of the Food Controller; and second, through the stoppage of the manufacture of potable spirits after May 10, 1916. The activities of the Food Controller did not begin until the end of the second year of the war, at which time liquor control entered upon a new phase. The activities of the Board of Control had been for the purpose of reducing the amount of drunkenness. Those of the Food Controller were for the purpose of conserving the food supply. In addition to the physical necessity of conserving food, the English Government had to consider the state of mind of Canada and the United States where the prohibition sentiment was already very strong. Since England had to depend upon these two countries for food, she could hardly afford to ask them to deprive themselves in order to supply her with grain for purposes which they disapproved.

On August 3, 1916, two years after war was declared, Parliament passed the first of a series of Acts restricting the production of malt liquors. It reduced the annual production of beer from 36,000,000 to 26,000,000 barrels. On December 9, 1916, Lord Devonport was appointed Food Controller. Subsequent restrictions upon the use of food materials in liquor production were issued by the Food Controller. On March 29, 1917, he reduced the output of beer from 26,000,000 to 10,000,000 barrels and reduced by 50 per cent the amount of wine and spirits that could be delivered from warehouses, the manufacture of potable alcohol having been prohibited on May 10, 1916.

The combined results of the work of the Food Controller and the Liquor Control Board were a marked reduction of the amount of liquor that could be had anywhere in the United Kingdom and a very close restriction of its sale within certain specified areas. The really significant measures may be summarised as follows: (1) The manufacture of distilled spirits for drinking purposes was stopped; (2) the release of existing stocks of wine and spirits from warehouses was reduced fifty per cent; and (3) the manufacture of beer was reduced from 36,000,000 to 10,000,000 barrels. The restrictions of the Liquor Control Board, though less significant for the country as a whole, were also important within special areas.

The saving of food was measurable. The reduction in the manufacture of beer alone saved 600,000 tons of foodstuffs annually. The reduction in the amount of drunkenness is not so definite. The following table shows the convictions for drunkenness from 1913 to 1920:

CONVICTIONS FOR DRUNKENNESS IN ENGLAND AND WALES, 1913–20
(From *The Encyclopædia Britannica*, Twelfth Edition, 1922. Vol. XXXI, page 773.)

	Males	Females	Total
1913	153,112	35,765	188,877
1914	146,517	37,311	183,828
1915	102,600	33,211	135,811
1916	62,946	21,245	84,191
1917	34,103	12,307	46,410
1918	21,853	7,222	29,075
1919	46,767	11,180	57,947
1920	80,517	15,246	95,763

THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTION

With these rather definite economies in food and man-power before the people, and with the people already convinced that in war these economies were a great advantage to the nation, it would seem that it would be an intelligent question to ask, Are not these same economies of some value in times of peace? In the intense competition that is certain to come in the near future in international trade and for the world's food supplies, will not the nation that continues to waste food and man-power be under a serious handicap? It is not only an intelligent question, but the answer is undoubtedly in the affirmative. The amazing prosperity that has come to the United States must be attributed in part to these two economies that have been introduced into the national life. This question was put to the British public by some of its most intelligent leaders, but in spite of the obvious answer, even the moderate degree of restriction effected during war time has been given up and the United Kingdom has gone back to her older habits. The only tangible thing that has come of the experience of the war in the way of present liquor control is a restriction of the sale of liquor to eight hours a day for the country outside of London and to nine hours in London, together with the prohibition of sale to minors.

As indicated earlier in this study, the prohibition movement in the United States began to accelerate about 1914. This was synchronous with the opening of the World War, though it was two years before the United States entered. The problem of liquor control had already forced itself upon the warring countries. This fact strengthened the arguments of the advocates of prohibition in the United States and may have had some influence in hastening the victory of the prohibition forces. This is the justification for the space that has been given in this study to liquor control in Great Britain.

DIFFERENCES BETWEEN AMERICA AND EUROPE

One of the outstanding differences between the American and the European attitude toward liquor control is the fact that the liquor question in the United States has, and in Europe has not, been made a so-called moral issue. By a moral issue is meant an issue on which something akin to emotional horror is evoked against a given practice. Such a feeling is commonly evoked, for example, against killing, stealing, lying, adultery and a few other things. Where such a feeling of emotional horror exists, it is useless to talk of the difference between moderate and immoderate indulgence. The thing itself, even in the most moderate form, is looked upon with emotional aversion. Where no such emotional aversion exists, it is possible and even proper to distinguish between moderate and immoderate indulgence.

THE MORAL ASPECTS OF THE MATTER

Now emotional horror toward anything is not the same as reasoning about it, though one may reason about the emotional horror itself. One may even find a sound reason why such an emotional horror should exist. If no one ever felt an emotional horror or aversion toward lying, but had to reason it out in every case of temptation, it is unlikely that there would be as much truthfulness as now exists. The same might be said of killing, stealing and adultery. Similarly, an emotional horror toward the drinking of alcohol is not the same as reasoning about it; nevertheless it is possible to reason about the existence of the emotional horror. In this as in other cases, it may or may not, according to circumstances, be found that there is a sound reason for the existence of the emotional horror. That reason must be found in the way it works. If the habit of reasoning about the taking of a drink, without any feeling of moral aversion, results in less drunkenness than the habit of being guided by an emotional aversion, then the emotional aversion has no reason for its existence. If, however, it is found that there is less drunkenness among those who feel an emotional horror or moral aversion toward drink, then it would seem that there is a sound reason for the existence of such an emotional horror or moral aversion.

From its earliest beginnings in the United States, the temperance movement was in part a moral issue and in part a rational movement against the deleterious effects of drinking when carried to excess. In 1777 Dr. Benjamin Rush, chief medical officer of the Continental armies, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence, prepared a statement against the use of ardent spirits, the object of which was to urge, on medical grounds alone, all the soldiers to abstain from the use of distilled spirits while in the service of their country. In 1785 he published a more elaborate argument against the use of alcohol. In 1788, however, he appealed to the churches in an address on *Morals*, stating that he despaired of accomplishing much from an appeal to

reason, and that he thought that the business would have to be effected by religion alone. Already the Methodist Church and the Friends had taken a stand against drinking and also against dealing in alcoholic drinks. From this time these religious organisations began to take a more positive stand and others began to follow their example.

It was not, however, until after the Civil War (1861–1865) that the fight against liquor as a moral issue began to assume large proportions. In 1869 the National Prohibition Party was organised. In 1873 the Woman's Crusade was started in Ohio. This had all the fervour of a religious crusade. The Woman's Christian Temperance Union was started in 1874, for the explicit purpose of arraying all the religious forces of the country against liquor. It would probably be too much to say that this movement had spent its force by 1893, because moral feeling has continued to be evoked in favour of prohibition down to the present day. These religious and semi-religious movements, however, were eclipsed in the early 'nineties by another movement that was more practical and less comprehensive in its aims.

THE ANTI-SALOON LEAGUE AND ITS WORK

In 1893 the Ohio Anti-Saloon League was organised at Oberlin. Its aim was specifically to eliminate the saloon rather than to eliminate liquor; though, as the event proved, the two things could not very well be separated. The reason may have been that the liquor interests decided to stake everything on the fight in defence of the saloon, and to stand or fall with the saloon. At any rate, they fell with it. In 1895 the Anti-Saloon League was organised on a national scale at Washington, D. C. After that date this organisation was the most effective organisation in fighting the liquor interests. It united men and women of all religions and of no religion at all who could agree in their opposition to the saloon. It united total abstainers and moderate drinkers who agreed that the saloon was, on the whole, a bad influence on American life. At first many joined and supported the Anti-Saloon League who were not prohibitionists at all, though in later years, at least, it began to appear that the destruction of the saloon and prohibition meant the same thing in practice, whatever differences there might be in theory.

This organisation adopted the distinctly Fabian policy of working for practical results wherever they were to be obtained. Wherever there was an opportunity to weaken the influence of the saloon, it was on hand with its highly trained agents. Where state-wide suppression was not an immediate possibility, it worked for local option. Wherever there was a local-option fight for no license, its men were present with their advice and skill. The pursuit of these tactics had undermined the power of the liquor interests by the outbreak of the war, with the results stated at the beginning of this article.

As already suggested, the movement against liquor had been gathering momentum for several generations, though the purely economic argument had not figured largely until the necessities of war economy forced it upon the public mind. As the movement progressed, it became more and more clear that liquor control in the United States meant prohibition. Some unsatisfactory experiments had been tried with the dispensary system, especially in South Carolina, but they had not inspired much public interest. The factor of moral aversion or emotional horror had played so large a part in the war against alcohol as to make the dispensary system a complete misfit. The moral feelings that had been evoked led many people to take

an uncompromising attitude toward drink. To those who took this attitude it seemed monstrous that the Government should engage in a business which they had come to look upon as morally wrong. They would put a state-conducted dispensary of alcoholic drinks in the same class with a state-conducted brothel. Others who took a less uncompromising attitude toward drink and found objection only to excessive drinking had a fairly consistent argument for the dispensary system. They could with justice contend that the tendency of those who sell anything for a profit is to push the sale and use the arts of the salesman and the advertiser to persuade people to buy more than they otherwise would. A state dispensary, like every other state enterprise, is likely to be inefficient because the managers have no personal interest in extending the enterprise.

THE SALOON IN POLITICS

Among the other evils charged against the saloon was that it tended to be a centre of political influence. If the saloon was tolerated at all, it was likely to extend its political power by reason of this fact. Its opponents gradually became convinced that it was not amenable to control. That is, if it existed at all, it would so extend its influence as to control the Government and was never likely to be rigidly controlled by the Government.

WAR-TIME REGULATION

Of the two economic arguments for liquor control, namely, the economy of man-power and the economy of food, the former played much the larger part in the war-time prohibition movement. Immediately upon the declaration of war, Congress passed a rather sweeping prohibition of the keeping or the sale of liquor by private agencies in any military camp, and specifically forbade the sale of intoxicating liquor, including beer, ale or wine to any officer or soldier in uniform. On September 17, 1917, the President issued an executive order applying these regulations to navy yards and navy stations. Even before the war, Secretary Daniels had forbidden the use of alcoholic drinks on vessels of the United States navy. He had also brought pressure to bear on the authorities of states where navy yards and navy stations were located to clean up the neighbourhoods surrounding such stations.

These measures having been taken for the prevention of drunkenness in the army, the next great problem was that of preventing it among the civilian population. Any one could see the wisdom of these laws as applied to men in military and naval service, but when the public itself is expected to remain sober, it is another question. It cannot be very much worse for a soldier or a sailor to be drunk than for an officer of Government, a manager, or a worker in a munition plant, a coal-mine or a shipyard. During the coal shortage in the winter of 1917–1918, the fuel administrator for the city of Philadelphia found it necessary to forbid the sale of intoxicating liquor to the drivers of coal teams during working hours. Some fear was expressed lest interference with the habits of the drinking public might cool the ardour of their patriotism or even lead to rebellion against public authority, and thus increase the risk of losing the war. It seems to have been taken for granted that prohibitionists and non-drinkers would support the war anyway, even if liquor were sold freely, which may be regarded as a compliment to their loyalty and patriotism. The fear, however, was that the drinking public was not sufficiently patriotic to stand that degree of

deprivation which was generally agreed to be a good thing for soldiers and sailors.

The slogan, Food Will Win the War, was sounded almost immediately upon American entry. Next to the organisation and training of an army, the principal task laid upon the country was that of supplying food to the Allied nations. A vigorous campaign for the conservation of food was started almost immediately. At first this did not seem to have anything to do with prohibition, but it did not take long for the people to see that one very important waste was the manufacture of alcoholic drinks. It was found that something over seven and one-third billion pounds of food materials had been used in the manufacture of alcoholic liquors during the year ended June 30, 1916. The first move for the conservation of this food material was an act approved August 10, 1917, prohibiting the manufacture of distilled spirits for beverage purposes. On December 8, the President issued a proclamation reducing by 30 per cent the quantity of food materials that could be used in the manufacture of malt and vinous liquors. The Fuel Administration also restricted the amount of coal that could be used by breweries, as these were non-essential industries. Finally, on November 18, 1918, seven days after the Armistice, a bill known as the War Time Prohibition Bill was passed, providing that "after May 1, 1919, until the conclusion of the present war, and thereafter until the termination of demobilisation . . . no grains, cereals, fruit or other food products shall be used in the manufacture or production of beer, wine or other intoxicating malt or vinous liquor for beverage purposes." This was only two months before the Eighteenth Amendment was ratified.

CANADIAN MOVEMENT CLOSELY PARALLELS THAT IN THE UNITED STATES

The prohibition movement in Canada closely parallels that in the United States. Early in its history religious organisations began taking an active stand against the habit of drinking and the business of selling intoxicating drinks. Temperance organisations, such as the Good Templars and the Sons of Temperance, began their work in the two countries about the same time. As in the United States, the active movement for temperance began as a movement for abstinence and grew into a movement for prohibition. The movement for prohibition had gathered considerable momentum before the outbreak of the World War. In fact, as early as 1898 every province except Quebec voted in favor of prohibition.

While there was a clear majority in favour of prohibition for the whole Dominion, the Dominion Government did not feel justified in enacting a prohibitory law in the face of the overwhelming opposition in the Province of Quebec.

As in the United States, the prohibition movement was greatly accelerated during the World War, and for similar reasons. In 1917 the Dominion Government, by an Order in Council, prohibited, for the period of the war and for twelve months afterward, the importation, manufacture and sale and the inter-provincial shipment of liquor for beverage purposes. In less than twelve months after the conclusion of the war, however, on January 1, 1920, the Dominion Government repealed this Order in Council, and terminated the brief period of national prohibition. Such prohibition as existed in Canada in January, 1924, was by provinces.

Every province except British Columbia and Quebec, which are under the dispensary system, is under a modified form of prohibition. Nowhere is the manufacture of liquor prohibited. Prohibition is applied to the selling of

alcohol for beverage purposes. Liquor can not only be manufactured but can be legally shipped as far as the border of the province in which it is manufactured. It cannot be legally imported into any of the dry provinces.

II. Enforcement — The Volstead Act

A constitutional amendment like a legislative enactment is not self-enforcing. Both are mere scraps of paper until machinery is provided for detecting, catching and punishing violators. The first step in the struggle for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment was the passage of a National Prohibition Act, commonly called the Volstead Act, over the President's veto, on October 28, 1919. This Act is divided into two parts. The first part was for the enforcement of the War Time Prohibition Act, passed in November of the previous year. The second part was for the enforcement of the Eighteenth Amendment as soon as it should become operative; that is, after January 16, 1920. The most drastic feature of this Act and the one most criticised, was its definition of intoxicating liquors. These are defined to mean any beverages which contain "one-half of one per centum or more of alcohol by volume."

The administration of the Act was placed under the Commissioner of Internal Revenue. Liquor for non-beverage purposes and wine for sacramental purposes were permitted to be manufactured and sold. The constitutionality of the Eighteenth Amendment and of the National Prohibition Act was upheld by unanimous decision of the United States Supreme Court on June 7, 1920.

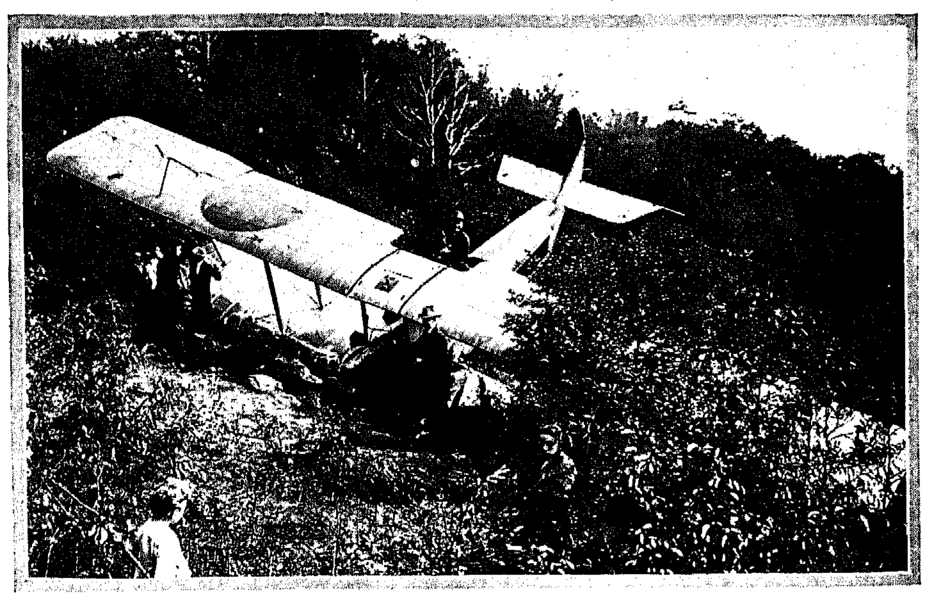
WHERE THE FAULT LIES

The problem of enforcement has become largely an administrative problem. More specifically, it is the problem of detecting violators, getting evidence enough to convict them before a court, and securing adequate punishment of offenders. At this point an inherent weakness in American political character is brought up; that is, in the general feeling that the work of the citizen is done when he has voted for a law, or that the work of the majority is done when they have enacted their ideas into law. It is obvious that this is only half the battle. Having registered their opinions in the form of a majority vote, they are obligated to use every means within their power to assist in the enforcement; otherwise the majority vote is as ineffective as an academic opinion. This indifference of the average voter to the question of enforcement creates an opportunity for the active violator. These may be so numerous as to make it impossible for any reasonable army of enforcement officers to handle the situation. This attitude on the part of the citizens who voted for national prohibition in part explains why it is so difficult to enforce the Prohibition Act.

IS THE LAW ENFORCED?

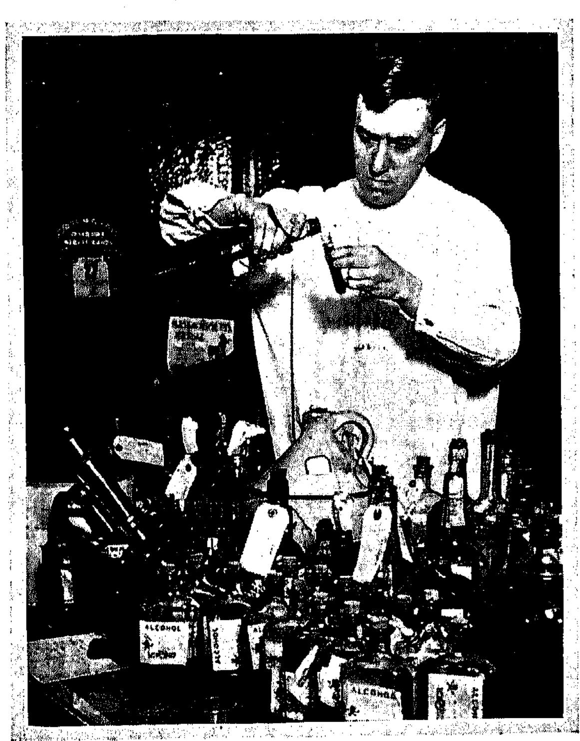
One of the oldest and most persistent arguments against prohibition, whether legal, state-wide or national, is that it can not be, or, as a matter of fact, is not enforced. A careful examination, however, will convince any one that prohibition does not suffer in comparison with other laws in this respect. Before national prohibition was enacted there was no non-prohibition state in which laws against prostitution were so effectively enforced as were the prohibitory laws in the prohibition states.

To argue that prohibition laws are exceedingly difficult to enforce is to



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An aerial rum runner which crashed near Croton, N. Y. In it were found 150 bottles of Scotch and Irish whiskey, apparently being conveyed from Canada.



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Mr. William D. McNally, coroner's chemist in Chicago, testing samples of liquor seized by the police. Wood alcohol was found in many of these samples.

show an inability to grasp some of the fundamentals of the problem. If a prohibition law were not difficult to enforce, there would be no strong reason for having such a law — that is to say, if it were not difficult to enforce, it would argue that there was no strong desire to drink liquor. If there were no such desire it would hardly be necessary to have a law to prevent drinking, however harmful it might be to those who saw fit to drink. For example, it is doubtless as harmful to take laughing-gas in excess as alcohol in excess; but if no one cares to take laughing-gas in excess, there would be no very good reason for enacting a law to prohibit it. At the same time, if such a law were enacted it would not be difficult to enforce it because no one would have a very strong motive for breaking it. The analogy between laws against alcoholism and laws against prostitution is somewhat closer. Here are powerful motives leading to the violation of the law and making its enforcement difficult. The existence of these motives is what makes the law necessary in the first place, and in the second place makes it difficult to enforce. Wherever these two conditions are found, namely, a powerful motive leading to excess, and harmful results following that excess, it is necessary to have laws against it; but the very conditions make the enforcement difficult.

As to the general effects of prohibitory laws with their partial enforcement, the most direct statistical test is the number of convictions for drunkenness. The following table shows the figures for all of Canada.

DOMINION CRIMINAL STATISTICS

[From an article entitled "Prohibition Legislation in Canada" by B. H. Spence, in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, September, 1923.]

Year	Convictions For Drunkenness		Total Convictions		Percentage of Drunkenness to Total
	No.	Index	No.	Index	
1912	53,271	100.0	146,271	100.0	36.4
1913	60,975	114.5	153,178	118.2	35.2
1914	60,067	112.8	183,035	124.9	32.8
1915	41,161	77.3	153,055	104.5	26.8
1916	32,730	61.4	123,791	84.5	26.5
1917	27,882	52.3	114,011	77.8	24.4
1918	21,026	39.5	123,236	84.1	17.1
1919	24,217	45.5	130,019	88.7	18.6
1920	39,769	74.7	162,708	111.1	24.4
1921	34,362	64.5	177,100	120.9	19.4
1922	25,048	47.0	158,339	108.3	15.8

It will be noted that while the convictions for drunkenness have decreased continuously since 1914, the total number of convictions for all offences fell off during the years 1916–1919, but increased again in 1920 and after, being then higher than for 1912, but not higher than for 1913, 1914 and 1915. It might be said that this later increase in convictions for all offences is probably due to the general disrespect for law resulting from the unpopularity of the prohibitory law. There are other explanations fully as good. First, the number is no greater than during the three years 1913, 1914 and 1915. Second, the population has increased. Third, every war has been followed, after the disbanding of the armies, by an increase of crime. With these three facts in mind, the surprising thing is that the increase was not greater than it really was from 1920 onward.

There is no single table available that tells a similar story for the whole of the United States.

DIFFICULTY OF ENFORCEMENT EXPECTED

As was to be expected, there has been great difficulty in the enforcement of prohibitory laws. The fact that there is such a widespread craving for liquor made it certain that there would be widespread and persistent efforts to evade the law. But this widespread craving, when considered in connection with another fact, namely, that the general indulgence of this craving tends to unfit men for functioning in an interlocking civilisation, furnishes a strong reason for a prohibitory law and a heavy expenditure for its enforcement.

The initial blunder in the struggle for enforcement of national prohibition was the failure to place the appointment of the enforcement officers under civil service rules. This failure, as every one must have foreseen, was an invitation to the spoilsmen to come in and occupy the offices. A large number of scandals was the least of the evils that resulted. General non-enforcement, with a growing contempt, not only for the enforcement officers, but for the law itself, is a more serious evil. Until the merit system can be applied to the appointment, retention and promotion of all enforcement officers, there is not much likelihood of success or even of a marked improvement in the attempts to enforce the law.

EXTENT OF SMUGGLING

That there is a great deal of evasion is notorious and admitted by all. The extent to which the law is evaded is not susceptible of statistical statement for the reason that there are no official records of unofficial acts. The quantities of liquor actually stored in bonded warehouses is, of course, a matter of record, and likewise the quantities legally released. The two principal sources of illicit liquor are smuggling and moonshining. Smuggling takes place not only across the invisible land-line that separates the United States from portions of Canada and Mexico, but also across the Great Lakes, the St. Lawrence and the Rio Grande, and through being landed at various points along the sea-coast. The most that the prohibition officials can do in guarding such a vast frontier is to make smuggling somewhat hazardous by arresting violators of the law as frequently as possible. The extent to which smuggling actually takes place cannot be stated in figures. The following table, or tables of a similar character, are supposed to furnish indirect evidence.

BRITISH EXPORTS OF SPIRITS

[From *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* for September 1923, page 153.]

Country of Destination	Proof Gallons				
	1918	1919	1920	1921	1922
Canada	148,988	527,949	1,701,734	1,245,988	803,105
China (exclusive of Hongkong, Macao and leased Territories)	49,835	44,573	92,207	106,249	91,009
Japan (including Formosa and Japanese leased Territories in China)	26,376	26,798	53,361	46,516	61,034
Mexico	2,955	9,266	34,436	43,844	24,682
British West India Islands	20,654	28,647	107,039	77,430	91,459
Cuba	3,529	10,614	43,709	28,558	60,655
Haiti	116	119	1,819	1,808	5,581
Bahamas	944	15,133	118,599	160,579	385,999
Bermudas	958	6,450	16,018	22,396	41,124

The marked increase in the shipments of spirits from Great Britain to countries contiguous to the United States and to islands in close proximity to the coast is supposed to indicate that a great deal of the increase is sold to smugglers who manage to get it into the United States. This is a fair inference, but it is easily exaggerated. Two facts must be borne in mind. First, that exports from Great Britain to China and Japan, which can hardly be called contiguous territory, more than doubled between 1919 and 1920. Second, that during the World War the manufacture of spirits in Great Britain was practically prohibited by the Food Controller. This would naturally have reduced the exports of spirits from Great Britain during and immediately following the war. The resumption of the manufacture of spirits after the Armistice should have been followed by increased exportation. This probably explains why there was such a marked increase in the exportation to China and Japan; but the increase to Canada, to Mexico, the West Indies and so on, was much more marked than the increase to China and Japan. This undoubtedly indicates an increase in the business of smuggling from these contiguous or nearly contiguous areas into the United States.

After account is taken, however, of all the figures available, that show indirectly an increase in smuggling, they indicate an almost negligible percentage of the quantity manufactured for sale or consumption within the United States before prohibition went into effect. Even if every gallon of the increase in shipments to these contiguous territories and outlying islands actually found its way into the United States, the total quantity is so small in comparison with that formerly manufactured in the United States as to be almost negligible.

MOONSHINING

Unfortunately, we do not have any figures that show even indirectly how much liquor is surreptitiously manufactured in the United States. Not only the prohibition officials but local police are continually discovering stills and other evidences of secret manufacture. The total quantity of intoxicating

liquor smuggled into the United States and secretly manufactured is known to be considerable; but the quantity cannot be set down in figures. If the total quantity were comparable with the total quantity formerly manufactured and sold we should expect the evil effects to show themselves in the form of drunkenness or deaths from alcoholism. In other words, there should be at least as many arrests for drunkenness and deaths from alcoholism as before prohibition went into effect. It is commonly alleged that the liquor smuggled and manufactured is much worse than that which was formerly manufactured and sold legally, and that, gallon for gallon, it produces worse effects. There are official records of the arrests for drunkenness. These show a definite diminution following prohibition, though a considerable tendency to increase began during 1921 and 1922. If this increase should continue a few years longer, we should begin to approximate the conditions that existed before prohibition went into effect.

DEATHS FROM ALCOHOLISM

Los Angeles, New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, Boston, Detroit, Pittsburgh, Cleveland, St. Louis, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Washington, D. C., Milwaukee, New Orleans, Minneapolis, Newark, N. J., Indianapolis, San Francisco, Seattle.

	1916	1917	1918*	1919**	1920	1921	1922
Total No. of Deaths....	1,954	1,817	820	558	321	503	828

(Data compiled by Scientific Temperance Federation, Boston, from statistics furnished by City Health Departments. All are cities of over 300,000 population.)

In the *Current History Magazine* for September, 1923, is found a comparison of the number of arrests for intoxication during the three years 1915–1917, compared with the three years 1920–1922 in 100 cities in the United States. All the figures were obtained from police departments exclusively. In these 100 cities there were during 1915–1917 432,753 arrests for drunkenness. During 1920–1922 there were 255,735 arrests for drunkenness — a total decrease of 177,018. Only 21 cities showed an increase. The total increase in all these cities amounted to 9,215; 79 cities showed a decrease, the total decrease amounting to 186,233.

PROHIBITION AND SAVINGS

The question of the actual effects of prohibition on the prosperity of the masses is not easily determined. Savings deposits furnish one index, but they are not very conclusive. There are so many opportunities for investment, not only in Government, state and municipal bonds, but in homes, farms and industrial securities. It is not impossible that increasing prosperity might reduce the deposits in savings banks by causing people to withdraw their savings in order to make these other investments. Again, periods of industrial expansion and industrial depression would be expected to have some effect on savings deposits. Besides, savings deposits were increasing for many years before prohibition went into effect. They have continued to increase. Whether or not the rate of increase was perceptibly accelerated by prohibition may be determined by reference to the following figures. These figures give the sum total of deposits in the savings departments of national banks and of state commercial banks, in stock savings

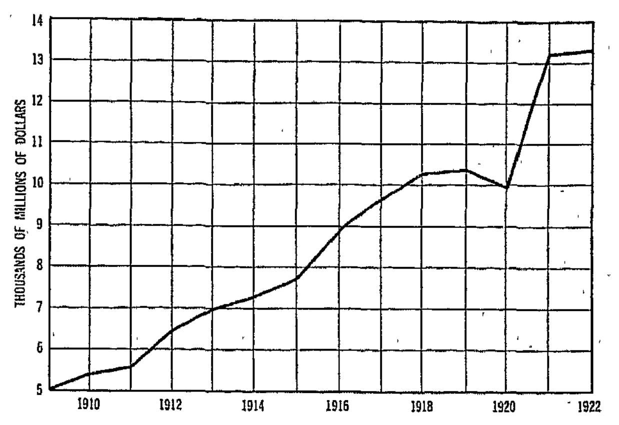
* Manufacture of spirits ceased September, 1917; restrictions on the manufacture of malt liquors went into effect early in 1918. Nearly all alcoholic figures for 1918 showed the effect of these measures and of the patriotic appeal for sobriety.

** The year 1919 included six months of prohibition.

banks, mutual savings banks, loan and trust companies, private banks, school savings banks, and postal savings.

1910	$5,450,185,000	1917	$ 9,758,393,000
1911	5,625,019,000	1918	10,351,379,000
1912	6,526,277,000	1919	10,463,527,000
1913	7,007,049,000	1920	10,068,571,000
1914	7,312,965,000	1921	13,294,504,000
1915	7,773,775,000	1922	13,381,661,000
1916	8,927,253,000	1923	15,410,356,000

The above figures are reduced to a graph in the following form. They show a distinct acceleration in 1916 and retardation in 1920, the latter due probably to the depression of that year, but a very distinct acceleration again in 1921.



The above diagram shows the increase in the deposits in Savings Banks in the United States between 1910 and 1922. The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution came into effect on January 29, 1920, and the upward jump of deposits which occurred in that year is especially significant.

HAS THE USE OF DRUGS INCREASED?

It is frequently asserted that alcoholic prohibition drives men to the use of drugs and results in an increase in the drug habit. What might be the case if drugs were not prohibited, it is impossible to say. The fact is, however, that the United States not only prohibits the manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages but also prohibits the sale of habit-forming drugs except under a physician's prescription. If prohibition as applied to alcohol tended to drive men to the use of drugs, those officers whose business it is to enforce the anti-narcotic law should have experienced some increase in the difficulty of enforcement. As good evidence as we have is found in the fact that these officials have not made any complaint; and in fact, in Canada have not even admitted that they are finding any increased difficulty. When taken with the fact that there are no positive evidences of an increase in the addiction to drugs, the statement that prohibition results in increased use of narcotics may be dismissed.

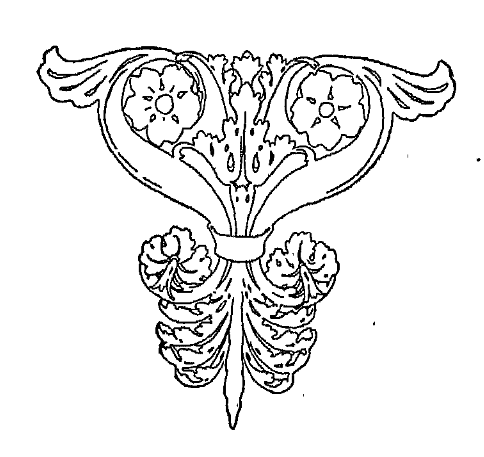
As to the general respect for law and order, it was shown in the case of Canada that while the arrests for drunkenness decreased under prohibition, there was a tendency for the arrests for all crimes and misdemeanours to increase. This slight tendency to increase, however, can be explained on other grounds as was shown above.

THE ONLY IMPORTANT QUESTION

Earlier in this chapter the question was suggested: If the manufacture, sale and consumption of alcoholic drinks is wasteful of man-power and food in war time, are they not also wasteful in peace time? If they endanger

national safety in war time, must they not necessarily limit national prosperity in peace time? There is only one possible answer to this question, and that is the affirmative one. The waste of resources in war time may lead to a more positive disaster than the waste of resources in peace time In the first case, it may mean national destruction. In the second case, it may only mean a lower degree of national prosperity. Temporarily considered, the waste of such fundamental resources as man-power and food may seem unimportant in time of peace. In the long run, however, the cumulative effects of such wastes may prove quite as disastrous as in war time. The disaster, however, would be so far removed in the future as to be beyond the range of interest of many citizens.

It is safe to say that, other things equal, the nation that makes the greatest economy of its human resources — that is, that wastes the smallest proportion of its man-power or that economises and directs its man-power most economically — will outgrow in numbers, prosperity and general strength the nation that does the opposite. So long as all the rival nations are wasting resources and man-power in drink, there may be no differential advantage in favour of any one of them or against any of the others; but when one nation such as the United States makes a definite advance in this form of economy, unless it indulges in some folly that will neutralise the advantage thus gained, there is no reason to doubt that it will gain on all others year by year, decade by decade, and century by century, and eventually dominate the civilisation of the world. They who refuse to take this great step forward in the economy of human resources, whether they understand it or not, are definitely choosing to occupy a secondary position in the civilised world.



CHAPTER LXXXI

INTERNATIONAL SPORT

By Lawrence Perry

Editor of *Yachting*, 1906–1910. Sporting Authority, *New York Evening Post*, 1912–1920. Author of *Full-Back; For the Game's Sake; Big Game;* etc.

By far the most significant tendency in sport in the first two decades of the twentieth century has been the development among nations of certain identical games and the meeting of international teams and individual representatives in athletic competition.

It may, or may not, have been merely a sporting coincidence, but the fact remains none the less that the World War found among the Allied nations those countries which were most widely committed to international sports, whereas among the Central Powers was not a single nation devoted in any way to the cause of sports, international or otherwise.

When two nations play the same games, with representative teams meeting in competition upon field or track or stream, the seeds are planted of mutual understanding and common enthusiasm that brings peoples together in a bond that makes for broad and tolerant sympathy outside of sport. Diminished racial jealousies are most certainly a corollary of world sport.

In this connection it is interesting to note the possibility in the not far distant future of German soccer football teams meeting French competitors in France, at Metz or Strasburg in return for games played between teams of the two nations at Coblenz, Wiesbaden and other Rhineland cities in the winter of 1923.

Germany in the years just before the war had, in fact, come to recognise at least the commercial advantages of outdoor international sports and had promoted a scheme of racing small sloops, half-raters, against American yachts of similar design; she, too, was about to enter upon a huge intensive plan of developing track and field athletes for the Olympic Games. It is rather an ironical fact that her leading lawn-tennis players — tennis being a comparatively new game in Germany — were in the United States or on their way thither to compete in the Davis Cup matches when the war broke out.

With the ending of the war Germany saw her embryonic athletic plans, as well as enterprises of whatever sort, relegated to the limbo of broken ambitions — her associates in war had never been concerned with competitive sports upon an organised national scale — whereas the Allied Powers — the United States, England, France, Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia and Japan, with such non-combatant countries as Sweden, Norway, Finland, the Argentine and Spain, forthwith resumed the development of their national athletic systems and international sporting relationships with such initiative, enthusiasm, pervading good-will and unselfishness as might well have brought about a happier and more prosperous Europe in 1924 had these same qualities been manifested in other quarters as well.

In lawn tennis the Davis Cup matches of 1923 saw some eighteen nations competing in the various European and American zones. In future years there is certain to be more, for the game is fast becoming a universal one. Originating in its present form in England, tennis appears to have had its genesis in France several hundred years ago. The United States took it up in the 'seventies and in turn it spread throughout the world, so that today we see Englishmen, Americans, Japanese, Spaniards, Frenchmen, East Indians, Australians, New Zealanders, Hollanders, Scandinavians — in brief, crack tennis players from most of the civilised nations of the world, competing for supremacy.

In point of organisation the International Tennis Federation ranks with the International Olympic Association as a definitely established, world athletic body. It has universal influence and absolute power to standardise the rules and regulations of the game wherever tennis is played, and one of its greatest achievements lies in equalising conditions, as much as possible, to offset the handicap under which a foreign player is placed when competing in a strange land.

As a supplement to the Olympic idea, nothing more valuable than the system of international tennis as now conducted can be imagined. The game has swept over the world with a veritable rush, whereas as recently as 1901 England and the United States were practically the only countries in which the game was at all widely known. To sit in the enclosure at Wimbledon, St. Cloud, Paris, Monte Carlo, San Sebastian, Newport, Seabright, Germantown or Forest Hills, observing foreign players representing divers races and nations, engaged in competition one against the other, is an inspiring experience indeed. Differ as protagonists and spectators may ethnologically, they are one in the common bond of sport.

The time has passed when the so-called Anglo-Saxon races were dominant in tennis. At this writing a French girl is the world's champion among women, and France and Spain and Japan are annually sending forth exponents of the game who rank among the most expert in the world.

In the interest of sportsmanship, fair play and friendliness England relinquished at the instance of the United States the right — traditional and subsequently accorded to her by the International Federation — to bestow upon the winner of the annual Wimbledon singles tournament the title of world's champion. This, to be sure, was not done without a sufficient interchange of diplomatic documents and oral debate, but the point is that eventually it was done, whole-heartedly.

The total number of lawn-tennis players in the world is not known. But beyond question the total, if a census could be taken, would run into multiplied millions. It is, happily, a game in which almost anyone may participate. Its divisions of excellence are so numerous that a player never lacks for opponents of his relative ability; and as a developer, an outlet for energy, it has no equal.

No account of international sports would be complete without a brief outline of the development in the last twenty years of competitive sports between the two great English-speaking nations. Up to 1901 teams of track and field athletes, representing colleges or athletic clubs, had exchanged infrequent visits and the United States had sent an occasional university eight-oared crew, or a single-sculls oarsman to row against English watermen in England. In 1886 an English polo team visited Newport and won the Westchester Cup from an American four. In succeeding years up to 1909 two or three teams crossed the Atlantic in an unsuccessful quest of the cup. In recent years this cup, known as the International Trophy, is one of the most famous prizes in the world, the object, at intervals comparatively fre-

quent, of thrilling matches reminiscent in colour and animation of the ancient days of chivalry. Besides these matches for the great international prize, it is a rare year that does not see one or more British teams playing polo in the United States and conversely American teams playing in England, just as British and American fours are annually to be found in France and Spain.

And, as with the International Polo Trophy, so with the America's Cup, emblematic of the yacht-racing blue ribbon of the seas. Since the schooner yacht "America" won the trophy in England more than seventy years ago this cup has figured in nearly a score of ocean duels between the costliest and most expertly designed yachts that designers and builders of the two nations could evolve. But meetings of this sort, with their accentuated rivalry, their occasional bickerings and the premium placed upon victory have represented an older tradition; an even finer sportsmanship is that which characterises the regattas of British and American six-metre sloops, now held each year alternately in England and the United States.

In a broad international sense the importance of the Olympic Games must not be overlooked. Conceived by Count Coubertin, a Frenchman, the modern Olympiad has come to be a universal athletic clearing-house representing athletes, practically speaking, from the whole civilised world. Revived at Athens in 1896, the games were held at Paris in 1900; St. Louis in 1904; London in 1908; Stockholm in 1912; and Berlin was to have been the scene of the great meeting in 1916, but on account of the war the games were not held. After the war, they were revived at Antwerp in 1920 and will be held at Paris in 1924.

All branches of sport that have international acceptance are included in the Olympic system. Christian, Moslem, Buddhist and Brahmin are brought together upon a common meeting-ground, joined in a common impulse, and are one in a common enthusiasm. As showing what may be done in the way of development it should be noted that whereas twenty years ago British and American athletes had honours pretty much in their own hands, particularly in track and field, French, Italian, Belgian and Scandinavian athletes have steadily been cutting into the prestige of the Anglo-Americans, while little Finland already is threatening to leap to supremacy in not a few of the more important track and field specialities, such for example as distance running and in the weights. Finland now leads the world in casting the javelin.

By way of showing the broad distribution of athletic enthusiasm throughout the world at the present time, a roster of the nations that participated in the first event of the 1923 Olympics, the Winter Sports division, at Chamonix, is of interest: Austria, Belgium, Canada, Esthonia, the United States, Finland, France, Great Britain, Hungary, Latvia, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia. The main event of the Olympiad, the track and field games, will see athletes representing twenty-five nations at least in competition. Not even the most pessimistic international philosopher can gainsay the subtle influence of these games in the promotion of good feeling among the nations involved through the correction of preconceptions born of lack of understanding and through the minimising, if not the elimination, of unreasonable racial jealousies and hatreds.

Is it difficult to conceive of the Olympic Games as a substitute for armed conflict, so far, at least, as providing vent for national pride, and outlet for national enthusiasm? Not for the writer, at all events, who has observed international contests over a period of nearly two decades, always with this thought in mind. The various national committees governing these games work together in a fine spirit of harmony, and while minor jealousies and

grievances of various sorts may occasionally appear, they are absolutely immaterial in so far as they affect that good understanding and spirit of co-operation which pervades this international organisation.

Reference has previously been made to football games between French and German teams. The game is soccer, a sport in which the ball may not be carried nor touched by the hand, a kicking game mainly. Of all sports soccer football has the widest and strongest hold upon the nations of the earth; it is the one great universal game. It is played, and well played, in China, Japan, Korea and, in fact, throughout the Far East. It is the one sport which claims any considerable number of participants in Russia. Soccer teams roam the earth, as one may say, in quest of games. As the writer sets down these lines he has a letter from a friend in Barcelona describing a game between the Barcelona team, champions of Spain, and the Sparta football team of Prague. International soccer games have increased so greatly that they are to-day a commonplace of sport.

Rowing is a widespread sport; but because perhaps of the difficulties in the way of transporting unwieldy shells and oars, it has little international expression save at the Olympic Games, where individual oarsmen and crews of a dozen nations are involved in the championship tests. It is not uncommon, however, for American scullers to go to England to compete for the Diamond Sculls, the greatest aquatic prize in the world, and in 1922 tradition was shattered when an American, Walter Hoover, took the trophy from England for the first time in history. He failed, however, in 1923, to retain his laurels.

Many nations play golf; but the leaders in point of the number of players engaged, in proficiency and in the number of golfing organisations, are Great Britain and the United States. In these countries golfers are numbered by the millions and clubs with which they are affiliated by the thousands. In France golf is becoming more common, but the sport is still negligible there when compared with its enormous growth throughout the British Isles and America especially since 1910. Ten years ago Canada had some seventy-six golf clubs. To-day she has three hundred and ninety-eight, a typical example of the extraordinary progress the game has made among the English-speaking peoples. Until recently golf was limited to the well-to-do because of the high cost of the sport, chiefly that involved in affiliation with golfing organisations; but recently there has come into vogue in the United States a definite and comprehensive system of public links which is doing wonderful things for the game in the way of adding to its enrollment and developing proficient players. British and American golfers apparently think as little of crossing the ocean for international play as they do of moving from links to links in their own countries, and, as already indicated, lines of cleavage between the two nations have practically disappeared so that now we are one in impulse, with an ever-growing common tradition whose progress is fascinating to watch.

Cricket has not outgrown its national restrictions to Great Britain, and the national game of the United States, baseball, has been taken up with enthusiasm only by one country, Japan. Both these games are intricate, involved in many rules as to play, and, largely speaking, demand players whose experience of the game began in early youth. For these reasons, perhaps also because they are so peculiarly an expression of national conditions and reactions, cricket and baseball are unlikely ever to know that expansion which has come to certain other sports.

English football players who were recently in America have told the writer of a gradual decline of interest in cricket in England, particularly among the lower classes. Football, soccer and Rugby, they say, are leaving cricket more and more to those who have the leisure and money for the

game. But to a considerable extent this has always been the case, and perhaps a more accurate statement would be that football in England is progressing so rapidly that by comparison cricket strikes the casual observer as in the initial stages of decay, whereas really it is not.

In the realm of national sport, college football in the United States has shown such an amazing growth in the past twenty years that leading educators are beginning to feel the necessity of taking steps to check further progress. Huge stadiums, built at a cost of from a million to three millions of dollars, have sprung up at many of the large universities and net receipts for three months of football range anywhere from one hundred thousand to five hundred thousand dollars. Those who deprecate this condition point to the premium placed upon victory, the distractions from the essential work of the colleges and the universities which the game involves, and in general the exaltation of the sport to a position of prominence out of all proportion to its real value. Twenty years ago twenty thousand spectators at an important football game was looked upon as a huge attendance. To-day fifty thousand spectators constitute an average gathering at important games, and throngs of from sixty to eighty thousand are not rare. Some adjustment as between the educational and the athletic branches of university life seems certain to be made within the next few years.

Professional sport has been marked most signally by an international expansion, particularly in boxing, which now sees France, Italy, Germany, Chile, the Argentine and Japan sending their representatives to compete against the boxers of England and the United States, to which countries for more than a century the sport of pugilism was almost absolutely confined. The two greatest ring battles known to history in point of attendance and widespread interest involved in one case the American champion and the champion of Europe, a Frenchman, and in the other the American champion and a pugilist from the Argentine Republic.

Horse racing, in which all nations indulge, is rapidly assuming significance from an international standpoint, and the visit in 1923 of an English champion thoroughbred for a match race against an American champion set an example which the French arranged to follow. Sporadic as such events must be, they are none the less an expression of the modern international trend and hence not to be disregarded. So with rifle shooting, now conducted annually upon an international basis; and wrestling, wherein the Poles and the Turks send their representatives to compete with American grapplers.

The future of sport is clear. Its trend is international, and in ever-increasing degree the greatest sporting events are those in which championships as among nations are decided.

CHAPTER LXXXII

THE INTRICATE WEB OF WORLD COMMERCE

By Julius Klein

Director of the United States Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Washington, D. C. Formerly Assistant Professor at Harvard University. Correspondent to the *New York Evening Post* on Economic Subjects.

It has long been a popular belief that the opening of each new century in some mysterious way means the inauguration of a new era, the passing of a notable landmark in the world's affairs. Ever since the days preceding the Crusades and the wave of religious emotion which swept through the Christian nations as the year 1000 approached, there has been at each century mark a period of speculation and of prophecy as to the "eve of great changes" near at hand. This magic of the ciphers on the calendar once more cast its spell in 1900, and not a few economists in their contemplation of the recent past, agreed at the time that the world was again passing across a threshold leading to events of profound significance.

There can be no doubt as to the profoundly significant course of world events during the inaugural years of the twentieth century. Evidences of the increased complexities of international contacts were apparent on every hand. Commercial and economic relationships were infinitely more involved than they had been even a few short years before. Their direction called for a degree of statesmanship, tact and vision which had been far less necessary in the previous generation. Western power and economic ambition were whirling past one milestone after another in the headlong rush to dominate the less settled parts of the world.

The quick transmission of commercial information, the numerous improvements in transportation facilities, the world-wide extension of security to trade media, such as aids to navigation and the establishment of new outposts for the maintenance of order in many lands which had but recently been beyond the farthest frontiers, all made for the elimination of that element of adventure and extreme risk which had been so formidable a barrier to international economic contacts in previous generations. The way was open for the small operator, dealer, trader and investor to whom earlier conditions had presented insurmountable obstacles. The building up of overseas commerce was no longer preëmpted by large corporations which could provide their own protection and maintain vast integrated organisations capable of carrying on all of the various functions of economic relationship — transportation, finance, production, distribution — without recourse to outside help.

NEW GOVERNMENTAL AGENCIES

As an inevitable accompaniment to this greatly broadened participation in foreign economic affairs on the part of larger numbers of firms and individuals, various governments soon found it necessary to inaugurate

special departments or ministries devoted to the promotion and counsel of commercial effort abroad. The Department of Commerce and Labour was established in Washington in 1903. The British official and semi-official agencies in this field developed new lines of service, and notable changes were made in the preparation of official statistical and other trade data in 1904. In the case of Germany the highly centralised, autocratic form of the Government lent itself readily to intensive trade promotion, and the ground-work was soon laid for the close collaboration of State railways, banks and shipping agencies under the firm control and direction of the imperial ministries in the development of a programme of commercial aggrandisement overseas.

GROWTH OF FOREIGN INVESTMENTS

One of the significant factors of this promotive period of the new commercial era was the extraordinary expansion of foreign investments which are perhaps the most potent determinant of the direction and extent of large-unit operations in international trade. In 1895 the British had invested overseas approximately 1,600 million pounds sterling. By 1909 this had risen to 2,332 million pounds, and by 1914 it stood at 4,200 million. German investments outside of Europe have been estimated at approximately 16,000 million marks in 1905. By 1914 the total had risen to 20,700 million marks overseas and 15,600 million marks in Europe, a total of 36,300 million marks placed abroad. The French had likewise extended their interests in foreign countries; in 1880 their total abroad was about 1,600 million francs, whereas in 1914 the total exceeded 40,000 million.

Quite as significant as this extraordinary expansion of the amounts at stake in foreign countries is the location of those interests. In the case of Great Britain over half (53 per cent) was in the New World (mostly in the United States, Canada and Argentina), 16 per cent in Asia, 14 per cent in Africa, 12 per cent in Australasia, and only 5 per cent in Europe. In the case of France, however, considerably more than one-half her total was in Russia, Austria and various smaller European countries, the Balkan States and Turkey. Germany likewise had nearly half of her total foreign investments in 1914 under the jurisdiction of her European neighbours, especially Austria, Russia, Switzerland, Holland and Sweden. The judicious planting of Britain's capital in secure havens remote from Europe's storm centres, gave her a profound advantage which was destined to bear precious fruit in the near future.

INCREASE OF WORLD COMMERCE

These were but a few of the many contributing factors centring about and explaining the unusual growth of trade during the years leading up to the World War. Prior to 1900 the aggregate commerce of the world had been increasing after 1850 at the rate of approximately 3 thousand million dollars a decade. In 1850 the total was roughly 4 thousand millions, and at successive decades thereafter the figures were about 7, 10.6, 14.7, 17.5, and in 1900 about 20.1 thousand million dollars. Between 1900 and 1910, however, the advance was not 3 thousand millions, but 13.5 thousand millions, and in 1913 the total was 40.5 thousand millions. Some of these amazing increases from 1900 to 1913 were due, of course, to the increase of prices, which by 1910 were about two-thirds above those of 1896, but even if we make allowances for this factor, it is quite evident that international commerce in this crucial period took on an entirely different aspect from that which characterised it in previous decades. Instead of the *per capita* world trade

of $11.80 in 1890, Day estimated the *per capita* total at $24.50 on the eve of the World War. In a score of years the stake of every inhabitant on the globe in international commerce had more than doubled.

The following table of the trade of 37 countries for the calendar years 1900, 1913, 1921 and 1922 throws some light upon the distribution of this much sought for prize.

These figures bring out some interesting aspects of the competitive situation. At the opening of the century the United Kingdom had the largest share of the total with 22 per cent. In fact, her supremacy was by no means in danger; her rivals were far behind and closely grouped, Germany having 13 per cent, the United States 12, France 9, and the Netherlands 8 per cent. Another group comprises most of the rest of the world and was likewise far behind the preceding one, having in no case more than 3 per cent of the total in the hands of any one nation.

PREËMINENCE OF GREAT BRITAIN

By 1913 there had been an extraordinary expansion of the total commerce of each of the great rivals, but their relative positions and respective shares were not altered. The United Kingdom and France lost slightly in percentages, retaining 19 and 8, respectively, while Germany rose to 14, the United States remained at 12 and the Netherlands at 8. In other words, the gains were fairly evenly distributed, and the hectic diplomatic and political struggle of the years 1900–1913 seem to have brought ample awards to all.

Averaging the trade of each of the five leading rivals during the two decades 1891–1900 and 1901–1910, brings out emphatically the relative gain made by Germany. Britain's average annual total in the former decade was about 3,900 million dollars, which was increased to an average of 4,200 in the second period, a gain of 7.6 per cent. Germany, on the other hand, gained 63.5 per cent, having raised her annual average from about 2,000 million dollars during 1891–1900 to 3,270 during 1901–1910. The United States increased its annual average from 1,830 to 2,840 millions during the same period, or 55.1 per cent. The French gain was from 1,545 to 3,060 millions (98.7 per cent) — an impressive evidence of her economic recovery from the defeat of 1870–1871 — and the Dutch from about 1,200 to 1,850 millions (52 per cent). In other words, all of Britain's rivals were going forward far more rapidly than she, though none was yet threatening her preëminence.

NOTABLE INCREASE OF AMERICAN EXPORTS

A striking feature of the American advance was the notable increase in exports, which rose from 943 million dollars in 1896 to 2,537 millions in 1913. The significance of this nearly three-fold expansion lies particularly in its connection with the balance of trade. For the twenty years prior to 1896 the excess of exports over imports had averaged but 113 million dollars, but the "favourable" balance for 1896–1914 averaged 487 millions, a more than four-fold increase. This excess can not be accounted for simply by the new drive for export trade on the part of American firms. The so-called invisible factors in international trade balances must be borne in mind, especially the payment of interest charges on foreign capital invested in the United States, the expenditures of American tourists abroad, and the remittances of immigrants resident in the United States to their home lands. Each of these elements took on an extraordinary activity during the twenty years just before the outbreak of the World War.

IMPORTS, EXPORTS, AND TOTAL FOREIGN TRADE OF 37 COUNTRIES FOR THE CALENDAR YEARS 1900, 1913, 1921 AND 1922, IN MILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

Prepared by J. J. Kral and Walter Asmuth, U.S. Dept. of Commerce.

Countries	Imports				Exports				Total Foreign Trade							
									1900		1913		1921		1922	
	1900	1913	1921	1922	1900	1913	1921	1922	Per cent of total	Value	Per cent of total	Value	Per cent of total	Value	Per cent of total	Value
America:																
United States	$850	$1793	$2509	$3113	$1394	$2484	$4485	$3832	12	$2244	12	$4277	18	$6994	18	$6944
Canada	173	660	715	751	162	461	733	888	2	335	3	1120	4	1447	4	1640
Central America	....	47	61	55	...	48	45	49	...	....	...	95	...	106	...	104
Cuba	72	140	356	....	45	165	278	....	1	117	1	305	2	634	...	....
Dominican Republic	....	9	25	14	....	10	21	15	...	....	...	20	...	45	...	30
Mexico	61	....	....	....	37	....	....	....	1	98	...	....	...	....	...	....
Argentina	110	479	547	....	149	501	510	....	1	259	3	980	3	1057	...	....
Brazil	84	327	227	214	182	319	222	298	1	266	2	645	1	449	1	512
Chile	47	120	106	79	61	145	124	110	1	108	1	265	1	230	...	189
Peru	11	30	63	41	22	44	62	73	...	33	...	74	...	125	...	117
Uruguay	25	52	65	65	30	71	53	62	...	55	...	123	...	118	...	127
Europe:																
Austria	344	....	344	322	394	....	183	212	4	738	...	....	1	527	1	534
Belgium	428	895	760	710	371	701	541	467	4	799	4	1596	3	1301	3	1178
Czechoslovakia	....	....	282	294	....	....	344	421	...	....	...	....	2	626	2	714
Denmark	112	229	302	315	76	193	278	256	1	188	1	423	2	580	1	572
Finland	52	96	74	87	38	78	61	98	...	90	...	174	...	135	...	185
France	907	1625	1636	1935	793	1328	1473	1738	9	1700	8	2953	8	3109	9	3673
Germany	1372	2563	[a] 1063	1476	1098	2403	[a] 858	945	13	2470	14	4966	5	[a] 1921	6	2421
Greece	25	34	99	87	20	23	50	68	...	45	...	57	...	149	...	155
Italy	328	704	743	751	258	485	356	444	3	586	3	1188	3	1099	3	1195
Latvia	....	....	14	21	....	....	6	17	...	....	...	....	...	19	...	38
Netherlands	784	1569	754	780	680	1232	459	471	8	1464	8	2801	3	1213	3	1251
Spain	140	235	377	470	115	190	209	224	1	255	1	425	2	586	2	694
Sweden	141	227	285	305	105	219	247	305	1	246	1	446	1	532	2	610
Switzerland	206	359	389	358	160	265	306	322	2	366	2	624	2	694	2	680
United Kingdom	2546	3741	4187	4453	1725	3089	3123	3649	22	4271	19	6830	19	7311	20	8103
Asia:																
British India	244	584	735	696	354	797	596	844	3	598	4	1382	4	1331	4	1539
China	156	427	709	799	126	306	478	561	1	282	2	733	3	1187	3	1361
Japan	143	364	779	902	102	315	604	783	1	245	2	679	4	1383	4	1686
Siam	13	31	61	63	15	43	71	67	...	28	...	75	...	131	...	130
Straits Settlements	153	258	271	309	128	212	236	290	1	281	1	470	1	507	2	599
Other:																
Australia	196	381	462	541	153	360	475	550	2	349	2	741	2	938	3	1091
New Zealand	50	105	165	155	57	104	170	186	1	107	1	209	1	335	1	341
Algeria	60	129	134	164	44	97	102	113	1	104	1	226	1	235	1	277
Egypt	70	138	220	198	83	159	170	235	1	153	1	296	1	390	1	433
Morocco, French	....	38	56	51	....	8	19	17	...	....	...	46	...	75	...	67
Union of South Africa	112	187	201	213	40	141	108	137	1	152	1	328	1	309	1	350
Total, 37 Countries	$10,015	$18,576	$19,776	$20,787	$9017	$16,996	$18,056	$18,747	100	$19,032	100	$35,572	100	$37,832	100	$39,534

[a] Estimates based on trade for eight months.

For example, it has been reliably estimated that during those two decades the foreign investments in the United States requiring interest payments abroad increased from 2,500 million dollars to 4,500 millions. The number of American tourists going to Europe had increased from about 93,000 in 1898 to 287,000 in 1913. Immigrant remittances were estimated at approximately 200 million dollars in 1907. There were also heavy outgoing contributions in the shape of freight payments to foreign shipping which carried the bulk of American overseas commerce. All of these factors contributed heavily to the amazing increase in American obligations to Europe which could only be settled by greatly enlarged exportations of merchandise.

Domestic depressions and consequent lowering of wages and prices shortly before 1896 also gave power to this export drive of unprecedented vigour, which included all forms of commodities, both fabricated and raw, with manufactured and partly manufactured merchandise making the most impressive gains. These two latter categories represented about 23 per cent of America's exports in 1894, whereas by 1913 their share had risen to nearly 49 per cent. This was the period of alarm throughout Europe regarding the "Yankee invasion."

INCREASE OF PROTECTIVE TARIFF

As an important consequence there was erected, in 1906 and after, a series of protective tariff barriers on the Continent, in which policy Germany took the lead. The Continent was soon covered with a maze of international commercial understandings, the outcome of "bargainings" in tariff privileges, involving Belgium, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Italy, Rumania, Serbia and Switzerland. Great Britain, in accordance with her long-established free-trade policy, undertook to modify this situation because of its reaction upon her exports, and concluded a number of "liberalising" commercial treaties, of which those with Bulgaria and Rumania were outstanding examples.

Britain was not altogether immune, however, to this general protective tendency and gradually evolved a programme of imperial preference intending to favour the products of the empire as against those of her rivals. This had had its beginning with the Colonial Conference in London in 1887; the Jubilee gathering of colonial delegates in 1897 gave it additional impulse, followed somewhat tardily by further isolated experiments, such as the Trinidad preference rates for Canadian flour. It was not, however, until the fiery furnace of the World War had welded those firm bonds among the units of the empire in their battles against common dangers and for common interests that the policy of imperial preference was given specially serious consideration.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BRITISH TRADE

In general the change in British foreign trade during this pre-war period was one of activity rather than of basic character. Exports which had approximately doubled in value during the decade just before the war, consisted as previously of nearly 80 per cent wholly or partly manufactured commodities, the outstanding non-fabricated item being coal, which normally amounted to 10 per cent of the total. The leading item of exports in the pre-war years was, of course, cotton cloth, which was at the close of the period in question being shipped at the rate of more than 7,000 million yards a year. Iron and steel products, machinery and woollens were the other more important wares in the export list.

Foodstuffs (imports of which had increased about 50 per cent between 1900 and 1913) made up the great bulk of imports; in fact their very bulk

has been a vital contribution to the strength of England's export activities. Ships must be sent to the great food centres, and the only bulky, space-consuming export has been coal. The consequent low outward-bound freight rates for fabricated goods have been a vital factor in England's successful marketing abroad.

Markets for British exports were distributed as they had been for many decades — about 40 per cent to the continent of Europe, 23 per cent to British dependencies, and 18 per cent to the United States. No more emphatic statement could be made on Britain's stake in the peace of Europe than those brief figures, which are doubly significant when it is recalled that nearly 80 per cent of England's total trade is carried on beyond her shores.

There had been a temporary check to the relative progress of British exporting, as compared with that of her rivals during the period 1890–1900. In that time her leading customers were enlarging their total purchases by over 10 per cent, whereas Britain's sales to them had been increased by only four per cent according to Clive Day. Between 1900 and 1914, however, there was a decided recovery of her sales totals in all of her leading markets, excepting certain parts of eastern Europe, but even so, the situation was not altogether encouraging in some of the more intensively competitive areas. During the generation 1880 to 1910 she multiplied her sales totals to Japan four-fold, but in the meantime Germany had increased her sales in the same region 12 times, and the United States had multiplied hers by 16. This meant that the percentage of total Japanese imports which came from the United Kingdom had stood at 42 per cent in the decade 1880–1890, and had fallen to about 21 per cent during 1900 to 1910, according to Day's figures. The United States on the other hand had doubled her share of Japan's trade which increased from 8.9 to 17 per cent, and Germany likewise increased her portion from about 7 to 9.3 per cent.

A similar situation was developing in the highly competitive markets of South America, where the gradual rise of German and American sales, though less impressive than in Japan, was developing the same encroachment upon Britain's share in the trade. In Peru, for example, the sales by the United Kingdom amounted to about 47 per cent of the total imports in 1900, whereas her share was about 26 per cent in 1913; meanwhile the American portion had risen from 8.5 per cent to 30 per cent during the same period, and the German from 15 to 17.

In Chile the British portion of import trade fell from about 40 per cent in 1902 to 30 per cent in 1913, whereas the American share rose during the same years from 10 to 17 per cent and the German share was more or less stationary at 24 per cent. In Brazil it was Germany that made the outstanding gain, for she increased her portion from 9 to 18 per cent during 1901–1913, whereas Britain fell from 31 to 24 and the United States made a slight gain from 12 to 15. In the Argentine the rivalry was much closer; Britain's two opponents made but slight gains at her expense. Her share in 1900 was 34 per cent and in 1913 it was 31 per cent. Meanwhile the American portion rose from 12 to 15 and the German from 14 to 16.

It should be emphasised that this did not mean necessarily a setback to the general growth of British export which was increasing steadily in value throughout this period. The notable fact was the relatively more rapid progress made by German and American sales. This was due to a number of circumstances, primarily perhaps to the newness and consequent greater elasticity or adjustability of the industries in the two latter countries, their readiness to respond to the extraordinarily rapid transformations in conditions abroad, and their relief from hindrances of accumulated industrial traditions and older commercial practices. The long-standing con-

servatism of British industrial organisations made their progress in the newly opened markets of Asia, South America and Africa unusually difficult in the face of the strenuous competition which confronted them.

REMARKABLE TRANSFORMATION OF GERMANY

The extraordinary development of Germany as an industrial nation is clearly indicated by the changes in her international trade in the years before the war. From a country chiefly agricultural and able to feed herself she changed within two or three decades to an industrial producer of many important articles for world consumption, consequently increasing enormously her purchases of raw materials from other lands. In 1870 about 65 per cent of the German wage-earners were engaged in agriculture. By the outbreak of the war the proportion had fallen to 25 per cent. For 30 years after the Franco-Prussian War of 1870–1871 her imports fluctuated in the vicinity of one billion dollars, then suddenly shot forward and by 1913 totalled 2,700 millions. They were made up of three great groups in the main — metals, fibres (notably cotton), and foodstuffs and were drawn largely from the United States, Russia and Great Britain. France also supplied her neighbour with large quantities of partly finished goods. By 1913 only one-eighth of Germany's total imports were in the form of finished manufactures, an indication of the advancement of her industries.

Her exports increased with astonishing rapidity during the period just before the war, valued at 1,200 million dollars in 1900, and 2,500 millions in 1913. They consisted of all manner of finished products, especially iron and steel wares, electrical supplies, chemicals and toys. In fact, only about 20 per cent of her total exports consisted of raw materials. There was a notable tendency toward distribution through near-by intermediaries, such as Holland, Switzerland and the United Kingdom.

In fact, one of the outstanding characteristics of German export trade before the war was her use of the distributive machinery of her competitors, pending the development of her own marketing organisations. She capitalised this opportunity of learning the methods of overseas merchandising until, during the years immediately before the war, she was actually in a position to act as distributor for some of her rivals, in many highly competitive markets. For example, the hardware sold in Mexico in 1905–1913 was largely American according to Mexican statistics, but it was distributed almost entirely through German hands and German agencies, and in many cases as German merchandise. The same was true of the jewelry trade in Cuba and much of the small-wares trade in the Far East and South America.

As indicated above, she was making rapid headway in such rich markets as Japan and the larger South American countries at the expense of the United Kingdom, though her advance was in most cases not as rapid as that of the United States.

GERMAN FOREIGN COMMERCE AT EXPENSE OF HOME TRADE

A striking feature of Germany's commercial development during this period was the fervid subjection of domestic commercial interests to the purposes of overseas trade conquests at whatever costs. Almost literally, her autocracy demanded of the country the wholesale devotion of resources, shipping, finance, and manufacturing to the single object of building overnight an enormous structure of commercial power in foreign markets. The highly integrated "cartels" or combines, the interlocking directorates of

banks, factories, steamship lines; the indirect Government subsidies to shipping and low freight rates for export traffic on Government railways; the close relationships between trade associations, engineering societies, trade periodicals, and imperial trade and finance ministries — all of these factors contributed directly to the one purpose of "Weltmacht" (world-might) in the field of trade.

The very haste with which this edifice was erected, however, caused the first evidences of its weakness even before the World War. Wholesale extensions of long credit and extravagant policies in general laid German agents and distributing organisations open to serious embarrassments from the first unfavourable situation which might arise. When the stringency of 1907–1908 arose, and especially when the Balkan Wars of 1912–1913 sounded the first rumbling preludes to more pretentious storms, the German over-extensions began to have disastrous effects and there was clearly discernible a slackening in German export trade just before the great conflict began in the summer of 1914.

As indicated above, this intensive German drive for foreign markets was accompanied by the establishment of protective tariffs with a view to holding the home trade as well. In general there was a decided increase of import duties on foodstuffs in behalf of the great landowners who were in control of the Government. During the tariff revisions of 1902 and after, there was a continued recognition of the privileged position of the agrarian classes. This policy was having its effect upon prices of foodstuffs and the labour standards. One of the real purposes of the tariff of 1902 was evidently to provide bargaining material for negotiations with neighbouring countries in behalf of a rapidly increasing German export. The series of commercial treaties inaugurated in 1906 establishing new bases of trade between Germany and each of her more important European markets, were the direct outcome of this policy and undoubtedly contributed to the international restlessness and anxiety as to what the future might hold in the face of such aggressive pressure.

SLOW GROWTH OF FRENCH COMMERCE

The commercial advance of France during the last pre-war decade was less spectacular than that of the other great antagonists in the struggle. She had substantially recovered from the defeat of 1870–1871 by the close of the century. There had been a 72 per cent increase in value of her total foreign trade from 1900 to 1913, but with allowances made for price increases in that time, this would show only a small actual increase in volume. Her trade balance during this period had shown a very slight excess of imports over exports varying from 12 to 15 per cent, a normal situation for a creditor country of her status. After the recovery of the country from the Franco-Prussian War there had been a more or less spasmodic attempt on the part of the Government to build up overseas trade. The frequency with which France appeared in the various international crises of 1900–1913 was an indication of her anxiety to establish a foothold in Asiatic and African markets. In the main, however, her colonial enterprises have not brought forth much trade, and the form of subsidy policy which she adopted for her merchant marine proved costly and unproductive. Nearly 42 per cent of the total French shipping in 1913 was made up of sailing craft and therefore far from capable of competing with her great rivals. Here and there in the world trade-map she had established a modest foothold largely because of her consumption of raw materials emanating from the given district, such as Haitian coffee, Ecuadorian cacao, Uruguayan wool, etc.

COMMERCIAL AND ECONOMIC EVENTS POINT TO WORLD WAR

These general observations of the situation of the major commercial nations before 1914 have been made more extensive primarily because of the significant light which they throw upon subsequent events. It has been the custom all too frequently in viewing the situation of world commerce in recent years, to regard the great upheaval of 1914–1918 as a sudden and totally unexpected phenomenon. As a matter of fact, even so cursory a survey of the pre-war commercial and economic events as has been attempted in the preceding pages seems to point directly to the culmination of those deep-seated antagonisms which were daily becoming more clearly manifested in every part of the world.

To many contemporaries this astonishing expansion of trade throughout the world from 1895 or thereabouts to 1914, as recorded above, inspired only complacent optimism as to the mutually helpful stimulus of international trade rivalries and the indefinite continuance of the era of bounteous plenty and mounting trade totals. A characteristic comment was one from an observer in 1911, who remarked benignly, after describing the race for commercial primacy, that "commerce will have many centres, and one may relatively rise or relatively fall; but such decay and ruin as have smitten many once proud seats of wealth into the dust can not again occur without such cataclysms of war, violence and disorder as the growing civilisation and reason of mankind and the power of law, right and common interest forbid us to anticipate." Three short years thereafter the most devastating cataclysm of all time swept down upon the world.

COMMERCE DURING THE WORLD WAR

The commercial history of 1914–1918 can obviously not be examined as an isolated stage in the normal economic development of the world. It is on the contrary a most extraordinary, abnormal phenomenon having its roots far in the past and casting a shadow across the economic future for many decades and generations to come. It would be out of place here to endeavour to analyse at length the basic motives of that great struggle from an economic point of view, though there can be no doubt that the complete subjection of the Central Powers to the principle of autocratic direction and the domination of the State over the economic affairs of the people was among the most influential contributing factors. The war period proper was marked by such complete distortion of trade currents, monetary values, shipping conditions, industry and especially of statistical data that any detailed analysis of it in this brief space would be quite futile. One can only make the most general observations as to the major commercial episodes of this period of furious turmoil.

AMAZING INCREASE OF AMERICAN TRADE

The United States, because of its relatively detached position, naturally enjoyed an advantage as a source of supply both for the European contestants in the opening years of the struggle and for the openings created in the Latin-American and Asiatic markets by the curtailment of European activities as a buyer or seller.

In connection with the latter point, however, it should be carefully pointed out that the amazing increase of American exports during this period does not by any means indicate necessarily the displacement of European

commodities in competitive markets of Asia and the New World. In many important instances there was on the contrary a marked development of new trade in commodities hitherto unknown in any quantities in the markets involved. For example, in Latin America heavy trade was built up in such wares as low-priced automobiles, motion-picture films, labour-saving machinery, ready-made clothing, and other articles which had not been sold on a large scale in that region before 1914 either by the United States or by any of her European competitors. Gains made by the United States were large but were made in the main at no great expense to the United Kingdom, Germany and France, whose opportunities to return to these markets along pre-war lines were in very few cases preëmpted or even threatened. In some few instances there was involved a transfer of business to the United States from Austria, Italy, Spain or some of the other lesser European commercial nations. For that reason the fact that the American share of Argentine imports during the war period, which rose from 13 per cent to 34 per cent while Germany's pre-war 17 per cent share disappeared, is by no means proof of the direct transfer from the latter to the former, even though in some few cases there was a temporary substitution of American for German merchandise.

In general, American sales abroad rose at a totally unprecedented rate, climbing rapidly from about 2,329 million dollars in 1914 to 6,227 million dollars in 1917, with a slight sagging to 5,838 million dollars in 1918. Inflated values and very heavy shipments of war supplies account largely for these figures, but even so there was a general increase of quantity movements of undreamed-of proportions. Fabricated and partly finished goods formed much the largest part of this movement, reaching a high point of 66 per cent of the total in 1917. Europe's share in this great movement was, of course, as in pre-war years by far the greater part, averaging 67 per cent of the total throughout the war period. The proportion of exports going to Canada, Mexico and the West Indies was roughly about the same as that taken by these areas during the pre-war decade, namely 19 per cent. South America likewise absorbed about the same proportion as the pre-war years, slightly more than four per cent; while Asia's share was about seven per cent, the only increase over the pre-war decade, when her portion was in the vicinity of slightly more than five per cent.

Imports were, of course, correspondingly stimulated and rose to heights which would have been impossible at least for a decade in the course of normal development. The climb was steady from 1,893 million dollars in 1914 to 2,945 million dollars in 1918. As would be anticipated, the proportion of raw materials for use in manufacturing rose steadily from 33 per cent in 1914 to 43 per cent in 1916, sagging slightly to 41.7 per cent in 1917 and 1918. The notable feature of imports was the rapid and inevitable decline of the share contributed by Europe, which in pre-war years had provided one-half of the total, whereas at the close of the war it was contributing only about 14 per cent. Many lines of European luxuries and specialities disappeared altogether from American markets. On the other hand, a tremendous intake of raw materials from Latin America and the Far East — minerals, metals, fibres, oils, rubber — was inevitable in order to supply lifeblood to the huge expansion of industry.

CHANGE IN TRADE ROUTES

An outstanding development of this time was the shift in the trade routes for ordinary raw materials, many of which had hitherto been reaching the

American factories by way of European distributors. By the end of the war Boston had supplanted London as a centre for American purchases of wool and hides. Rubber, vegetable oils, and tin were being brought directly from the Far East and South America to the United States instead of by way of Europe. This was also the case with cacao, dyewoods, furs and numerous other commodities which had once passed through the hands of European intermediaries before reaching their American destination. The significance of this shift is impressively indicated in the extraordinary rise in the values of northbound commodity movements to the United States. The average annual imports to the United States from Latin America during 1910–1914 were valued at 435 millions, but by the peak year, 1920, this had increased to the astounding total of 1,809 millions, a more than four-fold gain.

Furthermore, the elimination of trade contacts between the United States and the Central Powers resulted in the stimulation of a series of native industries, especially in chemicals, glass, certain lines of textiles, surgical instruments, hardware, etc., which took deep root, owing to the prolonged struggle, and were given further sustenance by the protective tariff which went into effect in September, 1922.

THE UNITED STATES BECOMES A CREDITOR NATION

One of the most important transformations in connection with the war-time commercial position of the United States was its shift from a debtor to a creditor country. This was due not merely to the advancement of nearly 10,000 million dollars to warring Governments. It was due also to transfer of ownership of vast quantities of American securities from Europe to the United States in the course of the prosperity of the American enterprises which were involved. The economically new areas in Latin America and the Far East, which had hitherto been turning to Europe for capital, now sought the aid of the United States. American investments in Latin America had totalled about $1,250,000,000 in 1913. By the close of the war this sum had exceeded three thousand million dollars, and by 1923 the total was well over four thousand million.

A further factor of this change in the trade balance was the increase in the building of new American shipping. In 1914 about a million gross tons of American shipping were employed in foreign trade; within six years the amount had been multiplied by ten. The creation of this great fleet, aside from its effect in stimulating interest in foreign trade, brought down further the American indebtedness to foreign shipping, thereby curtailing materially one important item in the "invisible" factors of the American trade balance on the debit side.

BRITISH TRADE DURING THE WORLD WAR

British trade during the war likewise underwent a series of abnormal transformations. Exports all fell materially in quantities, though they held their own in value, owing to inflated prices. In the case of the very important reëxport business of commodities passing in transit through the United Kingdom, it may be noted that their total fell from 95 million sterling in 1914 to 31 million in 1918, a significant indication of the shifts of raw material trade routes mentioned above. Exports of domestic merchandise rose slightly in value during the war period, climbing from 431 million in 1914 to 501 million in 1918. The great change, of course, was the expansion of import trade which climbed from 697 million in 1914 to 1,316 million in 1918. It should be mentioned, however, that these figures do not include the

heavy movements of war supplies and other Government property. A further factor of serious consequence was the limitation placed upon Britain's ability to pay for imports with service. Her shipping was, of course, greatly curtailed. Her financial and insuring institutions were likewise hampered, and the curtailment of her exports because of the devotion of her industrial strength to the grim business of war brought about a difficult and embarrassing situation. In general, however, the character and destination of exports as well as the nature and source of imports remained about the same as in pre-war years in spite of the above-mentioned restriction in activities. The only exception to this situation was, of course, the elimination of the Central Powers and Belgium as a source of imports and the considerable increase in the shipment of supplies to France for French industries.

In England as in the United States, there arose a series of war-born industries, notably those replacing commodities once brought from Germany and, as in the case of America, a strenuous effort was made in the United Kingdom immediately after the war to foster these "key industries." The Safeguarding of Industries Act of October, 1921, granted import duties of 33 1/3 per cent *ad valorem* to over 2,500 commodities.

FRENCH GAINS AND LOSSES

The most notable effect of the war period upon French trade, aside from the obvious cessation of her relations with the enemy countries and Belgium, involving about 13 per cent of her imports and a lesser fraction of her exports, was that these losses were more than compensated by the considerable stimulation of commerce with Italy, and especially with Great Britain and the United States. She made only moderate improvement in her Asiatic and Latin-American commercial exchanges. The gains which came to her at the close of the war brought considerable economic advantages, including the Lorraine iron beds, the coal of the Saar basin, and subsequently the invaluable industrial establishments secured in the occupation of the Ruhr.

GERMANY'S TREMENDOUS LOSSES

Germany to all intents and purposes was isolated by the war, save for her traffic with neighbouring neutrals in relatively minor quantities. There was, therefore, scant compensation for her from the commercial point of view during the period of hostilities. The conflict inspired the establishing of numerous new industries, but the lack of essential native raw materials made any considerable progress along this line, excepting possibly in the development of atmospheric nitrogen, almost impossible. The tremendous pressure of the war did give impulse to efforts in standardised mass production along lines quite unknown in Germany before 1914. Some evidences of the results of these efforts are observable in the lines of Germany's post-war export activities. It remains to be seen, however, whether this development of standardised industry can survive without the stimulus of labour shortage, which has given such force to the movement in the United States.

Furthermore, the destruction of the old autocratic order has had a serious effect on the commercial and industrial psychology of the people. The vital part played during the pre-war years by the imperialistic *régime* with its firm grip upon the closely knit, carefully tended German commercial machine would make any sudden transformation of authority serious. The complete alteration of the whole system of government cannot but react upon the commercial efforts of the people for some time to come.

INTERNATIONAL COMMERCE OF THE UNITED STATES SINCE THE WAR

The war-time trebling of American export values, the peak of the post-war boom in 1919–1920, the slump in 1921, and the gradual recovery in 1922, are clearly brought out in the following table which presents a vivid picture of the bewildering transformation of American commerce during and after the World War.

YEARLY TOTAL FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES
(U.S. Commerce Yearbook)

YEAR	MILLIONS OF DOLLARS				
	Exports, domestic and foreign	Imports, total	Total exports and imports	Excess of exports	PER CENT IMPORTS ARE OF EXPORTS
1910–1914 (Yearly average)	2,166	1,689	3,855	477	78.0
1913	2,484	1,793	4,277	691	72.2
1914	2,114	1,789	3,903	325	84.6
1915	3,555	1,779	5,334	1,776	50.1
1916	5,482	2,392	7,874	3,090	43.6
1917	6,233	2,952	9,185	3,281	47.3
1918	6,149	3,031	7,180	3,118	49.3
1919	7,920	3,904	11,825	4,016	49.3
1920	8,228	5,278	13,506	2,950	64.2
1921	4,485	2,509	6,994	1,976	55.9
1922	3,832	3,113	6,945	719	81.2
1923	4,164	3,789	7,953	375	90.9

This astonishing increase in the values of America's foreign trade altered materially her relative position with regard to the rankings of her leading rivals. It will be recalled (see table, page 609) that in 1913 the share of the United States in the total trade of the world was approximately 12 per cent, placing her below the United Kingdom (19), and Germany (14), and somewhat ahead of France (8). The 1922 rates, however, showed the United States advancing far more rapidly than any of her rivals, having attained about 18 per cent of the world's total as her quota, while the United Kingdom held 20 per cent, France 9 and Germany 6.

American exports in 1922 exceeded the average of the five pre-war years by 77 per cent in value, while imports were 84 per cent above the corresponding pre-war average. During 1923 these percentages rose to 83 and 124 respectively. Even after changing price levels are taken into account, there is still a noticeable increase in the volume of American foreign trade.

One interesting illustration of the effect of the war upon the international commerce of the United States is found by projecting the rate of its expansion during 1901–1913 down to 1922. Taking those thirteen pre-war years as a base period, a computation of the "normal growth" of American foreign trade would have given exports in 1922 amounting to slightly more than 3,000 million dollars, as compared with actual figure of $3,832,000,000, and imports of about $2,455.000,000 against the actual total of $3,113,000,000. In other words the actual 1922 trade value was about 25 per cent in excess of what would have been achieved at the "normal" rate of increase.

It should be borne in mind, of course, that price increases during and

after the war were much more rapid than during 1901–1913. As is pointed out in the *Commerce Yearbook*, however, "while this would tend to increase the normal rate of growth in value, the lower rate of increase in population since the beginning of the war and demoralised conditions in Europe are influences in the opposite direction." This comparison may, therefore, be taken as an indication of the increasingly rapid expansion of American overseas commerce.

RAPID CHANGES IN PROPORTIONS OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS

Another important consideration in connection with American trade has been the shift in its balance. During 1910–1914 imports averaged about 78 per cent of exports. Their ratio during the war fell below 50 per cent, primarily because of the tremendous exports to Europe. In 1920 there was a recovery of this import percentage to 64, and by 1922 it had risen to 81.

The gradual recovery of production in Europe, the consequent slowing up of the supply movement from the United States for reconstruction purposes, and the improvement of domestic conditions in the United States all tended to weaken American export, or at least to bring it down from its post-war boom pinnacle.

This balance between exports and imports in 1922 is worthy of comment. The percentage of excess of exports over imports that year was the lowest since 1896, with the single exception of the year 1910. During the first half of 1923, the balance was actually reversed, and imports exceeded exports by over 140 million dollars, an interesting phenomenon which has caused considerable speculation as to its relationship with the change in the position of the United States from a debtor to a creditor nation. One important accompaniment of this has been the heavy inflow of gold, which in 1910–1914 had approached 60 millions a year, whereas in 1920, 1921 and 1922 the amounts have been 417, 691 and 275 millions respectively.

An excess of American imports will stimulate ultimately a renewal of the outward flow of gold, but this will probably not take place until there is a more widespread return to the gold standard in foreign countries.

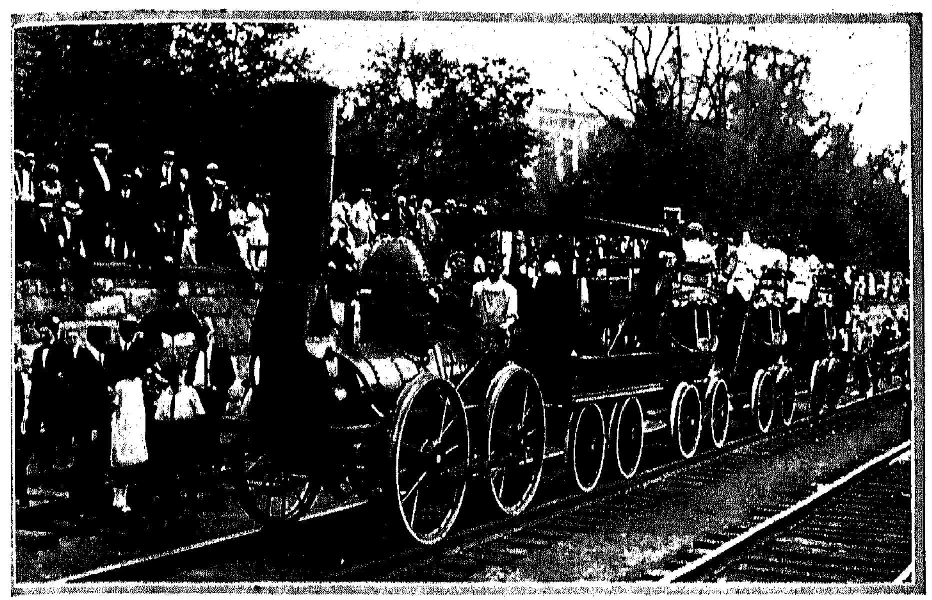
The post-war position of the American trade balance is significant. During the seven years, 1908–1914, the excess of exports normally averaged about 430 millions a year. During a like period, from 1915 to 1921, inclusive, the annual average was over $2,700,000,000, a more than six-fold increase. This astonishing intensification of the so-called "favourable" balance must however be carefully checked against developments in connection with important "invisible" items. Chief among these were advances of nearly 10,000 million dollars to the Allies, the investment by Americans of about 3,000 million dollars in foreign securities since 1915, and of 2,000 million in American securities previously held in Europe. There have also been heavy increases in immigrant remittances and American tourist expenditures in Europe during the post-war boom, the latter item being estimated at 200 millions in 1921 and 360 millions in 1923. Another notable feature has been the heavy increase since the war in the investment of American capital in foreign enterprises—power plants in Italy, telephone systems in Latin-America, wireless establishments in the Far East, etc. An analysis of the American trade balance in 1922 by the Department of Commerce shows in fact that the "favourable" character of the commodity interchange is more than offset by these large invisible factors, and that there was a notable debit balance of a sum of no less than 586 millions at the close of that year.

These shifts on the ledger pages of the country's international trade represented in effect the liquidation of many obligations once held abroad against the United States. They bring out also the rapidly growing American interests in overseas investments in all forms of commercial and industrial enterprises.

FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES, BY COMMERCIAL REGIONS

Region	Average, 1910–1914[1]	1920	1921	1922	Average, 1910–1914[1]	1920	1921	1922
	Exports in millions of dollars				Imports in millions of dollars			
Europe and Mediterranean (total)	**1,357**	**4,551**	**2,409**	**2,113**	**868**	**1,366**	**808**	**1,047**
Western Europe	760	2,784	1,285	1,224	449	727	416	554
Central Europe[2]	430	630	554	441	254	251	177	240
Scandinavia	33	296	110	100	20	75	42	53
Eastern Europe[3]	26	104	52	54	19	8	7	10
Western Mediterranean	99	601	321	246	81	135	97	103
Balkans and Near East[4]	9	136	81	47	44	171	69	88
Latin America (total)	**302**	**1,568**	**802**	**558**	**435**	**1,809**	**713**	**815**
East coast of South America	85	406	183	151	148	470	170	224
West coast of South America	23	119	57	44	36	209	69	84
Caribbean countries of South and Central America	51	188	88	77	40	152	90	82
West Indies	91	647	252	178	141	798	264	293
Mexico	53	208	222	110	70	170	119	132
Northern North America (total)	**320**	**985**	**600**	**583**	**118**	**615**	**338**	**366**
Far East (total)	**166**	**1,039**	**631**	**512**	**262**	**1,440**	**634**	**857**
Eastern Asia	78	573	372	350	125	675	365	507
South-eastern Asia and East Indies other than British	26	163	81	53	29	283	84	97
British East Indies	14	122	65	37	91	401	149	205
Australasia	48	172	113	102	17	80	35	49
Africa, except Mediterranean coast (total)	**21**	**94**	**48**	**35**	**5**	**49**	**17**	**27**
Grand total	**2,166**	**8,228**	**4,485**	**3,832**	**1,689**	**5,278**	**2,509**	**3,113**
	Per cent of total exports				Per cent of total imports			
Europe and Mediterranean (total)	**62.7**	**55.3**	**53.7**	**55.1**	**51.4**	**25.9**	**32.2**	**33.6**
Western Europe	35.1	33.8	28.6	31.9	26.6	13.8	16.6	17.8
Central Europe[2]	19.9	7.7	12.4	11.5	15.0	4.8	7.1	7.7
Scandinavia	1.5	3.6	2.4	2.6	1.2	1.4	1.7	1.7
Eastern Europe[3]	1.2	1.3	1.2	1.4	1.1	.1	.3	.3
Western Mediterranean	4.6	7.3	7.2	6.4	4.8	2.6	3.9	3.3
Balkans and Near East[4]	.4	1.7	1.9	1.2	2.6	3.2	2.7	2.8
Latin America (total)	**14.0**	**19.0**	**17.9**	**14.6**	**25.8**	**34.3**	**28.4**	**26.2**
East coast of South America	3.9	4.9	4.1	3.9	8.8	8.9	6.8	7.2
West coast of South America	1.1	1.4	1.3	1.1	2.1	4.0	2.8	2.7
Caribbean countries of South and Central America	2.3	2.3	2.0	2.0	2.4	2.9	3.6	2.6
West Indies	4.2	7.9	5.6	4.6	8.3	15.1	10.5	9.4
Mexico	2.5	2.5	4.9	2.9	4.2	3.4	4.8	4.2
Northern North America (total)	**14.8**	**12.0**	**13.4**	**15.2**	**7.0**	**11.6**	**13.4**	**11.8**
Far East (total)	**7.7**	**12.5**	**14.1**	**14.1**	**15.5**	**27.3**	**25.3**	**27.5**
Eastern Asia	3.6	7.0	8.3	9.1	7.4	12.8	14.6	16.3
South-eastern Asia and East Indies other than British	1.2	2.0	1.8	1.4	1.7	5.4	3.4	3.1
British East Indies	.7	1.5	1.4	1.0	5.4	7.6	5.9	6.6
Australasia	2.2	2.1	2.5	2.7	1.0	1.5	1.4	1.6
Africa, except Mediterranean coast (total)	**.9**	**1.1**	**.9**	**.9**	**.3**	**.9**	**.7**	**.9**

[1] Fiscal years ending June 30.
[2] Central Europe includes all of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1910–1914.
[3] Part of Poland added from Germany and Austria not included in 1910–1914.
[4] Territory added to Yugoslavia and Rumania from Austro-Hungarian Empire not included in 1910–1914.



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The DeWitt Clinton locomotive on the New York Central Railroad below Riverside Drive after 76 years of inactivity. This train made its first trip in 1831 when it carried passengers from Albany to Schenectady.

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Mr. Percy Rockefeller starting an electric locomotive of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway on its first trip over the Continental Divide. This railway possesses the longest electrified

DISTRIBUTION OF AMERICAN TRADE

The geographical distribution of American foreign trade has been undergoing a number of striking changes since 1914 as is indicated by the table on the preceding page, from the *Commerce Yearbook:*

It is apparent, first of all, that American exports are much less evenly distributed than are the imports. Europe is by far the most important purchaser, though the portion of American exports going to her and the Near East fell from a pre-war average of 62.7 per cent of total exports to about 55 per cent. Nevertheless, this figure is still indicative of the commanding lead of trans-Atlantic markets as against other parts of the world in the demand for American commodities.

It is worth noting that the percentage of exports reaching Latin America had by 1922 arrived at almost exactly the pre-war average, roughly 14 per cent of the total. This was also true of the Canadian and African trade. The one outstanding gain was in the case of Asia, whose share of the total outward-bound traffic from the United States was nearly double, increasing from the pre-war average of 7.7 per cent to more than 14 per cent in 1922.

The import distribution is tending to become more even among the various areas indicated. Before the war, Europe and the Mediterranean supplied over half of the total American purchases abroad, whereas in 1922 the contributions from that area fell to 33.6 per cent. As in the case of the percentage of exports, the purchases from Latin America were reasonably stationary, in the vicinity of 25 per cent, whereas the share supplied by the Far East rose materially, as was the case in the exports to that region; the proportion of imports from trans-Pacific countries having increased from a pre-war average of 15.5 to 27.5 per cent in 1922.

With reference to exports, it may be noted that there are four leading foreign purchasers of American goods, who among them take more than half the total exports of the country, namely the United Kingdom which took 22 per cent of the total in 1922, Canada absorbing 15 per cent, Germany slightly more than eight per cent, and France about seven per cent. Previous to the war, Germany's share was about 14 per cent, and the present tendency of the figures indicates a return to her pre-war position in the very near future. Japan has in recent years been in fifth place, taking 5.7 per cent of the total American exports, as against about two per cent before the war.

This clear-cut ranking of export destinations by no means applies to the import situation. The United Kingdom, Canada and Japan stand at present all approximately as equal contributors to American imports, with about 11.5 per cent in each case. Somewhat behind this leading group come in close order Cuba, India, France, China and Germany, in this succession.

STRIKING ADVANCE IN TRADE WITH ASIA

The striking advance of Asia, both in exports and imports, since 1914, brings out clearly the effect of direct trade relationships between the United States and that continent. Previous to the war, American trade with the Far East, both in exports and imports, was in many important lines handled by way of Europe, whereas there has been since 1915 a rapidly increasing direct, trans-Pacific interchange. This applies not only to east-bound silk, rubber, fibres, vegetable oil, skins, etc., but also to a much more intensive effort on the part of American manufacturers to establish the distribution of American textiles, machinery, automobiles and specialities in Oriental trade centres without recourse to European intermediaries.

The table, p. 620, brings out also the normal excess of imports to the United States from Asia and Latin America over the exports to those regions. This has been especially marked in the case of Asiatic trade, in which the "unfavourable" balance from the American point of view was over 315 millions in 1922, while in the Latin-American traffic the import excess reached 257 millions. This situation illustrates the well-known factor of triangular trade which is one of the striking features of American international commerce — the liquidation of "unfavourable" balances with one area by "favourable" ones elsewhere.

The post-war distribution of American trade by commodity groups stresses certain developments which are worthy of comment:

DISTRIBUTION OF THE FOREIGN TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES BY GREAT GROUPS OF COMMODITIES

(U.S. Department of Commerce)

Groups	Domestic Exports				Imports			
	Average, 1910–1914 [1]	1920	1921	1922	Average, 1910–1914 [1]	1920	1921	1922
	Millions of dollars				Millions of dollars			
Total	**2,130**	**8,080**	**4,379**	**3,765**	**1,689**	**5,278**	**2,509**	**3,113**
Crude material for use in manufacture	705	1,871	984	981	580	1,752	853	1,162
Foodstuffs, crude, and food animals	126	918	692	458	203	578	304	330
Foodstuffs, partly or wholly manufactured	295	1,117	670	588	194	1,238	369	388
Manufactures for further use in manufacturing	342	958	399	438	307	803	344	550
Manufactures ready for consumption	654	3,205	1,626	1,292	389	877	619	664
Miscellaneous	8	12	8	7	15	32	20	19

[1] Fiscal years ending June 30.

INCREASED EXPORTS OF MANUFACTURED ARTICLES

There is evidently an increasing proportion of exported manufactures, which rose to 39.7 per cent. of the total in 1920 as against a pre-war average of 31 per cent. Although there has been a decline in this percentage, it is still in excess of the pre-war portion. Even more striking has been the falling off in the proportion of exported raw materials, which declined from 33 per cent in 1910–1914 to 26.1 per cent in 1922, clearly an indication of greater demand for the country's raw commodities by the expanding manufacturing industries. This is even more clearly indicated in view of the fact that the value of raw material exports as given in the above table includes several leading items, such as cotton, coal and tobacco, which commanded much higher prices than before the war. A further factor in this post-war shipment of raw materials was the temporary elimination of Russia from European grain trade and the consequent increased demand for American foodstuffs. Russia's return to this traffic will further curtail the percentage of raw materials in American export, and will consequently bring out even more definitely the steadily increasing preponderance of fabricated goods in the export trade of the United States.

Nevertheless, there has been a great increase in the absolute values of exported crude foodstuffs, which averaged 126 millions in 1910–1914, whereas

in 1920-1922 inclusive, their average was nearly 700 millions a year. Similarly for exported foodstuffs partly or wholly manufactured, the pre-war average was 295 millions, whereas for the three post-war years the annual average was over 790 millions. Even allowing for a liberal percentage of price increases since 1914, these figures seem clearly to refute the popular belief that European conditions have hampered the export of American farm products.

Correspondingly in the case of imports, there has been a steady increase in the proportion of raw materials demanded from abroad by expanding American industries, and a slight decline in the percentage of manufactures imported. These developments reflect the obvious changes in American industry, partly in response to the increased war-time and post-war demand on the part of Europe for finished products, and the consequent growing raw material requirements for American manufacturing. Import values in 1922 exceeded the annual average of 1910–1914 by 84 per cent.

Analysing the commodity character of the trade in greater detail, it may be noted that about 50 per cent of America's imports and nearly 40 per cent of her exports are made up of textiles and vegetable food products. In fact, textile raw materials constituted both the leading export and leading import wares in raw cotton and raw silk, respectively. Second to these came a group of vegetable food products — grain exports and sugar, coffee and fruit imports. The next category below these is the group of non-metallic minerals and metals, whose expansion on the export side reflects the demand for American petroleum, and on the import side the consumption of the same product from Mexico for refining purposes.

FOREIGN TRADE OF EUROPE, ASIA AND LATIN AMERICA SINCE THE WAR

Viewing the post-war commerce of the world outside the United States, it is evident that the years 1922–1923 have brought a gradual improvement in general economic conditions as against the depression of 1921. The boom of 1919–1920 resulted in an enormous accumulation of stocks, the inevitable result of continued activities on the part of war-inflated industries. In some cases the recovery since the beginning of 1922 has been quite marked, notably in the total of world production of iron and steel, petroleum, and certain lines of textiles. In the main, however, international trade is still "sub-normal", and so far as its quantity is concerned, now stands at about 80 per cent of its pre-war total, as will be explained below. The continued excess of unemployment is still an indication of the prevalence of these sub-normal conditions, notably in the United Kingdom, Scandinavia and Central Europe.

STAGNATION IN SHIPPING

Impressive evidence of the inadequate recovery of the world's commerce is also found in the continued stagnation in international shipping. The world-wide scarcity of cargo has shattered many important steamship "conferences" (rate agreements or understandings), and there has been a widespread scramble for such business as has been obtainable. By the middle of 1923 trip charter rates were down to a figure only nine per cent in excess of the average for 1911–1913. If this figure is compared with the world level of wholesale prices, which now stand roughly at about 60 per cent in excess of pre-war prices, one can readily understand the serious position of the shipping industry, one of the most important elements in the international trade situation.

One of the obvious explanations of this, of course, is the fact that the gross tonnage of steel vessels of 100 tons and over has increased from about 40 million tons in June, 1914, to 56,000,000 in June, 1923. The chief contributor to this gain was the United States, which, as was indicated above, expanded its ocean-going fleet nearly ten-fold in that time. There has also been a striking recovery of German shipping since the war. It comprised only about 600,000 gross tons in June, 1921, whereas by the middle of 1923 the figure was nearly two and one-half million tons. Its formidable competition is made doubly aggressive by the fact that the German merchant fleet is largely equipped with new types of economically operated motors.

RELATIVE STANDING OF THE DIFFERENT NATIONS

Although the total quantity of world trade is below pre-war levels, there have been but a few alterations in the relative positions of the major commercial nations since 1913. As was indicated above, the United States now has about 18 per cent of the world's foreign trade, as against 12 per cent before the war. Germany's portion fell from 14 per cent in 1913 to six in 1922, but she seems to be making progress, having held five per cent in 1921. France has about the same share as in pre-war years, nine per cent.

These four leaders stand by themselves. The group below them in no one case has over four per cent of the total. Among these minor trading nations there have been a few striking changes. Japan has increased her share of the world's total from one or two per cent during 1900–1913 to four per cent in 1922. During the same interval Canada raised her portion from two in 1900 to four in 1922, and Argentina improved hers from one to three. On the other hand, the portion of the Netherlands declined from eight per cent in 1900 to three in 1922.

A comparison of the straight values of total international trade by countries indicates that by 1922 three of them had enlarged their commerce, incoming and outgoing, by more than a thousand million dollars over their totals in 1913.

United States	2,668 million dollars
United Kingdom	1,271 " "
Japan	1,007 " "

Three others have gained between 500 million and a thousand million, France, China and Canada. As is indicated in the table on page 609, several others, including Spain, Sweden, India and Australia, have made minor gains (from 150 to 350 millions) in the actual values of their trade during 1913–1922. Italy and Switzerland show almost the same total trade values in 1922 as in 1913, while the 1922 figures show losses for Belgium (418 millions), the Netherlands (1,550 millions), and Brazil (130 millions).

SURPRISING ADVANCE IN FAR-EASTERN COMMERCE

In those cases where there were gains the percentages of increase of the 1922 totals over pre-war trade show that Japan ranks first, with a gain of nearly 149 per cent over her 1913 total. Other important increases during the period are: China, 85.6 per cent; New Zealand, 63.4 per cent; United States, 62.4 per cent; Australia, 47.2 per cent; Egypt, 46.4 per cent; Canada, 46.4 per cent; Sweden, 37 per cent; Denmark, 35.3 per cent; Straits Settle-

ments, 27.6 per cent; France, 24.4 per cent; United Kingdom, 18.6 per cent; British India, 11.4 per cent.

The striking thing in these figures is the high rating of most of the trans-Pacific countries, every one of which, with the exception of India, stands well up at the head of the list. This surprising advance in the commercial position of Australasia and the Orient will be commented on in detail later on, when each of the important nations of Asia will be considered in detail.

These figures are all in values, however, and represent a number of uncertainties because of currency and price fluctuations. Quantity comparisons are more difficult, but reliable estimates indicate that the volume of the world's trade now stands at about four-fifths of its pre-war quantity total. Available weight tonnage figures for the United Kingdom, Brazil, Belgium, France, Spain and Switzerland for 1922, according to the *Commerce Yearbook* stand at slightly less than 80 per cent of the total for the period preceding the war.

CAUSES OF DECREASE IN WORLD COMMERCE

This indicates the continuance of the sub-normal conditions of world trade, and the margin of recovery which must be overcome before the pre-war quantity levels are attained. It seems hardly necessary to enumerate and analyse at length the causes contributing to this situation. In the main they are bound up closely with the war-time destruction and distortion of the productive and consumptive functions of Europe. Viewing the situation of the non-European countries in the above table, it is brought out that their trade values have increased by more than 50 per cent over their 1913 totals, whereas the European gains have been only 4.4 per cent in value, which in view of price rises represents a considerable falling off in actual quantities of trade. The figure for the Netherlands is the most seriously deficient when compared with 1913 levels, but this was due in part to over-valuations in the last pre-war figures. The falling-off in the cases of Russia and Germany scarcely requires comment. Accurate data on Russian traffic are not at present obtainable, but the weight of total exports and imports for the year 1922 was about 3,700,000 metric tons as compared with 39,454,000 for the year 1913. Movements into and out of Germany during the year 1922 weighed approximately 67,442,000 tons, which was about 45 per cent of the total for the year 1913, the last full year before the war.

CONTINENTAL CHANGES

It may be interesting to review briefly the major changes in trade since 1913 by continental areas. The outstanding feature in this regard, as was indicated above, was the improvement in the trans-Pacific countries. One index of this is the change in their commercial relationships with the United States, which have nearly doubled in intensity since the outbreak of the war. For example, the United States share of the total trade of China was 7.3 per cent in 1913, whereas in 1922 the figure was 16.4 per cent. In the same period the United States portion of Japan's total trade rose from 22.5 per cent to 37.7 per cent. The gains were particularly marked in the proportions of imports supplied to these two oriental countries by the United States. In other words, there has been an aggressive drive for markets for American goods in the oriental areas which has met with marked success, as reflected in the figures for the years indicated.

POSITION OF JAPAN

Japan's total commerce in 1922 was two and one-half times greater in value than in 1913. There are still, however, a number of dubious factors in her commercial situation. Her recovery to a more nearly normal cost of living has been more retarded than in any other non-European country. Financial conditions have been far from favourable, but by resorting to a number of temporary expedients, the authorities have been able to tide over several precarious situations. The destruction wrought by the earthquake of September, 1923, has made necessary further artificial devices of this description. The situation has, however, called forth the most heroic effort on the part of Japanese commercial and industrial leaders who have set themselves to the task of improving the general situation by cutting the cost of living and by improving the general industrial efficiency of the country.

The period of industrialisation which Japan has been passing through during the last two decades has caused the trade of that country to undergo many changes in volume as well as in direction. At the beginning of the present century, Japan exported little except raw silk, tea and potteries, and her imports were very few, consisting for the great part of fully manufactured articles. During this period, the large bulk of her exports have come to the United States. During the war period, Japan was able to extend her activities to Africa, Oceania, and practically monopolise the Far-Eastern trade. Since the reopening of old trade channels, however, she has lost a considerable portion of this trade with the exception of near-by Far-Eastern countries, where she has maintained her hold to a certain extent, particularly in China, which is to-day Japan's second-best customer.

The import trade of Japan during the last two decades has shown several changes. The industrialisation process has caused Japan to import great amounts of machinery as well as raw materials for use in her factories. During 1905, Japan's imports from Great Britain were greater than from the United States or India. In 1913 it had shifted, due to the heavy importation of cotton and machinery, and we find that an equal amount of machinery was being taken from Great Britain and the United States, while imports from India had increased until that country led in supplying Japan's raw cotton wants. During 1922, the United States had improved its position until it was supplying almost half of Japan's total imports, or as much as India and Great Britain put together. Tendencies during 1922 and 1923 have been for Indian cotton to displace American cotton to some extent, and for more machinery to be imported from England. Germany was also until quite recently coming back for her share of Japan's trade.

TREND OF CHINESE TRADE

Despite continual political disturbances starting with the Boxer Rebellion and including the establishment of a republican form of government, China's trade has increased almost five-fold since 1900, two thirds of this increase occurring previous to the World War. Generally speaking, the commodities occupying the forefront in 1900 continue to be the leading factors in China's trade development. Recent years have witnessed the introduction of several new commodities which have resulted from the development of the country and the closer contact maintained with western countries.

For many years prior to 1900 China's exports had always been exceeded

by importations into the country, but the tendency of late years has been to decrease the margin of excess. In 1909 the chief exports of China consisted of silk, tea, oil seeds and products and cereals. The period following was marked by great export expansion and revival of home trade with an increasing development of natural resources, all of which reacted favourably upon commercial prosperity. The decline of tea and silk (still an item of prime importance) and the rise of the soya bean as export items occurred later in the decade.

Opium which in 1900 occupied a prominent position in the import trade has practically disappeared, being superseded by increased importations of kerosene, cotton goods, cigarettes, machinery and foodstuffs. Trade with Japan developed rapidly after the Chino-Japanese War. The growth of industrialisation, accentuated by the World War and resulting in a demand for products relatively new to China, marks China's gradual transition into the industrial stage of economic development as shown by increased purchases of machinery and other similar products.

China's continued commercial advance has brought out once more the well-known fact that her trade and industrial structure seem to stand upon very different ground from that which supports her decidedly unsteady governmental machinery. The political chaos of the country has been practically uninterrupted since 1911 and has wrought havoc with her national finances. Improvement in this regard is still the outstanding need of the country.

Her industrial progress is indicated by the increase in the number of spindles operating in her cotton factories — about a million in 1914 and nearly two million seven hundred thousand in 1922. This advance of China's industrialisation has given some alarm to British and American textile exporters, but it is well to recall the oft-repeated statement that it will be many generations before China's industrial psychology can readjust itself along western lines. Competent observers have often pointed out that in unskilled trades the ratio of efficiency of Chinese labour to white labour is about one to four; and the figure rises as greater skill is required, so that in machine-shops and more intricately organised factories the number of Chinese required varies between ten and fourteen for every white labourer in similar establishments in Caucasian countries. There will obviously be a steady expansion of industrial effort in China, but it will be many decades before this development reaches the proportions of any serious menace to the general commerce of Europe and the United States in the Orient.

Further indications of China's commercial advance are found in the especially improved trade in tea and silk, in which lines her great pre-war customers, namely England, Russia and the United States, have for the first time since 1914 been conspicuously active.

INDIAN TRADE

Great Britain as might be expected controls the Indian trade as a whole, but the keen competition from other countries is eating into her returns. Previous to the war she took most of the exports and returned practically 67 per cent of India's entire import trade. Germany was responsible for seven per cent of the imports into India and purchased 10 per cent of the exports. At that time Japan's share of India's entire foreign trade was less than 6 per cent, while that of the United States was little more than three per cent.

During 1915 the United States and Japan entered the field as competitors

and changed the entire trend of trade with India, with the result that by 1918–1919 the United States was furnishing 10 per cent of the Indian imports and absorbing 14 per cent of the exports, and Japan took 10 per cent exports in return for 14 per cent of the imports.

By 1920 England had reasserted herself in the import field, but India's exports were seeking a wider outlet. Germany also came back with vigour. The following table shows the results in percentages of imports and exports for the competing countries.

PERCENTAGES OF INDIAN IMPORTS FROM AND EXPORTS TO THE LEADING COUNTRIES
(*Merchandise only*)

Imports from	1920–1921	1921–1922	1922–1923
Great Britain	60.0%	57.0%	60.0%
Germany	1.4	2.7	5.0
Japan	7.9	5.1	6.5
United States	10.5	8.1	6.0
Other British Possessions	5.0	9.8	10.0
Other Countries	25.0	17.3	12.5
Exports to			
Great Britain	22.0%	20.0%	19.0%
Germany	3.7	7.1	5.0
Japan	10.1	16.6	16.6
United States	15.7	14.5	17.0
Other British Possessions	22.0	21.0	20.0
Other Countries	31.3	26.5	22.4

The efforts of native non-coöperative agitators to prevent or restrict the importation of foreign goods into India have inspired a steadily growing support of economic nationalism. The lack of capital has, however, been an obvious obstacle to this development, though there has been a cautious extension of State aid in the case of some provinces, with a view toward encouraging the concentration of capital in industrial enterprises.

Britain is still strongly entrenched in the commerce of India, but American merchandise is making a place for itself, especially in the southern trade centres. In Bombay and Calcutta American firms are encountering greater difficulty, though they are figuring more conspicuously especially in low-priced automobiles, electrical supplies, machinery and certain lines of long-established textiles.

Japan which had enjoyed a very heavy war-time trade with India has since 1919 been largely crowded out though, as indicated above, she has shown a tendency to recover a part of her foothold once more in 1923. Germany is especially aggressive in the trade in dyes and hides, which she now controls.

THE DUTCH EAST INDIES, THE PHILIPPINES AND AUSTRALIA

The Dutch East Indies and the Philippines, both of which had suffered severely in the post-war business collapse owing to the sudden cessation of demands for rubber, fibres, sugar and other raw products, have made rapid strides toward recovery in 1922–1923. There were, however, an unusually large number of failures in distributing agencies representing Chinese and European companies in the more important trade centres of these colonial island possessions.

The British Rubber Export Restriction Act which went into effect in the fall of 1922, and a similar arrangement affecting the tin trade, applied pri-

marily to the plantations and mines in the Federated Malay States, but has also reacted as a temporary stimulant to the industries and trades of the adjoining Islands.

The tea industry likewise had a resumption of activity in 1922 after two years of serious depression. Sugar has been coming to the fore as an increasingly important export commodity in the Philippines, and has in fact since 1920 maintained its leadership over hemp which had long been the leading product of the Islands. In general, the period of trial of 1920-1921 has had a decidedly salutary effect in the oriental archipelagoes by stressing once more the dangers of over-concentration upon single crops of commodities to the exclusion of all others. There has been a clearly discernible tendency toward diversification of the various resources and industries throughout the area of the insular colonies situated in the oriental belt.

Australia's trade recovery was likewise hampered by the problem of the depressed post-war position of her leading product, namely wool, and it was not until 1922 that the tremendous carry-over stocks had been liquidated through the strenuous efforts of the "Bawra" (British Australian Wool Realisation Association). This has accounted to a considerable extent for the recent favourable position of Australian trade in comparison with her 1913 status as indicated above.

Particularly strenuous efforts have been made to sustain several war-born industries by the adoption of various protective tariffs and other expedients. Crop reversals have hampered the purchasing power of many agricultural communities, though Government price determinations of wheat, sugar and cotton have tended to retard serious reversals.

The United Kingdom still supplies well over half of Australia's imports, the United States second with about 19 per cent, and Canada and Japan each furnishing about three per cent. Outgoing trade is less concentrated, since the United Kingdom absorbs only about 42 per cent, and the United States six per cent.

LATIN-AMERICAN TRADE

The outstanding feature of the post-war Latin-American trade situation has been the decline in the percentage of trade of the leading countries with the United States as compared with Europe. There has been a noticeable falling in the percentage of purchases from the United States in such markets as Argentina, Brazil and Chile, when compared with the war-time situation. For example, in 1922 the United States supplied 24.5 per cent of Argentina's total imports, as against 33.9 in 1918 and 14.7 in 1913. In the case of Brazil the American contribution was 23 per cent of total purchases in 1922 as compared with 36 in 1918 and 15.7 in 1913; and in Chile the 1922 figure from the United States was 26.7 compared with 46.6 in 1918 and 16.7 in 1913.

These 1922 figures have led to alarm on the part of some superficial American observers and to renewed exhilaration on the part of a few anti-American observers in the southern trade centres. As a matter of fact, the situation by no means warrants these emotions. As was pointed out above, the war-time predominance of the United States in Latin-American markets by no means indicated an absorption of European trade with those countries. It indicated almost without exception an expansion of exports from the United States in lines and commodities which had not heretofore been supplied by any country. In comparing the position of the United States in these markets as against the 1913 situation, there is a clearly indicated, steady advance. In fact, in each of these three highly lucrative trade centres, Ar-

gentina, Brazil and Chile, the share controlled by the United States is about 60 per cent more than it was ten years ago, which is, to say the least, not discouraging.

The character of this increase in exports from the United States to the 20 republics of Latin America is clearly brought out in the following table of values of certain items figuring in the trade:

Commodity	1912–1913 (fiscal year)	1923 (estimated on basis of 10 months
Cotton Cloths	$10 623,000	$50,400,000
Automobiles (except parts)	3,243,000	23,800,000
Lard	9,521,000	23,100,000
Wheat Flour	18,457,000	17,400,000
Iron and Steel	16,376 000	18,600,000
Crude Petroleum	1,447,000	6,000,000
Illuminating Oil	8,960,000	7,800,000
Gasoline and Naphtha	1,943,000	13,800,000
Lubricating Oil	3 408,000	6,600,000
Boots and Shoes	9,409,000	12,600,000
Bituminous Coal	9,242,000	8,400,000
Condensed Milk	923,000	5,400,000
Automobile Tires	402,000	4,200 000
Agricultural Implements	10,592,000	16,800.000
Miscellaneous Machinery	6,570,000	6,384 000
Industrial Machinery	19,085,692	33,000,000
Electrical Goods	11,297,000	22 635,000

There are many explanations for these surprising gains in American south-bound exports: the continued embarrassment of European competitors, the surplus production of war-expanded industries, and the growth of American investments in Latin America, which rose, as was pointed out above, from $1,250,000,000 in 1913 to $4,000,000,000 in 1923.

Another obvious explanation for these heavy gains in exports is, of course. the increase in United States imports from Latin America, which rose from an annual average of 435 million dollars in 1910–1914 to 815 millions in 1922. In the cases of many major raw materials produced in the southern republics, the north-bound shipments which were shifted during the war from Europe to the United States have since maintained the new route. American factories no longer buy the bulk of their Latin-American wool, cacao, furs, tin, rubber, skins, etc., through European auction-rooms and other intermediaries. These and many other basic commodities are now being brought directly to the United States, where credits are established as a basis for purchases on the part of the Latin-American countries. It will be years before the purchasing power of depreciated European currencies will have recovered sufficiently to alter this situation.

As was the case with some of the Far-Eastern countries, the post-war collapse brought home to Latin America the dangers of over-concentration upon a few great commodities. There is still an outstanding primacy of sugar in Cuba, nitrates in Chile, coffee in Brazil, minerals including petroleum in Mexico, tin in Bolivia, cacao in Ecuador, etc., but the havoc wrought to these mainstays during the 1920–1921 collapse resulted in a renewal of the war-time effort toward diversification, which has been making some headway in each of the countries noted, and has had a decidedly stabilising effect on trade.

In Cuba, for example, a corrective has been applied to a certain extent by the expansion of the tobacco industry and by the stimulation of the pro-

duction of fibres and fruit; in Colombia by the growth of the petroleum industry as against the major commodity, coffee. Petroleum expansion has likewise assisted to diversify and spread the general industrial risk in Peru, whereas in Chile strenuous efforts have been made through Government irrigation projects and improved transportation to increase the importance of agriculture as a counter-balance to nitrate and copper.

In the Argentine there has been in 1922–1923 a fairly complete liquidation of war stocks, though the livestock industry is still in a very depressed state. Argentina has felt keenly the depression of wool prices, and the general commercial advance of the great sheep-producing areas in the southern provinces of the republic has consequently been considerably retarded.

As in the case of Chile, the falling-off in export duties has hampered Federal finances and limited public works, which normally absorb large quantities of imported machinery and supplies.

Brazil has been in a far more difficult economic position than either of her great sister republics of the A B C group. In her case the trouble has risen primarily from unusually depressed exchange. Her unfavourable currency situation and the financial embarrassments of her Government have been the outstanding factors. Drains on the national treasury in the shape of support to newly established domestic industries, and especially in the form of valorisation of coffee, have been primarily responsible for these difficulties. In recent months in 1923 there has been, however, an encouraging tendency toward greater stability in exchange and a salutary continuation of the war-time diversification of industries. Cotton manufacturing has actually reached such a state as to support not only a very heavy domestic trade but also a certain amount of near-by exporting. The sugar industry, which had a very heavy war-time expansion, felt the post-war collapse severely, but is now recovering, and is in a position to take from coffee some of the latter's heretofore exclusive responsibility for the general agricultural stability of the country. Export values of sugar in 1922 show about 15 million dollars as against about 300,000 in 1913.

EUROPE AND THE LEVANT

As has been pointed out, the value of European commerce has increased only slightly more than four per cent since 1913, which represents in effect a considerable decline in actual volume of trade. For obvious reasons, which need not be analysed here since they are primarily of an involved political character, this situation is still far from clear, and the commercial future of the whole world must for that reason necessarily remain uncertain. In a few cases, the value of total trades was considerably larger in 1922 than in 1913. The outstanding percentage gains were in the case of the Scandinavian countries, where Sweden showed an improvement of nearly 37 per cent, and Denmark of over 35 per cent—France (24.4 per cent) and the United Kingdom (18.6 per cent) came considerably below. In almost all other cases the 1922 value figures show a considerable falling off below 1913, reaching a decline of 26.2 per cent in the case of Belgium, and 55 per cent in the case of the Netherlands.

One significant feature of trade with the European countries has been the increasing proportion of it which was handled by the United States in 1922 as against 1913. In the case of France, the share which fell to America rose during this period from 8.6 per cent to 13.1; in Italy from 12.9 per cent to 21.6 per cent, and in the United Kingdom from 14.3 per cent to 16.3 per cent. More moderate advances were indicated in other countries.

BRITISH POSITION SOUND

The British commercial position is obviously the most sound of any of the European Powers. To this fortunate result the chief contributing factor has been the strength of national finances, which have shown for the fiscal year 1922–1923 a surplus of over 101 million pounds, "probably the largest surplus ever accumulated by any Government in a single year of current income." This has had an immediate reaction upon the status of exchange, and consequently on international trade. Her trade balance has shown a net favourable figure since the "unfavourable" interchange of commodities (an excess of imports over exports) and has been created by the addition of invisible items on the credit side, such as revenue from shipping, banking, insurance and other British enterprises abroad. In 1922 the favourable net balance has been estimated at 62 million pounds by the *London Economist* and 155 million pounds by the British Board of Trade, probably the latter being more nearly correct.

The United States continues to contribute the largest proportion of British imports, supplying 22 per cent in 1922, whereas America's share of British exports stood at 10 per cent in the same year.

The export position of her major industries varied widely; in the case of textiles increasing quantities have been moving out but at non-remunerative prices. Her iron and steel trade, however, has been unusually active, and has once more gained for the country the primacy of the world in this important line.

Britain's stake in the foreign situation still continues to be the most vital of any major commercial power; in other words, she has a larger share of her economic welfare involved in the settlement of the great pending questions of international tranquillity and order, and until such settlements are arrived at, Britain's commercial future will be uncertain. The moment the international situation is cleared, we may look for a tremendous forward leap in the whole commercial and economic status of the United Kingdom.

CONDITIONS IN FRANCE AND GERMANY

France, on the other hand, has relatively far less at stake so far as her commercial condition is concerned. Agriculture is still her leading industry in spite of temporary transformations during the war, and her more nearly self-sustaining status will make her less responsive, so far as her international trade is concerned, to the ultimate solution of the present international difficulties. Although her national finances are most involved and uncertain, the general status of private business has since the depression of 1920–1921 been decidedly favourable. Production in those lines which have contributed largely to her international commerce has been increasing rapidly. Unemployment has been at a minimum. The recovery of Lorraine has greatly expanded her iron and steel production, and her important woollen and silk industries, which contributed heavily to export, have been making notable improvements since 1921.

In the case of Germany since the war, the main currents of her trade remain the same, but buyers and sellers have changed. Germany's purchases from the United States have increased to twice the previous proportion, Russia has practically disappeared as a source of supplies, while Great Britain maintains her former position, though British India has increased in sales. Austria-Hungary has broken up, and only Czechoslovak lumber represents

a large item in Germany's imports from that state. Imports from the Netherlands have increased, and particularly from the Dutch East Indies. Both Argentina and France have receded from their former positions.

In exports from Germany a similar change is evident, the Netherlands and Switzerland have begun to take a larger share, as has Sweden. Sales to Great Britain are only about half the pre-war quantities, but the United States buys about the same. Austria takes only half the quantity previously exported to Austria-Hungary, but Czechoslovakia is becoming a good customer.

Little change has taken place in the nature of commodities imported and exported. Germany has become a buyer of coal to some extent, and has concentrated on exports of fully finished goods of high value, rather than allow the export of goods to be finished in other countries. As her industrial character has not been altered — intensified rather — her needs and the products of her factories remain the same as before the war.

COMMUNICATION

An indispensable factor in commerce is, of course, the availability of facilities for the quick transmission of commercial intelligence. Without these there can be no material advancement in trade as it is conducted at the present time. One striking illustration of this in recent years has been the difficulty encountered by the Japanese in their post-war efforts to establish a commercial foothold in Latin America. The inadequate cable communication between Japan and the southern markets, owing to the lack of direct service, has seriously hampered the speedy transmission of quotations, bids, etc., without which the agencies operating on the ground are seriously if not completely handicapped. The laying of two great Pacific cables shortly before the war under British and American auspices respectively, the one between Canada and Australia, and the other from the United States to the Philippines, filled in the last long gaps in the world's communication service.

Since the war the most important developments in the New World have been the establishment of a number of valuable links between the United States and Latin America — a new line to Barbados, joining with a British service down the East Coast, thereby establishing two complete circuits from the United States around South America, and additional lines to Mexico, Caribbean points, and Central America. There have also been negotiations for new cables from the United States to Germany and to the Mediterranean, both of which are progressing favourably. Plans in connection with the linking up of the American Far-Eastern service with the old German connection at the island of Yap are also understood to be in progress.

International radio has made particularly noticeable advance since 1921. Plans have been concluded for powerful American stations in Argentina, China, Sweden, Warsaw, Honduras and Colombia, all of which will provide valuable facilities for direct contact between the United States and highly competitive markets in all parts of the globe.

COMMERCIAL AVIATION

Aviation as a means of transport for passengers, merchandise and mails has developed in a surprising manner during the last five years. Aside from the question of speed in travel, the fact that the air service has a flexibility far greater than is possessed by any other form of transportation, has made it peculiarly adapted to international services, and to points whose geographi-

cal situation makes extensive construction necessary for the handling of passengers or freight by rail or water. The rapid multiplication of air routes has resulted in a steadily increased interest in the extension of commercial aviation.

Up to the present time the development of aerial services has been confined almost entirely to Europe. No other continent possesses any general organised air service between its principal commercial centres. England, France and Germany have taken the lead, and with few exceptions the other countries of Europe are served by companies organised or operated by English, French or German interests. While it is true that in almost every part of the world, a steadily growing interest in commercial aviation has been manifested, the actual services in operation in Africa, Asia and the Americas are limited to scattered points where transportation by other means is inadequate.

It is estimated that there are approximately 1,200 air craft of various types available for operation in the United States. There is only one all-year-round daily service in operation, however, that being from Key West to Havana. Aside from the very considerable passenger travel between these two points (9,107 passengers in 1922), this particular service has been supported by a mail contract with the United States Post Office. It is on this point, more than on any other, that the American situation as regards commercial aviation differs from that in Europe; but the recent demonstration by the Post Office, that a daily air service between San Francisco and New York on a 28-hour schedule is entirely feasible, furnishes ground for the hope that additional aerial services may be organised throughout the United States, and supported in part, at least, by the traffic received from the Post Office Department.

Figures compiled for the operation of British commercial aviation companies for the period from May, 1919, to March, 1922, inclusive, show that 82,347 flights were made within the British Isles and 4,441 flights to the Continent with approximate respective mileage of 1,060,000 and 1,026,000. Passengers carried within the British Isles numbered 139,527, and on the Continental routes 12,601. The merchandise carried amounted to 394,000 pounds. Air traffic in England had grown, by the spring of 1922, an Air Ministry report states, to such an extent that during April, May and June of that year 764 machines departed from Croydon and 768 arrived. By nationality, there were 915 British planes, 228 French and 189 Dutch and the total number of passengers carried was 3,128.

The figures for French aerial traffic are as follows:

	1920	1921	1922
Distance covered (miles)	529,454	1,459,142	2,196,840
Passengers carried	1,379	9,427	14,307
Goods carried (lbs.)	105,820	366,278	1,165,260
Mail carried (lbs.)	8,635	20,858	90,580

The total length of the various aerial routes now in operation exceeds 6,200 miles and the more important air services are, Paris–London, Paris–Brussels–Amsterdam, Paris–Strasburg–Prague–Varsovie, Prague–Budapest–Bucharest–Constantinople, Paris–Lausanne–Geneva, Paris–Dijon–Lyons–Marseilles, Antibes–Ajaccio, Toulouse–Casablanca and Casablanca–Oran.

In Germany the principal operated routes comprised 2,530 miles. These are between Berlin and Königsberg; Königsberg and Moscow; Berlin, Hamburg and London; Berlin and Munich; Geneva, Munich and Vienna. Figures for the traffic handled by the German lines are not available. Some idea, however, of the amount of this traffic may be gathered from the figures for

the Königsberg-Moscow route during the first 6 months of operation — May to October, 1922. The total distance covered was approximately 90,000 miles, and 494 passengers, 36,000 pounds of baggage and freight and 120,000 pounds of ordinary mail were carried.

DOMESTIC COMMERCE

It is comparatively simple to observe and record the flow of international trade because of the facility with which commodity movements are tabulated at ports and frontiers. The accurate notation of the inland commerce of any country, however, presents far greater difficulty because of the lack of such agencies of observation and statistical record.

Even in those few cases where statistical data on a nation's domestic commerce are available, they are for obvious reasons filled with duplications. An exported or imported commodity passes out of or into a country at one single point. In domestic trade, however, a single commodity may pass through many hands and processes so that the sum total of transactions, if they could be recorded, would show a widespread pyramiding in values. This situation is perhaps not quite so serious in some of the European countries in which internal trade forms but a small fraction of the total commercial activity of the country. It has been estimated, for example, that only about 15 per cent of Britain's commerce is internal. In the case of the United States, however, the situation is reversed, and anywhere from 80 to 90 per cent of the country's total commerce is carried on within its borders.

The most useful index of quantitative changes in domestic commerce conditions is, of course, the movements of freight. Computing the railroad traffic in the United States on the basis of number of tons carried in one mile, the figures, in thousand millions, run as follows:

1890	77	1910	255
1895	85	1913	298
1900	141	1922	340
1905	186		

These figures bring out more clearly than any others the astonishing rise in domestic commodity movements, especially during the pre-war period between 1905 and 1913. The war years were, of course, considerably distorted, reaching a peak in 1918, followed by a slight sag in 1919, a recovery in 1920 and a fall in 1921, the year of general industrial depression, which was the lowest in railway traffic since 1915. In 1922 a decided recovery was discernible, though even then rail traffic in general was still slightly below any year since the opening of the war with the exception of 1921.

An extremely important advance in the world's domestic commerce in the past two decades has been effected by the tremendous expansion of motor transportation. The world total of motor vehicles in 1922 was approximately 15,500,000, of which about 12,850,000 were passenger-cars; 1,750,000 motor-trucks; and 900,000 motor-cycles. Four-fifths of this total were owned in the United States, where the extraordinary development of highways in the period since the opening of the war has made motor-truck transportation a rapidly growing factor in domestic trade. This is especially true in connection with the short-haul transportation of less than carload lots of small merchandise, a classification which has never contributed materially to the profits of railways. In view of this fact, motor-truck traffic is now developing a valuable form of service which does not necessarily interfere with rail profits excepting occasionally in a few of the more densely populated centres

QUANTITY AND VALUE OF THE PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES EXPORTED FROM SPECIFIED COUNTRIES DURING THE CALENDAR YEARS 1900, 1913, 1921 AND 1922.*

(Prepared by J. J. Kral, U. S. Department of Commerce)

Countries and Articles		Quantity				Value, in Million Dollars				Per Cent of Total Domestic Exports			
		1900	1913	1921	1922	1900	1913	1921	1922	1900	1913	1921	1922
United States:													
Cotton	Million pounds	3398	4482	3339	3153	314	575	531	673	21.61	23.50	12.20	17.88
Mineral oils, refined	Million gallons	829	1942	2416	2503	66	141	363	313	4.54	5.75	8.30	8.30
Wheat	Million bushels	183	155	356	232	130	152	551	292	9.56	6.20	12.58	7.75
Tobacco, leaf	Million pounds	297	441	515	431	27	53	205	146	1.86	2.16	4.68	3.88
Corn	Million bushels	194	47	132	166	86	28	96	117	5.94	1.14	2.20	3.11
Bacon, hams and shoulders	Million pounds	668	384	648	631	58	52	116	109	3.99	2.13	2.65	2.90
Coal, coke, briquettes	Million tons	8	23	25	14	23	71	171	96	1.58	2.88	3.90	2.51
Lard	Million pounds	609	536	869	767	42	61	113	91	2.89	2.48	2.57	2.43
Copper ingots and bars	" "	338	818	596	653	55	126	79	89	3.79	5.15	1.81	2.30
Cotton cloth	Million yards	258	467	552	[1] 588	14	32	72	85	.96	1.32	1.63	2.27
Sugar	Million pounds	15	52	934	1837	1	2	49	70	.07	.08	1. 2	1.85
Automobiles	Thousand	....	27	38	79	...	27	43	60	.....	1 10	.98	1.59
Boards, planks, scantlings	Million feet	1	2592	1205	1533	20	63	46	57	1.30	2.59	1.04	1.52
Rye	Million bushels	2	2	30	48	1	1	45	46	.08	.06	1.02	1.22
Iron and steel sheets, plates and strips	Million pounds	123	1208	1626	1433	2	27	71	46	.14	1.09	1.62	1.22
Total		......	......	...	.....	818	1411	2554	2290	58.38	57.63	58.30	60.82
Canada:													
Wheat	Million bushels	20	152	180	252	15	147	237	299	8.75	33.64	32.98	34.18
Newsprint paper	Million pounds	[5]	[2]513	1418	1919	[6]	10	63	68	.....	2.29	8.69	7.73
Boards and planks	Million feet	842	1031	1025	1994	10	20	33	50	5.69	4.57	4.63	5.66
Wood pulp	Thousand short tons	[3]	298	527	818	2	6	30	41	1.07	1.36	4.13	4.64
Fish and shellfish	Million pounds	[3]	[3]	340	358	10	20	27	28	6.25	4.53	3.74	3.19
Bacon and ham	" "	135	28	102	99	13	4	23	23	7.55	.98	3.19	2.58
Cheese	" "	186	149	137	120	20	19	24	21	11.75	4.46	3.37	2.45
Automobiles, passenger	Thousand	[5]	46	9	35	[5]	3	4	21	.....	.78	.57	2.38
Total		......	......	.....	.....	69	229	441	551	41.06	52.61	61.30	62.81
Brazil:													
Coffee	Million pounds	1952	1755	1636	1676	116	198	132	192	59.70	62.88	59.60	64.50
Sugar	" "	413	12	379	556	8	[a]	12	15	3.86	.10	5.51	4.94
Hides and skins	" "	53	84	100	113	5	15	10	13	2.65	4.62	4.39	4.50
Cotton	" "	26	83	43	80	2	11	6	13	1.12	3.56	2.69	4.45
Cocoa	" "	35	66	95	100	4	8	6	9	2.11	2.46	2.78	2.93
Oilseeds	" "	46	110	155	203	[a]	1	5	8	.18	.37	2.29	2.59
Maté tea	" "	88	144	159	182	5	12	6	7	2.33	3.64	2.54	2.30
Rubber	" "	67	80	38	44	42	50	5	6	21.48	16.00	2.10	2.09
Tobacco	" "	74	65	73	99	8	8	7	6	4.14	2.53	3.22	2.06
Meats, frozen and chilled	" "	......	......	137	71	....	.....	8	2	.....	.....	3.82	1.43
Total		......	......	.....	.....	190	303	197	271	97.56	96.16	88.94	91.79
France:													
Silk fabrics	Million pounds	9	15	13	15	50	83	96	115	6.28	6.24	6.49	6.89
Clothing and millinery	" "	11	17	19	18	26	49	91	111	3.31	3.67	6.16	6.65
Cotton fabrics	" "	69	122	129	97	34	74	109	86	4.25	5.60	7.38	5.13
Iron, steel, iron alloys, slag	Thousand metric tons	1977	1008	2113	2866	5	17	58	81	.68	1.26	3.96	4.86
Woollen fabrics	Million pounds	55	52	34	40	44	43	56	69	5.53	3.20	3.79	4 12

Paper, cardboard, books, engravings, films	Million pounds	76	143	106	113	10	32	55	64	1.32	2.43	3.72	3.84
Wool, including waste	" "	141	175	94	136	39	60	36	55	4.91	4.51	2.47	3.29
Chemicals	Thousand metric tons	562	1118	971	1543	17	42	41	52	2.15	3.14	2.76	3.09
Automobiles	" "	1	25	38	34	2	44	50	48	.24	3.31	3.37	2.86
Machinery	" "	43	81	104	84	12	24	50	47	1.54	1.79	3.36	2.78
India-rubber manufactures	Million pounds	2	15	47	41	2	19	45	43	.25	1.46	3.04	2.60
Pearls	Thousand troy ounces	14	4	7	10	1	1	3	[5]41	.09	.06	.23	2.46
Tools and manufactures of metals	Thousand metric tons	73	149	188	191	17	26	36	41	2.12	2.00	2.47	2.43
Leather manufactures	Million pounds	9	10	16	16	14	17	34	35	1.72	1.28	2.34	2.10
Furriers' wares	Thousand pounds	1565	383	2329	2833	2	17	26	32	.30	1.25	1.76	1.93
Hides, skins, fur skins	Million pounds	88	148	101	99	21	35	26	30	2.67	2.62	1.76	1.80
Coal, coke, briquettes	Thousand metric tons	1266	1743	2319	2725	6	9	23	29	.79	.68	1.54	1.71
Sugar, raw and refined	Million pounds	1213	442	228	539	30	14	18	28	3.79	1.60	1.16	1.69
Woollen yarn	" "	15	33	21	27	7	20	19	27	.84	1.48	1.31	1.63
Wines	Million gallons	30	44	48	27	44	39	23	22	5.54	2.65	1.95	1.29
Total	......	.....	.....	.....	.....	383	665	490	1356	48.32	50.02	61.65	63.15
New Zealand:													
Wool	Thousand bales	402	522	452	914	23	39	20	53	41.03	38.34	12.16	28.91
Butter	Million pounds	19	42	101	125	4	10	43	40	6.49	9.81	26.01	22.00
Mutton and lamb	" "	152	246	376	331	8	19	36	34	13.73	19.01	21.56	18.68
Cheese	" "	12	69	153	130	1	9	32	21	1.98	8.43	19.10	11.40
Sheepskins, bare	Thousands	4402	7238	8551	9500	1	3	4	4	2.05	2.75	2.23	2.08
Beef, frozen	Million pounds	35	30	101	57	2	2	7	3	3.13	1.65	4.07	1.41
Rabbit skins	Millions	6	6	14	15	a	a	2	3	.35	.41	1.04	1.38
Sausage casings	Million pounds	1	3	3	3	a	a	2	2	.37	.44	1.04	1.14
Milk, dried	" "	b	a	16	10	b	a	4	2	.....	.00	2.24	1.12
Hides, cattle	Thousands	47	169	329	230	a	1	2	2	.36	1.25	1.00	.87
Total	......	.....	.....	.....	.....	39	83	152	164	69.41	82.09	78.05	88.99
Egypt:													
Cotton	Million pounds	538	691	475	642	64	126	113	182	76.14	80.58	78.05	81.52
Cottonseed	Million bushels	19	20	12	15	10	16	10	14	11.45	10.41	6.67	6.10
Onions	Million pounds	168	226	146	254	1	1	1	5	.89	.87	.98	2.37
Cottonseed cake	Thousand metric tons	46	63	93	121	a	1	2	3	.59	.93	1.62	1.45
Cigarettes	Thousand pounds	985	1088	877	779	2	2	3	3	2.09	1.25	1.93	1.30
Eggs	Millions	78	149	92	160	1	1	1	2	.66	.79	.93	1.06
Rice	Million pounds	17	52	42	38	a	1	2	2	.52	.88	1.33	.71
Sugar, refined	" "	109	11	16	29	3	a	1	2	3.16	.25	.86	.68
Total	......	.....	.....	.....	.....	81	148	133	213	95.44	95.96	92.37	95.19
Union of South Africa:													
Wool	Million pounds	.....	177	230	210	....	28	32	49	.....	20.78	35.04	39.70
Diamonds	Thousand carats	.....	5504	317	1331	....	58	5	19	.....	43.67	5.76	15.83
Hides and skins	Million pounds	.....	63	46	63	....	8	5	9	.....	6.14	5.19	7.02
Corn	Million bushels	.....	a	18	12	....	a	12	8	.....	.30	12.57	6.19
Angora hair	Million pounds	.....	17	17	26	....	4	2	5	.....	3.19	2.48	4.16
Coal	Thousand tons	.....	2061	1603	1319	....	7	8	5	.....	5.05	8.29	3.83
Wattle bark	Million pounds	.....	146	160	272	....	2	2	4	.....	1.12	1.95	2.88
Sugar	" "	.....	a	138	72	....	a	8	3	.....	.01	8.79	2.13
Whale oil	Thousand gallons	.....	2614	294	4787	....	a	a	2	.....	.45	.11	1.62
Ostrich feathers	Thousand pounds	.....	1023	297	304	....	14	2	2	.....	10.74	1.96	1.42
Fruits, dried and preserved	Million pounds	.....	a	9	17	....	a	a	2	.....	.00	1.02	1.26
Total	......	.....	.....	.....	.....	....	121	76	108	.....	91.45	83.61	86.04

* The figures are for calendar years, with but one exception: for 1900, Canadian trade is shown for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1900, as the figures for the calendar year are not available. For Brazil, complete data for 1900 have not been published; the figures shown under that year are for the calendar year 1901. The Union of South Africa was constituted May 31, 1910. Comparative data for 1900 are not available (except for Cape Colony and Natal).

a Less than 500,000. b Not shown. 1 1,000 square yards. 2 Printing paper. 3 Cannot be stated. 4 Automobiles. 5 Revised valuation. 6 Not shown.

QUANTITY AND VALUE OF THE PRINCIPAL COMMODITIES EXPORTED FROM SPECIFIED COUNTRIES DURING THE CALENDAR YEARS 1900, 1913, 1911 AND 1922—*Continued*

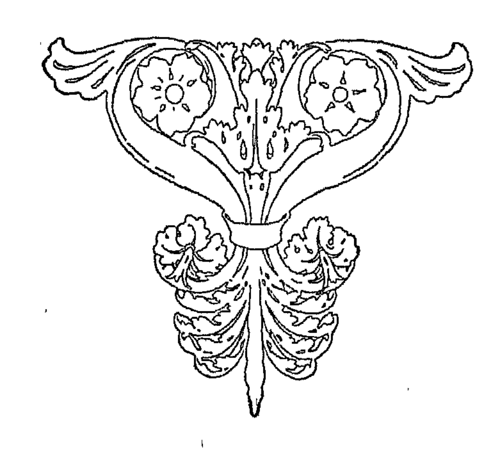
Countries and Articles		Quantity				Value, in Million Dollars				Per Cent of Total Domestic Exports			
		1900	1913	1921	1922	1900	1913	1921	1922	1900	1913	1921	1922
Switzerland:													
Silk piece goods	Thousand pounds	3593	4800	3407	3752	18	21	30	33	11.00	7.82	9.70	10.28
Watches (including movements)	Millions	7	14	8	10	21	31	27	31	13.38	11.72	8.86	9.79
Machinery	Thousand metric tons	34	51	47	40	9	19	38	31	5.77	7.03	12.58	9.59
Cotton embroideries	Million pounds	11	19	6	8	21	39	21	27	13.34	14.79	7.00	8.34
Cotton cloth	" "	12	10	18	14	7	7	31	22	4.17	2.66	10.04	6.69
Silk ribbons	Thousand pounds	1190	1524	1078	1267	6	8	10	13	3.77	3.07	3.39	4.14
Cheese	Million pounds	60	80	11	46	8	14	5	13	5.24	5.12	1.64	4.10
Coal-tar dyes	" "	7	19	11	16	3	6	12	13	1.85	2.09	3.81	4.05
Cotton yarn	" "	13	8	13	14	4	3	9	9	2.41	1.22	2.94	2.75
Floss silk, twisted	Thousand pounds	2252	2672	1698	2099	4	5	5	7	2.86	2.07	1.65	2.22
Milk, condensed	Million pounds	62	89	47	45	5	9	8	5	3.22	3.23	2.61	1.71
Organzine and tram	Thousand pounds	1213	1604	586	586	5	7	4	5	3.25	2.62	1.24	1.61
Chocolate	Million pounds	7	35	25	14	2	11	10	5	1.21	3.99	3.10	1.56
Total	......	......	......	......	......	114	180	210	214	[illegible]1.43	67.43	68.65	66.83
United Kingdom:													
Cotton piece goods	Million square yards	[a] 5032	[d] 6780	2982	4181	255	476	529	631	17.99	18.61	19.49	19.77
Coal, coke, briquettes	Million tons	46	77	26	68	188	261	179	344	13.26	10.21	6.60	10.79
Iron and steel	Thousand tons	3541	4969	1697	3401	156	269	245	270	10.99	10.54	9.04	8.46
Machinery	" "	b	689	536	403	95	164	288	229	6.74	6.40	10.61	7.18
Ships and boats	Thousand gross tons	362	483	578	471	42	54	224	221	2.96	2.10	8.27	6.93
Cotton yarn	Million pounds	158	210	146	201	38	73	92	117	2.66	2.86	3.40	3.67
Woollens	Million square yards	[c] 50	[c] 106	77	121	29	70	95	111	2.02	2.75	3.50	3.48
Worsteds	" " "	[c] 102	[c] 62	41	62	31	30	43	52	2.22	1.18	1.60	1.63
Non-ferrous metals	Thousand tons	113	163	101	130	25	59	45	51	1.78	2.29	1.66	1.60
Spirits	Million proof gallons	8	14	8	8	12	20	33	35	.81	.80	1.23	1.09
Total	......	......	......	......	......	[illegible]1	1476	1773	2061	[illegible]1.43	[illegible]7.74	65.40	6[illegible].60
British India:													
Cotton	Million pounds	299	1060	1062	1164	25	122	121	171	7.59	15.52	21.61	21.40
Rice	" "	3191	6001	2702	4479	43	92	56	99	12.85	11.78	9.96	12.38
Oilseeds	Thousand tons	555	1392	447	1198	30	75	29	82	8.96	9.53	5.17	10.20
Jute	" "	594	807	427	629	34	98	35	66	10.23	2.55	6.23	8.22
Gunny cloth	Million yards	359	1081	1102	1211	11	51	44	64	3.22	6.54	7.78	7.99
Tea	Million pounds	186	288	316	305	30	48	47	63	9.20	6.11	8.31	7.90
Gunny bags	Million	199	360	409	338	14	39	38	43	4.22	5.00	6.86	5.37
Total	......	......	......	......	......	187	525	370	588	56.28	67.03	65.95	73.46
Japan:													
Silk, raw	Million pounds	6	27	35	46	22	94	201	321	22.31	30.01	33.69	41.86
Cotton cloth	Million yards	b	211	581	670	3	13	85	91	2.86	4.00	14.31	11.87
Cotton yarn	Million pounds	83	179	116	156	10	35	39	55	10.29	11.28	6.51	7.17
Habutai	Thousand pounds	b	3655	2701	2731	9	17	21	26	8.72	5.54	3.52	3.34
Silk fabric, n. e. s. (except crêpes)	Million yards	b	6	35	37	1	2	15	19	.57	.52	2.57	2.48
Coal	Thousand tons	3348	3840	2388	1691	10	12	18	12	10.01	3.75	3.05	1.59
Sugar, refined	Million pounds	b	223	105	157	b	8	8	9	.....	2.52	1.28	1.19
Tea	" "	43	33	16	29	5	5	4	9	4.51	1.56	.62	1.11
Knit goods	Thousand dozen	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	4401	a	5	6	8	.39	1.72	1.04	1.10
Matches	Million gross	[illegible]	[illegible]	23	[illegible]	3	6	8	[illegible]	2.55	1.55	1.31	.97
Camphor	Million pounds	[illegible]	[illegible]	2	[illegible]	[illegible]	1	1	3	1.53	.35	.23	.45
Printing paper	— —	[e] [illegible]	[illegible]	43	45	a	a 0	4	3	.11	.05	.60	.33
Total						[illegible]	198	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]8.73	73.51

[a] Less than 500,000. [b] Not shown. [c] Million yards. [d] Official estimate. [e] [illegible]

in the Atlantic seaboard states. The saving effected by motor-truck transportation in eliminating terminal charges through door-to-door delivery is a further factor in its favour.

[Most of the statistical data in the preceding pages were compiled from official reports of the United States Department of Commerce, including the *Statistical Abstract of Foreign Countries* (1909); the *Statistical Abstract of the United States* (annual), especially the section on foreign countries; the *Commerce Yearbook* (first issue released December, 1923); and the *Monthly Summary of Foreign Commerce of the United States*. No general survey of this description would be possible without frequent reference to the standard classic in the field, namely Clive Day's *History of Commerce* (1923 edition) which is particularly valuable for lists of more detailed references and for compact tabulations of statistics.

For surveys of world trade by commodities during the period in question, the best source is the volume issued by the Statistical Division of the National Bank of Commerce in New York, *Some Great Commodities* (1922).]



CHAPTER LXXXIII

EXPLORATION WRITES "FINIS" TO DISCOVERY

By GILBERT GROSVENOR, LL.D.

Editor-in-Chief of the *National Geographic Magazine.* President of the National Geographic Society. Author of *Historical Summary of Polar Explorations; The Explorations of the Nineteenth Century;* etc.

THE first quarter of the twentieth century was one of the most important periods in the annals of geographic exploration and research.

When it dawned, the chapter of that primary exploration which first pushes into large regions hitherto unknown and prepares the way for the equally important subsequent exploration that fills in the details was all but closed.

Africa had just been crossed from the Cape to Cairo, and in divers places from ocean to ocean. Asia had yielded its major mysteries through the invasion of Turkestan, Tibet and the lands of western China. Australia had ceased to be a continent with only an explored coastal ring. South America was well known except as to the details of some interior territories.

But there still remained locked in regions of perpetual ice and snow the two spots that for uncounted generations had seemed to represent the unattainable — the North Pole in a Polar ocean, and the South Pole in a Polar continent.

Expedition after expedition had assaulted their frozen defences in vain. Through unimaginable hardships men had striven to penetrate the solitudes of the higher latitudes, only to be forced back. The graves of scores of explorers of intrepid courage and splendid strength, within the Polar circles, told of the ardour with which the assaults were made. But each new defeat had lessons for the successors of the vanquished — lessons which enabled them to struggle a little nearer toward the goal.

Explorers were learning the art of properly equipping polar expeditions. The problems of a partially comfortable existence, of fairly safe travelling, and of reasonably good hygiene had been worked out. Ships were continually being improved so as to make them more seaworthy in the ice pack. On the whole, the end of the nineteenth century marked the development of that technique in Arctic and Antarctic exploration to a point which would inevitably make possible the attainment of the Poles themselves.

I. THE ATTAINMENT OF THE NORTH POLE

In the early part of the 'eighties of the last century the eleven maritime nations of the world decided to station a series of expeditions on the rim of the Arctic Ocean, to conduct a synchronised observation in the hope of clearing up many problems of meteorology, compass behaviour, etc.

In that great international scientific collaboration, General (then Lieutenant) A. W. Greely led the American expedition, and Lockwood and Brainard, under him, planted the American flag at latitude 83° 14′ N., a point which

was destined to remain the highest latitude attained by man for thirteen years.

The scientific work and field journeys of the Greely expedition were remarkable in results. No man died, no man was disabled, no man lost even a finger joint, and the expedition, after a retreating journey of about 500 miles, landed at its assigned rendezvous, with every man in health, all records intact, and all scientific instruments in perfect condition. The Greely expedition was an extraordinary success, but the relief expeditions managed from Washington were such terrible failures that 19 of the 25 men of the party perished.

In 1895, Nansen, with Franz Josef Land as his base, reached latitude 86° 14′ N., a record that was to be eclipsed in 1900 by Cagni, of the Duke of the Abruzzi expedition, who planted the Italian flag 19 geographic miles ahead of Nansen's Norwegian flag.

Admiral (then Lieutenant) Peary was in the Arctic as the old century went out and the new one came in, setting the stage for the new century's Arctic events. Already he had reached the northern extremity of Greenland, twice crossing the ice-covered Greenland plateau 1,000 miles north of Nansen's historic traverse of the island. Peary demonstrated the insularity of that land mass, and found not only persuasive evidence that here was Land's End, but also indications that the North Pole was in the midst of an ice-covered ocean some 400 geographic miles from the nearest land.

Such was the status of affairs in the Arctic when the twentieth century dawned. A portion of the earth's surface as large as the United States or Australia still lay unentered beyond the farthest north set by Cagni.

Besides Peary's, there were two other expeditions in the field in 1901 — the Baldwin-Ziegler expedition operating from Franz Josef Land, and that of Sverdrup, who had planned to make a survey of northern Greenland, but had found his proposed work already done by Peary. Sverdrup therefore turned his attention mainly to the western portion of Grinnell and Ellesmere Lands. The Baldwin-Ziegler expedition was not successful in breaking new ground either geographically or scientifically, but Peary and Sverdrup both returned with valuable geographic, oceanographic and biological data.

In 1903 William Ziegler decided to send another expedition to the Arctic regions, to be headed by Anthony Fiala, and sponsored by the National Geographic Society, whose representative should be in control of the scientific researches. The loss of the "America" in the ice off Franz Josef Land made a dash for the Pole impossible. But the expedition was able to bring back some scientific material, including the discovery of seams of coal in that high latitude.

The same year that the Ziegler expedition started to Franz Josef Land, Capt. Roald Amundsen, a modern Viking, setting out from Christiania, Norway, in the "Gjöa," a tiny sealing sloop which few thought equal to a three-years' battle with the ice and storms of the Arctic, undertook two major tasks — the relocation of the North Magnetic Pole, and the negotiation of the Northwest Passage. Although the little "Gjöa" had a cabin only 6 x 9 feet, and a gasoline engine for motive power, Amundsen succeeded in attaining both objects, and in addition thereto circumnavigated the Americas. Never in the history of exploration was more accomplished with meagre equipment than Amundsen achieved with the diminutive "Gjöa."

Meanwhile Peary, who had suffered a broken leg in one expedition and lost eight toes in a freeze in another, was induced to attempt again to carry the flag to the North Pole. The story of the expedition of 1905–1906, so well told in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica's* account, Vol. XXI, pp. 953 and 954, is

of the ice the Arctic has ever known. He went out over the open ocean, on ice that was constantly breaking, and over lanes that were continually forming, facing dangers at every moment. Now afloat on cakes of ice, now carried off his course by a general drift of the ice, now jumping lanes, now walking over new ice that bent under the load, and with some 1,500 fathoms beneath, Peary still pressed on, but was finally forced back at a point within 174 geographic miles of his goal, but with a record of the farthest north yet attained, 87° 6′.

The lessons he had learned promised to make him master of the Arctic situation if he should again return to the task. His backers urged him on, and so 1908 found him in the field again. No better party of men were ever taken on a Polar expedition than those who went with Peary on the "Roosevelt." There were Capt. Robert A. Bartlett, commander of the "Roosevelt," a hardy whaler with many generations of seafaring forebears; Donald MacMillan, who has made a name for himself in Arctic exploration; R. G. Marvin; and G. Borup. The "Roosevelt," designed by Peary and constructed under his personal supervision, was the most powerful vessel that had yet attacked the northern ice.

Peary's plan was to take his ship as far north as he could before the Arctic night set in, and to be ready to begin his drive toward the goal with the dawn of the Arctic morning, so that he could reach the Pole and return before the ice broke up too much for travel. Then he planned a series of supporting parties, each of which, on turning back, should leave those that were to go on stronger. In this way the party which was to make the final dash could save itself and its resources for the big and decisive battle of the last drive.

The plan worked out ideally. The resistless "Roosevelt" crushed its way to the desired haven on the shores of the polar ocean so that Peary was able to start north over the ice a month ahead of the time that any previous explorer had reached the same latitude, leaving on March 1. MacMillan headed the first supporting party that returned, delivering the bulk of its load to those remaining in the field, at 84° 29′ N. At 85° 23′ N., Borup, heading the second supporting party, turned back. The third kept up the march to 86° 38′ N., higher than either Nansen or Cagni had gone, and then, headed by Marvin, started back. But poor Marvin was never to reach the base. He broke through new ice in a recently formed lane and was drowned.

Captain Bartlett and his party kept on until latitude 87° 47′ was reached, and here, 133 geographic miles from the North Pole, Peary took all of the rations, dogs and sledges that the last supporting party could spare, and in accordance with the prearranged plan which all agreed was the only plan that would insure sufficient speed to afford success, Bartlett and his party started back, much to Peary's as well as Bartlett's regret.

So here was Peary, only 133 geographic miles from the Pole, fully laden with provisions, with dogs and men as well fed and fit as the day they left Cape Columbia, 280 miles in their rear. After resting one day, Peary, with his servant Henson, and four Eskimos, and with 40 dogs and five sledges, headed into the great unknown, at midnight, April 1.

Finding the going rather good, they made 25 miles by noon on the 2nd. Starting out in the early morning of April 3, they made about 20 miles in ten hours. As the day was now continuous, their progress was not a question of daylight but solely of physical endurance.

A little before midnight on the 3rd they were on their way for the fourth march and reeled off another 25 miles, bringing them to within 63 geographic miles of the Pole. The evening of the 4th they started out again, and in that march made 28 miles. Going into camp in the early morning of

the 5th, Peary took a latitude sight and found the location 89° 25′ or 35 geographic miles from the Pole.

Before midnight on the 5th the party was on the march again. At 10 o'clock on the morning of April 6 the expedition went into camp again, and the time reckoning showed them to be in latitude 89° 57′, or approximately three miles from the goal.

After a few hours' rest, Peary and two Eskimos made ready a light sledge carrying only the instruments, a tin of pemmican, and several skins. A double team of dogs was hitched to the sledge and a march of ten miles was made. An observation here showed they had overshot the Pole several miles, and in doing so had done what a human being had never done before — started south again without changing direction. Facing about they marched back to camp, which Peary called Camp Jesup.

Another series of reckonings were taken and this showed them to be four or five miles toward Bering Strait from the Pole. Another eight-mile trip, toward the sun, another return to camp, and another observation, gave Peary 13 single, or 6½ double, altitudes of the sun, at two different stations, in three different directions, and at four different times.

From these reckonings the location of the Pole was fairly fixed, and by walking several miles in every direction, assurance was made doubly certain that the exact location of the Pole had been attained. A sounding revealed 1,500 fathoms of water without reaching bottom. Hoisting the national ensign of the United States, the North Pole flag he had carried on all his expeditions, and placing a glass bottle containing a record of the discovery between some ice blocks of a pressure ridge, Peary and his party started back to civilisation about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of April 7, after thirty hours at the Pole, and, favoured by weather, wind and absence of open leads, reached Cape Columbia April 23.

Returning to Washington, Peary submitted his records to a sub-committee of the Board of Managers of the National Geographic Society, consisting of Henry Gannett, chief geographer of the U. S. Geological Survey, Rear-Admiral Colby M. Chester, of the U. S. navy, and O. H. Tittmann, Superintendent of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey, perhaps the three most eminent Americans at that time in engineering and navigation. The records were found eminently clear and satisfactory, and the discovery of the Pole became a matter of official record. Through nearly a quarter of a century Peary had laboured to carry his country's flag to the top of the world. He, himself, had styled the rivalries of the nations of the world in Polar exploration the most splendid and sportsmanlike international competition of his time.

Thus was the chapter of primary exploration in the Northern Hemisphere closed.

II. THE ATTAINMENT OF THE SOUTH POLE

Peary had predicted in 1907 that if the North Pole could be reached, the attainment of the South Pole would undoubtedly come within a comparatively short time, probably a few years thereafter. How events justified his conclusions we shall now see.

The twentieth century opened auspiciously for the reduction of the Antarctic continent from a *terra incognita* to a known land. First proclaimed a continent by Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, U. S. navy, in 1839, it was not until January 23, 1895, that Captain Christiansen and Carsten Borchgrevink, of the Norwegian whaler "Antarctica," made the first landing on the mainland near Cape Adare.

In 1899 Borchgrevink led an expedition of his own into the Antarctic, and succeeded in landing again at Cape Adare, and in spending the winter there, the first ever passed by man on the Antarctic continent. The following year he succeeded in landing on other parts of the coast. Thus the stage was set for the siege of the South Pole, which was destined a dozen years later to capitulate not to one, but to two of the ablest explorers that ever penetrated a wilderness of ice and snow — Amundsen and Scott.

Scott's expedition of 1901–1904, supported by the Royal Society and the Royal Geographical Society, was the opening gun of the great siege. The story of his landing in latitude 77° 49′ S., longitude 166° E., and of his explorations from that point, including a 380 geographic-mile dash poleward, reaching latitude 82° 17′ S., was a fitting prelude to the work of the years that were to follow. Land exploration in the Antarctic region entered a new phase through Scott's work. The character of the continent was beginning to be revealed, the existence of a high plateau inland was forecast, and much data was accumulated that would help succeeding expeditions penetrate the mysteries of the interior.

The researches of Drygalski, Nordenskjöld, Bruce and Charcot in the years that immediately followed, did much to clear up many of the unsolved shore-line problems of various sectors of the continent, but the next major attack on the interior regions was that of Shackleton, in the "Nimrod" in 1907–1909. The ascent of Mt. Erebus, 13,500 feet high, and proof that it is an active volcano; the discovery and attainment of the South Magnetic Pole by Douglas Mawson and his party; and the reaching by Shackleton of a new "farthest south," 88° 23′ S., 366 miles beyond the previous record of 82° 17′ made by Scott and Shackleton together in 1902, and only 97 geographic miles from the South Pole, constitute results that made Shackleton's 1907–1909 expedition the most fruitful in the history of South Polar research. The story of the loss of the last pony in latitude 83° 50′ S., and of how four men without dogs or ponies or any other help than their own sturdy strength and indomitable spirits, pushed on for 273 geographic miles further into the unknown and brought themselves nearer than any human being had ever been to either of the earth's Poles, will always stand out as one of the greatest feats in Polar history. Shackleton always believed that the loss of "Socks," the last pony, alone kept him from the goal he had striven so hard to attain.

The two expeditions that went out from England and Norway in 1910, the one under command of Capt. Robert F. Scott, and the other under Capt. Roald Amundsen, were destined to write a brilliant, if tragic, *finis* to the story of Polar quest.

This great international race to the South Pole, in which England and Norway competed for the honour of first planting their respective national ensigns there, constitutes perhaps the most remarkable competition in the history of exploration.

Amundsen started from the Bay of Whales, and headed for the Pole in the region between the 170th and the 160th meridians W. longitude, while Scott worked his way in the sector between the 160th and 170th meridians E. longitude. Amundsen started October 19, while Scott reached the latitude of Amundsen's start November 4. When Amundsen reached the lower edge of Axel Heiberg glacier, in latitude 85° S., Scott was in the neighbourhood of latitude 80° S., or approximately 300 geographic miles behind him. When Amundsen came out on the broad plateau above Axel Heiberg glacier on December 3, 1911, at latitude 87° S., Scott was still several marches below the Beardmore glacier, in latitude 83° S. Between the storms at the foot of Beardmore glacier and the bad going that followed, Scott was able to make less than 50 geographic miles, while Amundsen was covering the 180 miles

between the 87th parallel and the Pole. Spending three days at the Pole, Amundsen crossed the 87° parallel on his return as Scott crossed it on his poleward journey. Approximately 30 degrees of longitude separated them, but in this high latitude this meant only 150 geographic miles.

It is interesting to note that Amundsen required 49 days to reach the Pole from his base, while Scott required 87 days to make the southward trip from Camp Evans. Scott reached the South Pole January 18, 1912, finding Amundsen's Norwegian flag and tent there and a note from Amundsen asking him to forward a letter to King Haakon! When Scott reached the Pole, Amundsen was between the 82nd and 81st parallels on his return to his base. Scott was about 90 geographic miles north of the Pole on his return when Amundsen went aboard the "Fram" again. Amundsen made the first 600 geographic miles from the Pole in 35 days, while Scott was 61 days in covering the same distance.

History does not contain more stirring examples of heroism than the story of Scott and his four companions. Their slow progress was due to long stretches of soft snow, incessant gales, and their devotion to science; they spent much precious time and strength in collecting and hauling geological specimens. They dragged these rocks to the very end. These valuable specimens were found beside their bodies when death overtook Scott, Bowers and Wilson, within eleven miles of One Ton camp, where they had left a big cache of food. Of the others, Evans had died from a fall; and Oates, realising that his increasing weakness was imperilling his comrades, had left his tent and sought death in the blizzard, with the words "I am just going outside and may be some time."

With the discovery of the South Pole, it may be said that the primary exploration of the earth's surface ended. There are, of course, vast areas of the Antarctic continent yet untrodden by human foot. Likewise, there are indications that land may yet be found in the Arctic Ocean between Alaska and the North Pole, but the conquest of the Arctic and the Antarctic in their major aspects came when Peary and Amundsen and Scott reached the points where all direction is south in the one case and north in the other.

III. OTHER EXPLORATIONS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

But the achievements in the field of secondary exploration — detailed studies of the little known regions of the earth — have brought a thousand results of direct and immediate value to science. They have shed new light on the origin of the races of men, permitted us to reconstruct civilisation long ago lost to the ken of our age, and enabled us to peer into the past and catch glimpses of the world of living things before the *genus homo* appeared upon the earth. Indeed, all the sciences and many of the arts have been enriched and made more efficient in the service of humanity through the researches of those who have wandered into the out-of-the-way places of the world and studied the geological, palaeontological, anthropological, archaeological, zoölogical and botanical materials they have found.

In order to give something of a picture of what has been accomplished in this field of secondary exploration and to present some idea of the year-to-year expansion of human knowledge through geographical research since the birth of the twentieth century, the author undertakes a chronological *résumé* of the representative activities since the beginning of 1901, asking his readers to remember that the space at his disposal compels him to leave many individual achievements unlisted.

Outside of the field of Polar research the first decade under review was

not especially notable in the field of exploration and discovery. There was, however, unusual activity in the realm of political geography. The partition of Africa among the European Powers, called for the fixing of boundaries for the various colonies thus established. A large number of surveying parties representing Belgium, England, France, Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain were almost continuously at work as boundary commissions.

A similar situation obtained in South America. The opening of the interior of that continent to the rubber gatherer and the trader made necessary the clearing up of an infinite number of more or less important boundary disputes, and this occasioned the sending of many expeditions into the field — a by-product of whose work was the addition of much knowledge in the field of geography. Similar conditions prevailed in Central America.

In Asia the expeditions of Dr. Sven Hedin and Dr. M. A. Stein into Tibet and Turkestan at the close of the nineteenth century had been so fruitful of results that the movement for detailed exploration of that part of the world gained momentum as the years have passed.

The principal geographic events of 1901 were the departure for the Antarctic regions of the expeditions from England and Germany, led respectively by Capt. Robt. F. Scott and Dr. Eric von Drygalski. Representatives of the Russian Government, studying the depth fluctuations of the lakes of northern Asia, found that a period of subsidence had been followed by a period of rising levels.

In 1902, Peary, Sverdrup and Baldwin returned from the Arctic; Baron Toll's Russian expedition reached Bennett Island and left there a summary of its work to date, before sailing into the unknown from whence it never returned. In the Antarctic, Scott set his "farthest" south; Drygalski gathered much data in the region south of the mid-Pacific; and Nordenskjöld studied the coast of the Antarctic continent south of Cape Horn, first located by Nathaniel B. Palmer, a New Bedford (Mass.) whaler, in 1821. Outside of the Polar regions, Sven Hedin returned to Europe after being turned back before Tibet's forbidden city of Lhasa, and a Russian expedition returned after mapping 8,000 square miles of land in central Asia. An expedition headed by Alfred H. Brooks of the U. S. Geological Survey did outstanding work in the Alaska Range. It succeeded in reaching the base of Mt. McKinley, and mapped the major portion of one of the highest regions on the North American continent. Brooks' splendid explorations of Alaska, covering two decades, place his name at the top of the list of those whose work has converted that territory from "Seward's Ice Box" into a "national treasure house."

The sailing of the Ziegler expedition to the Arctic under the leadership of Anthony Fiala and the scientific patronage of the National Geographic Society; the work of the Bruce expedition in the Weddell Sea region of the Antarctic; and the rescue of the Nordenskjöld expedition after the loss of its ship, by the Argentine navy, were some of the activities in Polar work during 1903. The discovery of the great Iguazu River cataract on the boundary between Argentina and Brazil was an outstanding event of the year. It was found in the midst of an almost impenetrable forest 1,000 miles by boat from the nearest village or settlement. The precipice over which the river plunges is 210 feet high, compared with Niagara's 167 feet. The cataract, 13,123 feet wide, is about 2½ times as wide as Niagara. Tourists may now easily reach this wonderful fall.

The success of the expedition led by Colonel F. E. Younghusband and Brigadier-General Macdonald in entering the forbidden city of Lhasa, with the subsequent negotiation of a treaty with the Dalai Lama, was perhaps the major geographic event of 1904. For the first time in its history the World's

Geographic Congress met in the New World, at Washington, under the presidency of Robert E. Peary and with the arrangements therefor under the management of the National Geographic Society.

The year 1905 saw the beginning of intensified activity in secondary geographic exploration. The Russo-Japanese Peace Treaty at Portsmouth, N. H., resulted in a considerable change in the political geography of Asia. Japan secured a protectorate over Korea (Chosen), control of the Russian rights to Port Arthur and the adjacent part of the Liao-tung peninsula, and possession of the island of Sakhalin. Professor Penck, of Vienna, continued his work on the history of the Alps during the Ice Age. Professor Bailey Willis, on behalf on the Carnegie Institution of Washington, studied the mountains of eastern Europe with a view of elucidating their past vicissitudes; and Dr. F. Machacek made similar studies of the mountains of Scandinavia. An American expedition, under Barrett and Huntington, was engaged in a study of the physical history of eastern Turkestan, while Dr. Sven Hedin travelled through the salt deserts of Persia and thence to Afghanistan, from which country he moved on to India and thence into central Tibet for further exploration. An American expedition, headed by Dr. E. O. Hovey and R. T. Hill, studied the geography and geology of the northern Sierra Madre of Mexico. Dr. L. A. Bauer, Director of the Department of Terrestrial Magnetism of the Carnegie Institution of Washington, began a magnetic survey of the North Pacific Ocean.

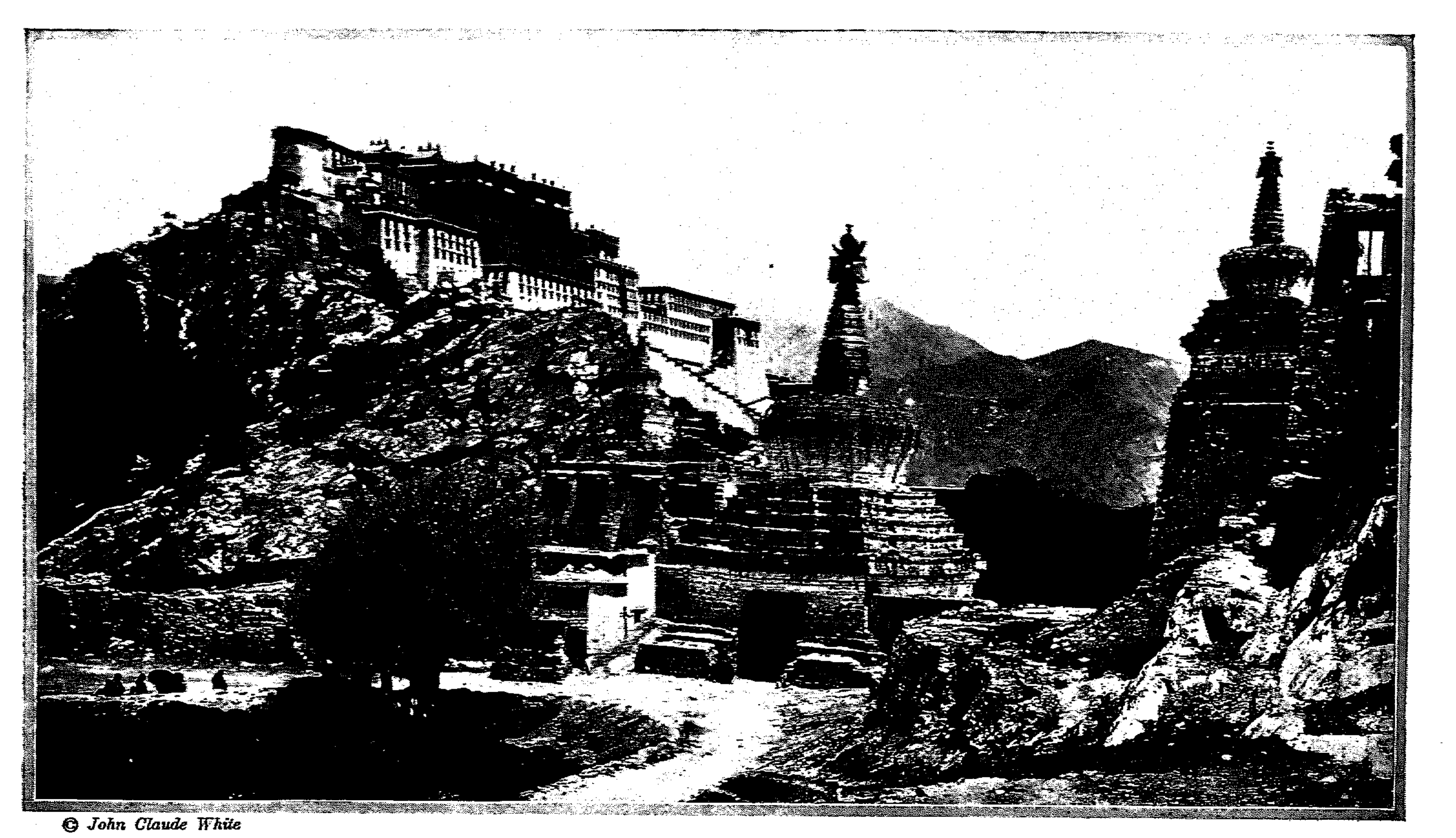
In 1906 numerous expeditions were in the field. In Africa Captain G. B. Bosling, while exploring in the Congo Basin, captured a live okapi, the first seen by white men; expeditions under the Duke of the Abruzzi, and from the British Museum, studied the Ruwenzori Mountain region. Abruzzi scaled the two highest peaks which he named Alexandra (16,750 ft.) and Margherita (16,816 ft.). In Asia Dr. M. A. Stein explored the southern edge of the desert of Chinese Turkestan; Barrett and Huntington returned to America after skirting the whole length of the Takla-makan desert and examining the rivers that descend to it from the mountains to the south. In America the Canadian Geological Survey mapped the little known region between the Yukon and Mackenzie rivers. In the Arctic, Peary set a new farthest north and Amundsen came back to civilisation after spending three years in the region of the North Magnetic Pole and in circumnavigating the Americas.

More expeditions were in the field in 1907 than in any preceding twelve months of the period under review, and the year marked the beginning of the tendency away from boundary surveys and toward purely scientific research. In Africa, a German expedition studied the rift valleys and old volcanoes in the territory between Mt. Kilimanjaro and Lake Victoria; Lieut. Boyd Alexander completed a three-year traverse of the continent; and H. Savage Landor made an east to west trip across the widest part of the continent from Abyssinia to Senegal. In Asia Dr. M. A. Stein surveyed the Tashkurgan River valley, discovering at the site of Khadalik many manuscripts in Chinese, Sanskrit, and the unknown language of the old Khotan. Dr. Sven Hedin explored the country between the Ngangtsi-tso and the Brahmaputra and the plain stretching to the south between Chinese Turkestan and southern Tibet. In China, a French expedition, under Capt. D'Ollone, made its way through the country of the independent Lolos, an aboriginal race through whose domain no traveller had previously passed. In the Americas Paul Le Cointe completed a 14-year study of the climate of the Amazon basin; Professors Gilbert, of the U. S. Geological Survey, and Spenser, of the Canadian Geological Survey, made a report on the recession of Niagara Falls; and Professor Hiram Bingham, of Yale, and Dr. Hamilton Rice followed the route travelled in 1819 by President Simon Bolivar through

the interiors of Venezuela and Colombia. In Australasia A. W. Canning led an expedition in search of a stock route between the eastern gold-fields and the Kimberley region. In New Guinea Dr. R. Poch, of Vienna, studied the anthropology of the island; a German expedition examined its rubber resources; and C. A. W. Monckton ascended Waria River and crossed the island by a new route behind Mt. Yule, and down the valley of Lakekamu River. In New Zealand Dr. J. M. Bell studied the great Douglas glacier and its stupendous cliff of ice and rock 4,000 feet high. In the Pacific, in connection with the laying of cables, a remarkable sub-oceanic furrow was found to exist on the outer side of the Sunda Islands, and important ridges and furrows were discovered between Formosa (Taiwan), the Philippines and the Carolinas.

The year 1908 saw a still further awakening of international interest in filling in the details of the map of the world and a further appreciation of the value of scientific investigations in connection therewith. In Africa one expedition gathered data leading to the conclusion that the Bushmen and the Hottentots had a common ancestry, the Bushmen migrating first, when in the hunter stage of development, and the Hottentots later, after they had reached the pastoral stage; another expedition, under the Duke of Mecklenburg-Schwerin, explored the region between Victoria Nyanza and the eastern border of the Congo basin, especially in the Lake Kivu territory, and brought back accounts of long-limbed Watussi, who can jump hurdles 8 ft. 5 inches from the ground. In Asia, Drs. Zurick and Treub noted marvellous growths of new flora in the region of Krakatoa Volcano, near the Strait of Sunda, where an eruption twenty-five years previously had destroyed every vestige of plant life; M. Cordier explored the land of the Lolos and studied their origin, language and mode of living; Dr. Sven Hedin extended his explorations of the Brahmaputra valley; Dr. M. A. Stein travelled from Anshi, on the southern border of the Gobi desert, into the snowy ranges of the Nan-shan, discovering an ancient city site and proving that the Great Wall of China had, in the second century B.C., a considerably greater extension westward than had been hitherto supposed; in America the U. S. Geological Survey finished its investigation to ascertain the amount of minerals in suspension in the waters of the Great Lakes, and found that 3,500,000 pounds of mineral in solution annually flow into the St. Lawrence River. A magnetic survey of the Pacific was completed by the U. S. S. "Galilee." In the polar regions Lauge Koch and Mylius Erichsen proved the continuity of the Greenland coast for a distance of 1,625 miles and added 150,000 square miles to the known area of that land.

Few years in the history of geographic research have been more fruitful than 1909 for outstanding results. The National Geographic Society sent out the first of a series of expeditions to Alaska, under Professor Ralph S. Tarr, to study the processes of glaciation with a view to solving some of the problems of the Ice Age. These expeditions found glaciers of both the advancing and retreating types, and discovered geological traces of a Jamaican flora which showed that Alaska once had a tropical climate. The coal-bed formations examined confirmed this conclusion. Admiral Peary discovered the North Pole, Shackleton came within 97 geographic miles of the South Pole, and ex-President Roosevelt gathered in East Africa a magnificent lot of rare scientific material for the U. S. National Museum. A German aeronautical expedition sent up kites and balloons containing self-registering instruments over East Africa and the adjacent Indian Ocean, to a height of twelve miles, and obtained evidence that the coldest air at that elevation is in the tropics and the warmest in the high altitudes; it was also found that above the east-flowing current of air over the equatorial belt there is another current flow-



The Palace of the mysterious Dalai Lama of Tibet at Lhasa, the "Forbidden City." The Dalai Lama is the supreme head of the Lamaistic hierarchy of Buddhism. The palace stands on Potala Hill, and its gilded roofs, countless windows and sloping walls, combine to make it unique in appearance.

ing in exactly the opposite direction. The failure of Walter Wellman's proposed trip to the North Pole in his dirigible airship, "America," was another feature of the year.

In 1910 explorers were busy in all the continents. The outstanding events of the year were the return of the Roosevelt African expedition; the inauguration of the Oceanographical Museum at Monaco under the patronage of the Prince of Monaco; and the continuation of the work of the National Geographic Society's expedition on the problems of glaciation in Alaska.

Many expeditions went into the field in 1911. The National Geographic Society sent its third party to the glacier fields of Alaska and finished its research, and the resulting *Alaskan Glacier Studies,* published by the Society, has stood as a foremost contribution to the literature of the Ice Age, of which the Alaskan glacier region is a remnant. In Peru Professor Hiram Bingham laid the foundation for a series of expeditions under the patronage of the National Geographic Society and Yale University, which were destined to throw a flood of light on pre-Columbian life in South America. The demarcation of boundaries in Africa continued in many places, and a number of expeditions gathered data in the island of New Guinea.

The expeditions of Amundsen and Scott, resulting in the discovery of the South Pole by the former and its attainment by the latter, in 1912, have been previously described. The National Geographic Society-Yale University expedition to Peru excavated the site of the ancient city of Machu Picchu, the City of Refuge, built many centuries ago on an almost inaccessible and lofty mountain ridge; many facts were revealed about the life of the ancient peoples of Peru. In this and subsequent years the work was systematically carried forward, uncovering staircase farms that made the Hanging Gardens of Babylon seem miniatures in comparison; stone walls so finely fitted that even after centuries only sharp eyes could detect where stone met stone; and enabling the explorers to learn of the religious usages, the habits, the thoughts and the aspirations of a people who had been all but lost even to tradition. A large number of expeditions sent out by various institutions of Europe and America spent the year in the field and accumulated a mass of scientific material. Asia and Africa received particular attention. Knud Rasmussen crossed Greenland from west to east between Inglefield Gulf and Denmark Fjord, a distance of 764 miles.

The geographical researches of 1913 covered a wide range. The projection of two additional transcontinental railway lines across Canada and the construction of the Government railway in Alaska brought vast regions of western Canada and southern Alaska under detailed survey. Dr. Hamilton Rice, working along the tributaries of the Amazon, and Dr. Koch-Grünberg, exploring the headwaters of the Rio Negro, brought out much valuable material on South America. In Africa, a German expedition made soundings in Lake Tanganyika, finding a depth of 4,189 feet and a bottom 1,539 feet below sea-level, second only to Lake Baikal in Siberia, in depth, among the known fresh-water lakes. In Asia, Capt. F. M. Bailey explored the Sangpo River which runs eastward for several hundred miles through southern Tibet, and found it to be the upper reaches of the Brahmaputra. In the polar fields the world was saddened by the news of the loss of that intrepid explorer, Capt. R. F. Scott, and members of his party. Sir Douglas Mawson surveyed 1,000 miles of the shore line of Wilkes Land. Capt. Davis, of Mawson's ship, the "Aurora," reported that soundings showed a ridge 11,000 feet above the ocean floor between Tasmania and Antarctica, which might be a fragment of a lost continent connecting them. Dr. de Quervain, of Switzerland, and Capt. Lauge Koch, of Denmark, each succeeded in crossing Greenland. Vilhjalmur Stefansson began his important exploration of the region above

the east coast of Alaska. The "Karluk," one of his two ships, was crushed in the ice, but thanks to the heroism and ability of Capt. Robert A. Bartlett, who reached the Siberian mainland, after landing his crew on Wrangel Island, the party was rescued, with the exception of Dr. Forbes Mackay and three others, who had insisted on going to Herald Island.

The outbreak of the World War cut short many expeditions in 1914, but much boundary work was carried on in Africa, and many new tribes were found, among them the Dakka and Chamba pagans and the Bagas and Yangheres. I. N. Dracopoli, in his explorations in Jubaland, found that the Uaso River is absorbed by the Lorain swamp. Dr. and Mrs. Workman spent the season studying the Siachen glacier system, in the Himalayas — the largest in Asia. A British expedition explored the Aha foothills, which they entered from Assam. Several expeditions were at work in the interior of Arabia. In North America the demarcation of the Alaska-Canadian boundary was completed. In South America the second expedition of the National Geographic Society and Yale University continued the excellent work of 1912, and ex-President Roosevelt led his expedition into the interior of Brazil, discovering an unmapped river of major proportions, which has recently been renamed the Rio Roosevelt. In oceanographic work it was found by an expedition under the joint auspices of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and the U. S. Bureau of Fisheries that between Cuba and the Bahamas there are two great oceanic rivers, the one superimposed on the other and the two flowing in opposite directions. Vilhjalmur Stefansson, after wintering in Camden Bay, pressed north along the 144th meridian, and then eastward to Banks Land.

The World War seriously curtailed exploration in 1915 in the Old World, but brought increased activity in the Western Hemisphere. The first expedition of the National Geographic Society to the region affected by the eruption of Mt. Katmai volcano in 1912, under the leadership of Dr. Robt. F. Griggs, studied the effect of the eruption on plant life and found a luxuriant vegetation springing up out of the volcanic ash. The final National Geographic Society-Yale University expedition to the Machu Picchu country of Peru completed its work of unearthing the ruins of the all-but-forgotten Inca civilisation and traced the origin of two of the world's major crops — Indian corn and the "Irish" potato. R. J. Flaherty re-discovered, in Hudson Bay, three large islands, with an aggregate area of 4,000 square miles, which had been lost since Henry Hudson sighted them in 1610–1611. Dr. J. W. Fewkes in the southwestern part of the United States discovered the Temple of the Sun, a great structure used for religious and ceremonial occasions. It was built as early as 1300 A.D. In Asia, Sir Aurel Stein, after visiting the Temple of a Thousand Buddhas, traced, for 250 miles, a Chinese Wall built at least a century before the Christian era. He also identified the ruins of Khara Koto as Marco Polo's city of Etzina. In Polar research, Shackleton, in the Antarctic, spent the year battling with the ice in Weddell Sea, finally losing his ship, the "Endurance," on October 27, 346 miles from the nearest northern land. Failing in efforts to go north either by sledge or boat, the party made a camp on the drifting ice for nearly six months. Stefansson continued his work in the Arctic.

North America was the scene of the world's major discoveries and explorations in 1916. Prof. Robt. F. Griggs led the second National Geographic Society's expedition to the Katmai country, climbed the great volcano of Mt. Katmai, and discovered the now famous Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes. This valley was estimated to be releasing more gases from the interior of the earth than all of the craters and fumaroles of all the remainder of the New World. In South America, the data gathered by O. F. Cook, of the National Geographic Society-Yale University expeditions, pointed to the conclusion that

when our European ancestors were living by the chase and dressing in skins, the people of the Peruvian highlands had developed a settled and well-established agriculture. In both North and South America, there were numerous expeditions from the various scientific institutions of the United States, collecting material for future study. In Asia, Dr. C. W. Bishop headed a University of Pennsylvania expedition into the province of Szechwan, China, which gathered material of unusual importance, and Sir Aurel Stein continued his travels along the borderland between Persia and Afghanistan.

In the field of Polar research, Sir Ernest Shackleton's party continued its drift on the pack ice begun the year previous, drifting 700 miles by April 27, when their camp on the ice became untenable, and they had to take to their boats. After ten days they landed on Elephant Island. With five volunteers, Shackleton set out in a small boat for South Georgia, 750 miles away. He reached the uninhabited west coast of that mountainous island on May 10, by extraordinary efforts accomplished the first crossing of the island, and ten days later reached the Norwegian whaling station. After three unsuccessful attempts by other vessels, Shackleton succeeded in rescuing his Elephant Island party with a Chilean ship.

Further studies in the problems of volcanism in the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes, success in rescuing the Donald B. MacMillan party after several years in the Arctic, the discovery of a chain of lakes in Labrador, hitherto uncharted, were the outstanding features of 1917. Stefansson continued his work in the Arctic to the west of Ellesmere Land, returning to the delta of the Mackenzie River to spend the winter of 1917–1918. During the years that MacMillan had been working in the region west of Graham Land, he surveyed thousands of square miles of new territory, and gathered a great mass of data on boreal life. In Asia expeditions of the American Museum of Natural History, under the leadership of Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews, collected much botanical, zoölogical and geological material in the interior of China.

In 1918 the world was so occupied with the World War that comparatively little geographic research was carried on. The National Geographic Society's expedition to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes filled in the details of its previous investigations, and the Government held the region to be of such importance that it was set aside as the Katmai National Monument by Proclamation of the President of the United States. In Africa Commandant Tilho announced that his work in the region of Tibesti and Darfur showed that there is no connection between Lake Chad and the Nile, and that the former is like the Great Salt Lake in Utah in having no outlet to the sea. An expedition of the American Museum of Natural History discovered a species of dwarf elephants in the Congo — perhaps the rarest zoölogical find since the capture of an okapi. Stefansson reported on his long stay in the Arctic, showing that he had, from 1913–1918, found a race of blond Eskimos, explored 100,000 square miles of land and sea, and made soundings which indicated that there might be land in the Arctic to the north of Alaska and west of Ellesmere Land.

The year 1919 saw exploration passing still further into the higher phases of economic research which is aptly described as "increasing our fund of information concerning the inhabitants, the fauna, the flora, and other features of the earth and their reactions upon and relations to, one another." It marked the fifth and last National Geographic Society's expedition to the Valley of Ten Thousand Smokes; the concluding year of the Collins-Garner French Congo expedition on behalf of the Smithsonian Institution; the start of the Smithsonian African expedition. Likewise, it marked the mandating of the African German colonies; the inauguration of studies by the Royal

Geographical Society of the natives of the upland grass region between Lake Victoria and the western Rift Valley. Researches begun during the World War to locate available minerals for war purposes showed tremendous assets of coal and iron in various regions between the Caucasus and the China Sea. Similar researches in Canada showed vast coal deposits in Alberta. In the United States, the U. S. Geological Survey, under the directorship of Dr. George Otis Smith, traced new deposits of minerals and tabulated known sources of these fundamentals of national life; measured ground, water and stream flow; studied the problem of replacing coal by water-power on a national scale; and classified the public lands as to mineral content. Continuing his work in southwest Colorado and southeast Utah, Dr. J. W. Fewkes, of the Bureau of American Ethnology, discovered two new towers in McLean basin. The United States National Museum, the New York Botanical Garden and the Gray Herbarium of Harvard University were collaborating on a botanical survey of Ecuador. The New York Zoölogical Society established a tropical research station in British Guiana, under the directorship of William Beebe.

Geographic activities in 1920 covered a wide range of inquiries. Neil M. Judd headed a reconnaissance expedition sent out by the National Geographic Society to explore the Chaco Canyon, believed to have been the centre of the densest population in North America in pre-Columbian times. He searched the ruins of vast community apartment-houses, one of which contained a thousand rooms. The Smithsonian Institution, Harvard University, the American Museum of Natural History, and other institutions sent expeditions into the southwestern United States to trace the geography of the prehistoric Indian races. Other outstanding works of the year included the announcement by Rev. John Roscoe, representing the Royal Geographical Society, that he had discovered a remnant of a Semitic people in the hill country of Uganda, who are the survivors of a migration from Asia centuries before the Christian era. The Smithsonian Institution had a large number of expeditions in the field in the United States, Canada, Africa, Asia, South America and Australasia. In New Guinea, a German explorer who had kept out of the war by casting his lot with the natives, came forward with the results of five years' exploration. Carl Lumholtz also was at work in New Guinea. Amundsen's unsuccessful attempt to drift across the North Pole, Lauge Koch's commemorative expedition to Greenland, and Dr. John L. Cope's expedition to the Weddell Sea region were features of Polar research during the year.

Outstanding geographic researches of 1921 included the National Geographic Society's second expedition to Chaco Canyon region, in which eighteen ruins of major importance were explored, revealing a perfection in architecture and masonry that places these ruins among the finest prehistoric architectural art in the United States; the ascent of Mt. Everest to a height of 23,000 feet by a Royal Geographical Society's expedition under Colonel Bury, resulting in the mapping of 13,000 square miles of new territory, and the collection of data concerning tribes, plants and animals living above 15,000 feet; the discovery by Dr. J. W. Fewkes, of the Smithsonian Institution, of the ruins of a large number of structures — among them a Sun Temple and a Fire Temple, in the Mesa Verde National Park.

Few years in geographic research, as it relates to the other sciences, have yielded such treasures of knowledge as 1922. Neil M. Judd, representing the National Geographic Society, continued his work in Chaco Canyon and found that here the characteristic arts of the American Indian reached their highest perfection. An expedition to the west coast of Lower California, supported by the Mexican Government, the National Geographic Society, the California

Academy of Sciences and other institutions, resulted in the setting apart of the islands of Guadeloupe and Cedros as game reservations and the creation of a ten-year closed season against the killing of deer, antelope and mountain sheep in Mexico. The Smithsonian Institution continued its researches in the Canadian Rocky Mountains, studying the pre-Devonian formations found there; in Williamson County, Tenn., gathering fossils of the Ordovician and Paleozoic ages; in New Mexico, finding fossils of camels and the rhinoceros; and in Arizona, searching for Pliocene fossils. In Alaska Dr. Aldrich made rich collections of insects; in Haiti Dr. Abbott made collections covering a wide range of sciences; in Australia Dr. Hoy gathered faunal and botanical material, and in southwestern United States the work of restoring the geography of prehistoric times was continued.

The American Museum of Natural History sent expeditions to many lands, foremost being the one to inner Mongolia, under the leadership of Roy Chapman Andrews. Frank M. Chapman, Cherrie and O'Connell continued their biological survey in the Andes.

For the New York Zoölogical Society, William Beebe continued his biological work in northern South America; while the Field Museum had many expeditions in the field. Donald B. MacMillan continued his work in the Baffin Land region and Knud Rasmussen in the Hudson Bay country. France energetically pushed exploration of various kinds in her African colonies including efforts to unearth the ancient city of Carthage. The Royal Society undertook the study of life above 12,000 feet, in Peru. A Danish expedition surveyed the waters of the West Indies in an effort to trace the life history of the common eel; and found that both the species inhabiting the rivers of Europe and that found in the Atlantic waters of the United States go there to breed. Their breeding-grounds were found to overlap, and the two species seem identical, except in the number of vertebrae; yet neither has been found to appear in the fresh waters frequented by the other.

In a second attempt to climb Mt. Everest, Geoffry Bruce and George Finch reached, 1922, an altitude of 27,300 feet, only 1,800 feet below the summit.

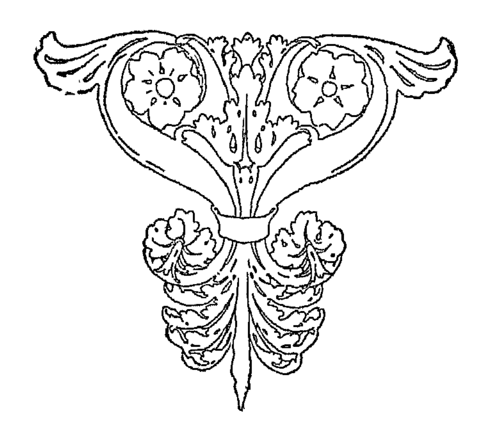
Perhaps the outstanding research of 1923 was the work of the American Museum of Natural History's expedition to inner Mongolia and the fortuitous discoveries it made of dinosaur eggs.

The decision of Secretary of the Navy Denby, with approval of President Coolidge, to undertake the exploration of the Arctic by means of airships and airplanes, with a view of opening up an aerial route between Europe and Asia and America, across the top of the world, and with the further purpose of ascertaining whether there is land between Alaska and the North Pole, represents a new phase in exploration.

The success of the expeditions of the Carnegie Institution of Washington in reconstructing the geography of ancient Mexico and Guatemala and the translation of the language and interpretation of the calendar of the Maya civilisation will serve to add thousands of years to the early history of America. The continued researches of the National Geographic Society, the Smithsonian Institution, and other organisations in the semi-arid southwestern United States are also helping to push back history's horizons in the New World. The National Geographic Society's expedition into the province of Kweichow, China, led by Frederick R. Wulsin, in search of the largest non-anthropoid ape in the world, and of other scientific material; and the one it sent into the region of the Burma-Tibet frontier of China in search of new plants for introduction into America, are types of expeditions that are expected to be a feature of the years to come. Rasmussen's, Koch's and Mac-Millan's work in the Arctic have been [illegible]

The rise of popular interest in exploration has been a remarkable development of the period reviewed in this chapter. An example of this is the growth of the National Geographic Society from an organisation with a membership of 2,200 at the beginning of the century to 850,000 at the end of 1923.

The development of the automobile, the rise of radio, the perfection of the airplane and dirigible balloon, the application of photographic art to aerial mapping, have all put new facilities at the command of the explorer, with which to press on to new fields of discovery and research. To-day MacMillan, living in the midst of the Arctic night in the very neighbourhood where Greely's men lost their lives, amid surroundings of utter isolation, hears by wireless congratulations from President Coolidge and sends a message from Santa Claus to the children of the world.



CHAPTER LXXXIV

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

By Colonel Edward M. House

Personal representative of the President of the United States to European Governments, 1914, 1915 and 1916. Representative of the United States in the Supreme War Council, Paris. Member of the American Commission to Negotiate Peace. Joint Editor with Professor Charles Seymour of *What Really Happened at Paris.*

Anglo-American relations since 1900 have grown steadily better and may well serve as an inspiration to other nations wishing to follow the paths of peace. The manner in which the two countries are meeting complex and irritating problems, which of necessity must arise from time to time, gives substantial proof that international disputes may be settled without resort to war. It cannot be said that consanguinity and a common language are responsible for their attitude toward each other, for be it remembered that up to the year of 1898 the only foreign wars the United States had fought, unless one counts the war with Mexico, were with Great Britain.

Great Britain shares with the United States the major portion of the North American continent; consequently the interests of the two nations touch at many points, giving room for friction and misunderstanding. Laws are often in sharp conflict and their enforcement might easily lead to trouble. In view of such possibilities, the refusal to fortify the far-reaching frontier between Canada and the United States stands as a mute but eloquent witness to the will for peace and justice within the hearts of both peoples.

For about a century after the United States became a republic there was but little upon which to build a hope that the two English-speaking nations might one day work closer together toward the fulfilment of purposes common to both. The will to peace, however, became steadily stronger, as is made manifest by the settlement of the Alabama claims in 1872 and of the dispute over the Venezuela boundary in 1899. From that time on, diplomatic relations between the two countries have grown steadily more cordial.

Even before the settlement of this latter dispute came the Spanish-American War in 1898, and there was a feeling throughout the United States that the British were the only people who sympathised entirely with them during that war, or who shared American satisfaction over its result. Captain Chichester's warning to Von Diederichs at Manila that the British would permit no German interference with the American fleet, was interpreted as more than a friendly gesture, and throughout America was regarded as indicative of Great Britain's purpose to let the world know the feeling of kinship between the two countries.

The first ten years of the new century were characterised by minor differences. Of these should be noted the problem of the Alaskan boundary, the importance of which first became plain in 1898, when the discovery of gold on the Yukon attracted attention to Alaska. The Treaty of 1825 between Great Britain and Russia had not clearly defined the boundary; it declared

that the line should follow the crests of the mountains parallel to the coast but never to be more than ten marine leagues from the coast, following sinuosities. Great Britain claimed the line should run along the coasts nearest the ocean, crossing the bays, giving Canada the heads of several bays, and thus access to the sea. The United States held that the line must be everywhere ten leagues from sea-water. Such an interpretation would deprive a great stretch of Canadian territory of direct access to the sea.

In 1903 it was agreed to submit the question to arbitration, and a commission, composed of three members of each nation, was formed. No umpire was provided and a deadlock was possible. The American members of the commission were Elihu Root, Henry Cabot Lodge and George Turner; Lord Chief Justice Alverstone, Sir Louis Jette and A. B. Aylesworth represented the British. Lord Alverstone supported the American contention and the boundary was fixed accordingly.

For a long time a divergence of opinion had been developing between the United States and Canada over the reckless methods that threatened the extinction of fur seals. In 1899, because of the lapse of the British legislation that had resulted from the Bering Sea arbitration, that sea was again opened to Canadian interests. The United States had prohibited open-sea killing in 1897, and it was hoped that Great Britain would reciprocate. Because of Canadian sentiment the hope proved vain, and it was not until 1911 that a solution of the problem was found in a joint treaty signed by Great Britain, Japan, and Russia. This treaty prohibited pelagic killing for the time being and provided that the signatory Powers should have pro-rata shares of the land kill. An act of Congress of 1912 prohibited all killing whatsoever on land for a term of years.

Another problem vexing the United States and Canada was the fishing industry. In 1902 a treaty was negotiated with Newfoundland by John Hay, based upon the principle of admitting fish from the Banks free of duty in return for the privileges demanded by United States fishermen. It failed of ratification, however, as a result of the strong fishing interests in the Senate which insisted upon protection for the United States fishing industry. Thereupon Newfoundland found it advisable to adopt retaliatory legislation, which was supported by the mother-country on the ground that Newfoundland had the right to make whatever port regulations might be deemed essential to the preservation of fishing and to the maintenance of order and morals.

The United States recognised the right of Newfoundland to lay down port regulations, but insisted that her own assent was necessary. The difficulty was finally presented in 1909 to a tribunal, chosen from the Hague Court of Arbitration, which gave a decision favouring Newfoundland. Certain recommendations were made in the decision, and these were followed in an agreement between the United States and Great Britain.

In the previous year difficulties which threatened with Canada over fishing questions, were settled by a treaty that provided for a permanent international fisheries commission.

Again and again friction between Canada and the United States has grown out of the difference in policies of the two countries regarding customs duties. These differences at times have been acute. In 1911 a reciprocity treaty with Canada was negotiated largely through the personal influence exerted by President Taft. It failed of ratification in Canada, however, where a nationalistic wave overthrew the Ministry of Sir Wilfred Laurier. For the moment relations seemed strained, but the danger was obviated by the United States Tariff Act of 1913, enacted in the first year of President

Wilson's administration, which introduced the free-trade principle sufficiently to secure many objects of reciprocity.

THE IMPORTANT QUESTION OF PANAMA TOLLS

The questions relating to the Alaskan boundary, fur seals, fishing rights and the tariff were all of a local character and affected merely Canada and the United States. But there was another, and in every way more important matter, lying in the background awaiting settlement — the Panama tolls question. This problem affected British Imperial interests directly, and obviously was of first importance.

Until 1901 the situation rested upon the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty of 1850, which provided that neither the United States nor Great Britain might exercise exclusive control over any canal that might be constructed; that no fortifications should be erected to command it, and that neither party should colonise or assume or exercise dominion over any part of Central America. The prospective canal was to be absolutely neutral, even in case of war between the two countries; this neutrality was mutually guaranteed.

In 1901, as a result of the demands of American opinion and the United States Senate, Hay and Pauncefote drew up a new treaty providing for the abrogation of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. In return for this concession by Great Britain, which allowed the United States to acquire territory in Central America, the treaty provided for certain rules; the blockade of the canal was forbidden, but the United States might "maintain such military police along the canal as may be necessary to protect it against lawlessness and disorder." Under a rather liberal interpretation, the United States planned to fortify the canal.

The most important rule laid down in the treaty ran: "The canal shall be free and open to the vessels of all nations observing these rules, on terms of entire equality, so that there shall be no discrimination against any such nation or subjects in respect to the conditions and the charges of traffic or otherwise. Such conditions and charges of traffic shall be just and equitable."

In 1912 Congress exempted from all charges vessels engaged, under certain conditions, in the coastwise trade of the United States. This apparent violation of a rule specifically laid down in the Hay-Pauncefote Treaty led to a prompt protest on the part of Great Britain and became the object of warm controversy after 1912, when Congress in fixing the rates of traffic exempted from all charge vessels engaged, under certain conditions, in the coastwise, or rather, coast-to-coast trade of the United States. Great Britain contended that the law plainly violated the treaty and made a strong protest. The administration of Mr. Taft held the opinion that American coastwise traffic did not come under the purview of the treaty. The dispute cast a serious cloud over Anglo-American relations and was one of the most important problems faced by the incoming Wilson administration in 1913.

At this point relations between Great Britain and the United States reached one of their most interesting phases. It was fortunate for both countries that Woodrow Wilson was President of the United States and that Mr. Asquith was Prime Minister of Great Britain with Sir Edward Grey as Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. These men were statesmen of the highest order, and no one of them would violate his opinions in order to profit by political expediency. We have in this Panama tolls controversy a lesson which should make a lasting impression upon the people of both countries and teach them the value of placing men of high character in

positions of power. Had any of the statesmen who settled this dispute been of lesser mould serious friction might easily have developed, and the world have lost one of the finest lessons in all diplomatic history. It is worth while, therefore, to tell the story somewhat in detail.

During the presidential campaign of 1912 Wilson held the view that the American contention, as pronounced by President Taft and Secretary Knox, was the correct one. When he became President he was at first absorbed in the domestic reforms to which he had committed himself, particularly the Federal Reserve legislation. This was a matter of prime importance, and after his inauguration he gave to it most of his time and energy until his plan became law.

Great Britain impatiently awaited the beginning of negotiations, and it was only through Sir Edward Grey's restraining hand that a premature discussion was avoided. He had been cautioned that Wilson's method was to clear up one thing at a time, and that to precipitate the Panama tolls question when he was absorbed in his most important domestic reforms would be a fatal blunder. No one then realised how vitally the Federal Reserve Act was soon to affect the British Empire, for had it not been in force when war came, financial chaos would have reigned in the United States and it might have been impossible to give the Allies the help needed.

When Wilson closely examined the Panama Tolls Act he decided that it ought to be repealed. In a notable address before the two Houses of Congress, March 5, 1914, among other things he said: "Whatever may be our differences of opinion concerning this much-debated measure, its meaning is not debated outside the United States. Everywhere else the language of the treaty is given but one interpretation, and that interpretation precludes the exemption I am anxious to repeal. . . . The large thing to do is the only thing we can afford to do, a voluntary withdrawal from a position everywhere questioned and misunderstood. We ought to reverse our action without raising the question as to whether we were right or wrong, and so once more deserve our reputation for generosity and for the redemption of every obligation without quibble or hesitation."

This message raised a storm not only in Congress but in the President's party as well. Practically every Democratic leader in both Houses was against Wilson, and it seemed to the onlooker that he would suffer defeat. However, he won by a handsome majority and gave to his country a great example of courageous leadership.

It was, indeed, the most striking instance in history of the voluntary avowal by a great nation of the sanctity of treaties. When Germany violated the neutrality of Belgium, the action of the United States in the Panama tolls question shone clear like a torch on a dark night to bid man remember that honour among nations still lives.

This incident drew Great Britain and the United States yet closer and was the beginning of a feeling of mutual trust that was later to bind them together as associates in the World War. It enabled Mr. Bryan when Secretary of State to obtain the cordial sympathy of Great Britain in his estimable efforts to conclude treaties with all Powers making it obligatory to submit disputes to an international commission and to refrain from hostilities during the period of investigation.

ANGLO-AMERICAN ARBITRATION TREATIES

For many years attempts had been made to negotiate a general arbitration treaty between England and the United States. Such a treaty was

actually signed by Olney and Pauncefote in 1897, but it was defeated by the Senate. On April 4, 1908, a general arbitration treaty was successfully concluded at Washington covering a period of five years. Its purpose was impaired by two provisions which excluded from the scope of its authority "questions of honour," and "questions of vital interest." As all serious disputes are capable of being brought within one or other of these categories, the treaty was at best but a partial application of the arbitral principle.

In 1910 Mr. Taft publicly asserted that questions of national honour should be referred to courts of arbitration "as matters of private or national property are," and in August, 1911, a general arbitration treaty was signed by Knox and Bryce. It was the incorporation of the full principle of arbitration in a treaty by states of first-class importance; but, as in so many instances, the Senate of the United States proved the stumbling block. The Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate substituted for the decisive word "*shall*" the word "*may*." A list of exceptions to the scope of the clause was also inserted. The movement that lay behind the treaty, however much injured by the conservative action of the Senate, was still strong, and its importance was to become obvious under the Wilson administration when Mr. Bryan undertook to make treaties looking to general world arbitration.

ANGLO-AMERICAN RELATIONS IN THE EARLY DAYS OF THE WORLD WAR

The question of shipping and American rights upon the high seas, always a source of friction between the United States and Great Britain, arose periodically to importance. Late in 1914 Wilson urged Congress to pass a bill looking to the rehabilitation of our shipbuilding industry which for many years had failed to maintain a mercantile marine capable of carrying the exports of the United States. This effort on the President's part caused criticism in Great Britain, and it was intimated that he intended to urge the purchase of the German ships then interned in American waters. If Congress had met this demand at the time it was made no country would have benefited more than Great Britain. It would have given the United States a plant with which to meet the emergency of 1917 when she was compelled to improvise hastily constructed and inadequate yards.

During the World War came the real test of statesmanship, diplomacy and will for peace between the two countries. At the beginning, sentiment had not crystallised in the United States in favour of the Allies. There were two main points of controversy: one was the amount and character of German propaganda permitted by the American Government, and the other and more serious question was British interference with American foreign trade. It was with difficulty that the English could be brought to see that the German agents were helping the Allied cause. It is doubtful whether they ever fully realised how steadily and thoroughly this German propaganda brought the United States to an understanding of the true situation. The British were advised not to attempt counter-propaganda and, while never quite understanding the reason for such advice, they accepted it.

However, while the question of propaganda had its irritating aspects, it did not contain the elements of danger which interference with American trade with neutral countries was constantly bringing to the fore. If Germany had possessed the capacity of foreseeing the probability of a clash between the United States and Great Britain on this question, she would possibly have pursued a different policy regarding her undersea war. Germany compelled the United States to decide whether she resented the killing of her citizens on the high seas more than she did the interference with her trade

rights. There was never any doubt of the answer. However much the United States, before her entry into the war, condemned Great Britain for her illegal and high-handed attitude in seizing American ships en route to neutral ports and taking them into British ports, the United States illogically applied just that policy to neutrals after she became a belligerent.

President Wilson, Mr. Asquith and Sir Edward Grey, important as it was for them to maintain friendly relations, were constantly subjected to strong pressure. In the United States southern cotton growers and western wheat farmers, through their representatives in Congress, became more and more insistent that the neutral markets of Europe should not be closed to them. On the other hand, the British Prime Minister was driven by a nation infuriated by Germany's ruthless undersea warfare to a policy seeking to place a complete embargo upon products either directly or indirectly destined for the use of the Central Empires.

POST-WAR PROBLEMS

These were anxious days for those concerned with the maintenance of Anglo-American relations. During this period and afterward up to the close of the war, the outstanding and saving factor in the situation was the perfect frankness existing between the two Governments. When the entire story of this period is written the historian may well ask whether human records can furnish a parallel. All the cards were laid upon the table with their faces up. No important policy was ventured upon by either without full discussion by both. There were sharp differences of opinion, but each had complete confidence in the integrity and honesty of purpose of the other.

While the Armistice was in the making and the Fourteen Points of Mr. Wilson were under discussion, the question of sea laws and sea-power again came sharply to the fore. In opposition to the British Prime Minister the American representative was insistent upon a reconsideration of maritime law and practice which he hoped might lead to the application of the doctrine of the freedom of the seas. At one moment it seemed as if no conclusion could be reached, but finally it was agreed that the matter was a proper subject for discussion at the Peace Conference. Unfortunately that body failed to consider it, and in consequence the tragic lessons of the World War upon the subject of blockade, contraband and the use of submarines and mines have not borne fruit. As for capture and search at sea, the practices of the World War did not leave a remnant even of the rules laid down in the declaration of Paris of 1856. The world to-day is practically without sea laws upon which there is general agreement. It is a serious indictment of present-day statesmanship. If another war should come in which either the United States or Great Britain were engaged, strained relations between the two would inevitably result.

After the Peace Conference adjourned there were still some matters left open which are now happily closed. The Washington Conference went far toward settling the question of competitive armaments at sea, and later an agreement was reached regarding the debt which Great Britain owed the United States. There are those who believe that this debt settlement may in years to come prove an irritant rather than an influence for peaceful relations. If the other debtors of the United States should fail to meet their obligations, and if Great Britain should be the only country to pay, that in itself might cause resentment, particularly if British trade should lag because of the disruption of Central European markets, and the British Government should

find difficulty in making the large annual payments to the United States. This school of thought believes it was a mistake for Great Britain to agree to pay before a general settlement both of Allied debts and of reparations from Germany had been brought about. The contention is that Great Britain might well have said to the United States that since the latter was jointly responsible for the Peace Treaty she was under obligations to help bring about European composure. The United States having withdrawn from this endeavour, Great Britain was left to put forth her every effort alone; if and when she succeeded, she would take up with the United States the matter of indebtedness to her.

The establishment of the Irish Free State has done much to better Anglo-American relations. There are many more Irish and their descendants in the United States than in Ireland, and it is folly to claim that a settlement between Great Britain and Ireland was none of America's concern. This centuries-old controversy has been constantly used as a means of stirring up trouble.

With that fertile cause of dissension out of the way, and with an agreement concerning naval building, there is nothing in sight that seems likely to disturb good relations, except, perhaps, the question of prohibition enforcement. It is certain that the United States is committed to its policy of prohibition, and it is probable that its enforcement by the Federal Government will become increasingly stringent. Canada and the British Islands near our shores are the reservoirs from which the prohibited liquors are flowing into the United States.

There is a feeling in both Great Britain and the United States that war between the two countries must be avoided by every honourable means, and this feeling will grow stronger as the years go by. Between two such peoples there must always be differences of opinion, but these differences will probably never again lead to war, for Anglo-American civilisation is largely based on a common conception of human liberty. This fundamental creed together with a common literature enriched by a Shakespeare, a Milton and a host of others, will doubtless always hold the United States in sympathetic union with Great Britain and her far-flung Dominions.

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